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H. O. CLEAVER.

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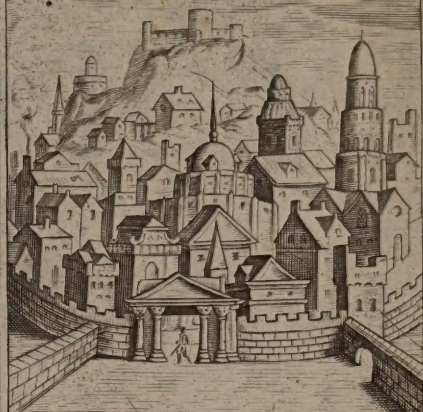
ΕΝΔΟΞΟΤΑΤΗ ΛΑΚΕΔΑΙΜΩΝ



ΕΛΛΑΣ



ΕΛΛΑΔΟΣ ΕΛΛΑΣ ΑΘΗΝΑΙ



ΑΡΧΙΑΜΟΣ



Eight Bookes
Of the
PELOPONNESIAN WARRE
Written by
THVCYDIDES the sonne of OLORVS.
Interpreted
with Faith and Diligence
Immediately out of the Greeke
By Thomas Hobbes
Author of the Booke DE CIVE
Secr tary to y^e late Earle of Deuonshire

LONDON
Printed for Charles Harper att y^e
Flower de Luce over ag^t S^t Dunstons
Church in fleetstreet 1676

ΠΕΡΙΚΛΗΣ



ΟΙ ΑΡΙΣΤΟΙ



ΟΙ ΠΟΛΛΟΙ



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THE
HISTORY
OF THE
Grecian War:
IN
EIGHT BOOKS.
Written by
THUCYDIDES.

Faithfully Translated from the ORIGINAL
BY
THOMAS HOBBS
OF
MALMSBURY.

With MAPS Describing the Countrey.

The Second Edition, much Corrected and Amended.

LONDON,

Printed by *Andrew Clark* for *Charles Harper*, and are to be sold by
him, at the *Flower-de-luce* over against St. Dunstons Church
in Fleet-street, **MDC LXXVI.**

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in Fleet Street. MDCCLXXVI

To the Right Honourable

Sir WILLIAM CAVENDISH

Knight of the *Bath*, Baron of *Hardwick*,

and EARL of DEVONSHIRE.

Right Honourable,



Take confidence from your Lordships goodness, in the very entrance of this Epistle, to profess with simplicity, and according to the Faith I owe my Master now in Heaven, That it is not unto your self, but to your Lordships Father that I Dedicate this my Labour, such as it is. For neither am I at liberty to make choice of one, to whom I may present it as a Voluntary Oblation, being bound in duty to bring it in as an Account to him, by whose Indulgence I had both the Time and Ammunition to perform it: Nor if such Obligation were removed, know I any to whom I ought to Dedicate it rather. For by the Experience of many years I had the honour to serve him, I know this, there was not any who more really, and less for Glories sake, favoured those that studied the LIBERAL ARTS liberally, then My Lord your Father did; nor in whose house a man should less need the University, then in his.

A

For

The Epistle Dedicatory.

For his own Study, it was bestowed for the most part, in that kind of Learning which best deserveth the pains and hours of Great Persons, *History* and *Civil Knowledge*; and directed not to the ostentation of his Reading, but to the government of his Life, and the Publick good. For he so read, that the Learning he took in by Study, by Judgment he digested, and converted into Wisdom and Ability to benefit his Countrey: to which also he applied himself with Zeal, but such as took no fire, either from *Faction* or *Ambition*.

And as he was a most able man for soundness of advice, and clear expression of himself in matters of difficulty and consequence both in publick and private; so also was he one whom no man was able either to draw, or juggle out of the straight path of Justice. Of which Vertue I know not whether he deserved more by his severity in imposing it (as he did to his last breath) on himself, or by his Magnanimity in not exacting it to himself from others.

No man better discerned of *Men*; and therefore was he constant in his Friendships, because he regarded not the *Fortune* nor *Adherence*, but the *Men*: with whom also he conversed with an openness of heart, that had no other guard then his own Integrity, and that *Nil Conscire*.

To his *Equals* he carried himself equally, and to his *Inferiors* familiarly: but maintaining his Respect fully and onely with the Native Splendor of his worth.

In sum, he was one in whom might plainly be per-

The Epistle Dedicatory.

perceived, that *Honour* and *Honesty* are but the same thing in the different degrees of persons. To Him therefore, and to the memory of His worth, be consecrated this, though unworthy Offering.

And now, imitating in this *Civil Worship* the *Religious Worship* of the Gentiles, who when they Dedicated any thing to their Gods, brought and presented the same to their Images; I bring and present this Gift of mine, *The History of THUCYDIDES*, translated into English, with much more Diligence then Elegance, to your Lordship, who are the Image of your Father, (for never was a man more exactly copied out then He in You) and who have in you the Seeds of his Vertues already springing up: Humbly intreating your Lordship to esteem it amongst the *Goods* that descend upon you, and in your due time to read it. I could recommend the Author unto you, not impertinently, for that he had in his veins the bloud of Kings: but I chuse rather to recommend him for his Writings, as having in them profitable instructions for Noble men, and such as may come to have the managing of great and weighty actions. For I may confidently say, that notwithstanding the excellent both Examples and Precepts of Heroick Vertue you have at home, this Book will confer not a little to your institution; especially when you come to the Years to frame your life by your own Observation. For in *History* Actions of Honour and Dishonour do appear plainly and distinctly which are which; but in the present Age they are so disguised, that few there be,

The Epistle Dedicatory.

and those very careful, that be not grossly mistaken in them. But this (I doubt not) is superfluously spoken by me to your Lordship: Therefore I end with this Prayer, That it will please God to give you Vertues suitable to the fair dwelling he hath prepared for them, and the happiness that such Vertues lead unto, both in and after this World.

Your Lordships most

Anno Dom.
1634.

humble Servant,

THO. HOBBS.

TO

TO THE READERS.



Though this Translation have already past the Censure of some, whose Judgments I very much esteem; yet, because there is something, I know not what, in the censure of a Multitude, more terrible than any single Judgment, how severe or exact soever, I have thought it discretion in all men that have to do with so many, and to me in my want of perfection, necessary, to bespeak your Candor. Which that I may upon the better reason hope for, I am willing to acquaint you briefly, upon what grounds I undertook this Work at first; and have since, by publishing it, put my self upon the hazard of your censure with so small hope of glory, as from a thing of this nature can be expected. For I know that meer Translations have in them this property, that they may much disgrace, if not well done; but if well, not much commend the Doer.

*It hath been noted by divers, that Homer in Poësie, Aristotle in Philosophy, Demosthenes in Eloquence, and others of the Ancients, in other knowledge, do still maintain their Primacy, none of them exceeded, some not approached by any in these later Ages. And in the number of these is justly ranked also our Thucydides; a Workman no less perfect in his Work than any of the former; and in whom (I believe with many others) the faculty of writing History is at the highest. For the principal and proper Work of History being to instruct, and enable men by the knowledge of Actions Past, to bear themselves prudently in the Present, and providently towards the Future, there is not extant any other (meerly humane) that doth more fully and naturally perform it, than this of my Author. It is true, that there be many excellent and profitable Histories written since; and in some of them, there be inserted very wise Discourses both of Manners and Policy: But being Discourses inserted, and not of the contexture of the Narration, they indeed commend the knowledge of the Writer, but not the History it self; the nature whereof is meerly narrative. In others, there be subtile conjectures at the secret aims and inward cogitations of such as fall under their Pen; which is also none of the least Vertues in a History, where the conjecture is thoroughly grounded, not forced to serve the purpose of the Writer, in adorning his stile, or manifesting his subtilty in conjecturing. But these conjectures cannot often be certain, unless
withall*

To the Readers.

withall so evident, that the narration it self may be sufficient to suggest the same also to the Reader. But Thucydides is one, who, though he never digress to read a Lecture, Moral or Political, upon his own Text, nor enter into mens hearts, further then the Actions themselves evidently guide him, is yet accounted the most Politick Historiographer that ever writ. The reason whereof I take to be this: He filleth his Narrations with that choice of matter, and ordereth them with that Judgment, and with such perspicuity and efficacy expresseth himself, that (as Plutarch saith) he maketh his Auditor a Spectator. For he setteth his Reader in the Assemblies of the People, and in the Senates, at their debating; in the Streets, at their Seditions; and in the Field, at their Battels. So that look how much a man of understanding, might have added to his experience, if he had then lived, a beholder of their proceedings, and familiar with the men, and business of the time; so much almost may be profit now, by attentive reading of the same here written. He may from the narrations draw out lessons to himself, and of himself be able to trace the Drifts and Counsels of the Actors to their Seat.

These Vertues of my Author did so take my affection, that they begat in me a desire to communicate him further, which was the first occasion that moved me to translate him. For it is an error we easily fall into, to believe that whatsoever pleaseth us, will be in like manner and degree acceptable to all; and to esteem of one anothers judgment, as we agree in the liking or dislike of the same things. And in this error peradventure was I, when I thought that as many of the more Judicious as I should communicate him to, would affect him as much as I my self did. I considered also that he was exceedingly esteemed of the Italians and French in their own Tongues, notwithstanding that he be not very much beholding for it to his Interpreters. Of whom (to speak no more then becomes a Candidate of your good opinion in the same kind) I may say this, That whereas the Author himself so carrieth with him his own light throughout, that the Reader may continually see his way before him; and by that which goeth before, expect what is to follow; I found it not so in them. The cause whereof, and their excuse may be this: They followed the Latine of Laurentius Valla, which was not without some errors, and he a Greek Copy, not so correct as now is extant. Out of French he was done into English, (for I need not dissemble to have seen him in English) in the time of King EDWARD VI. but so, as by multiplication of error, he became at length traduced, rather then translated into our Language. Hereupon I resolved to take him immediately from the Greek, according to the Edition of Æmiliius Porta; not refusing or neglecting any Version, Comment, or other help I could come by.

Know-

To the Readers.

Knowing that when with Diligence and Leisure I should have done it, though some error might remain, yet they would be errors but of one descent; of which nevertheless I can discover none, and hope they be not many. After I had finished it, it lay long by me, and other reasons taking place, my desire to communicate it ceased.

For I saw that for the greatest part, men came to the reading of History, with an affection much like that of the People in Rome, who came to the Spectacle of the Gladiators, with more delight to behold their blood, than their Skill in Fencing. For they be far more in number that love to read of great Armies, bloody Battels, and many thousands slain at once, than that mind the Art by which the Affairs both of Armies and Cities be conducted to their ends. I observed likewise that there were not many whose ears were well accustomed to the names of the places they shall meet with in this History; without the knowledge whereof, it can neither patiently be read over, perfectly understood, nor easily remembred; especially being many, as here it falleth out; because in that Age almost every City both in Greece and Sicily, the two main Scenes of this War, was a distinct Commonwealth by it self, and a Party in the Quarrel.

Nevertheless I have thought since that the former of these considerations ought not to be of any weight at all to him that can content himself with the few and better sort of Readers; who, as they onely judge, so is their approbation onely considerable. And for the difficulty arising from the ignorance of places, I thought it not so insuperable, but that with convenient Pictures of the Countries it might be removed. To which purpose I saw there would be necessary especially two, a general Map of Greece, and a general Map of Sicily. The latter of these I found already extant, exactly done by Philip Cluverius; which I have caused to be cut, and you have it at the beginning of the Sixth Book. But for Maps of Greece, sufficient for this purpose, I could light on none. For neither are the Tables of Ptolomy, and Descriptions of those that follow him, accommodate to the time of Thucydides; and therefore few of the Places by him mentioned, therein described; nor are those that be, agreeing always with the truth of History. Wherefore I was constrained to draw one (as well as I could) my self. Which to do, I was to rely, for the main Figure of the Countrey, on the Modern Description now in Reputation; and in that to set down those Places especially (as many as the Volume was capable of) which occur in the reading of this Author, and to assign them that situation, which, by Travel in Strabo, Pausanias, Herodotus, and some other good Authors, I saw belonged unto them. And to shew you that I have not plaid the Mountebank in it, putting down exactly some few of the Principal, and the rest at
adven-

To the Readers.

adventure, without care, and without reason, I have joyned with the Map an Index that pointeth to the Authors which will justifie me, where I differ from others.

With these Maps, and those few brief Notes in the Margin, upon such Passages as I thought most required them, I supposed the History might be read with very much benefit, by all men of good Judgment and Education, (for whom also it was intended from the beginning by Thucydides) and have therefore at length made my Labour publick, not without hope to have it accepted. Which if I obtain, though no otherwise then in Virtue of the Authors matter, it is sufficient.

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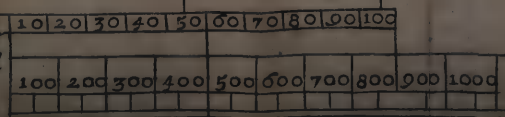
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The MAPP of
Antient Greece
Expressing especially
the Places mentioned
in THUCYDIDES.
by THO. HOBBS



OF THE

Life and History

OF

THUCYDIDES.



WE read of divers men that bear the name of *Thucydides*. There is *Thucydides* a *Pharsalian*, mentioned in the Eighth Book of this History ; who was publick Holte of the *Athenians*, in *Pharsalus*, and chancing to be at *Athens*, at the time that the Government of the Four hundred began to go down, by his interposition, and perswasion, kept asunder the *Factions* then arming themselves, that they fought not in the City to the ruine of the Common-wealth. There is *Thucydides* the Son of *Milesias*, an *Athenian*, of the Town of *Alope*, of whom *Plutarch* speaketh in the Life of *Pericles* ; and the same in all probability, that in the First Book of this History, is said to have had the charge of Forty Gallies, sent against *Samos*, about Twenty four years before the beginning of this War. Another *Thucydides* the Son of *Ariston*, an *Athenian* also, of the Town of *Acherdus*, was a Poet, though of his Verses there be nothing extant. But *Thucydides* the Writer of this History, an *Athenian* of the Town of *Halimus*, was the Son of *Olorus*, (or *Orolus*) and *Hegeſſpyle*. His Fathers Name is commonly written *Olorus*, though in the Inscription on his Tombe, it was *Orolus*. Howsoever it be written, it is the same that was born by divers of the Kings of *Thrace*, and imposed on him, with respect unto his descent from them. So that though our Author (as *Cicero* saith of him, *Lib. 2. de Oratore*) had never written an History, yet had not his Name not been extant, in regard of his Honour and Nobility. And not only *Plutarch*, in the Life of *Cimon*, but also almost all others that have touched this point, affirm directly that he was descended from the *Thracian* Kings. Adducing this for proof, that he was of the House of *Miltiades*, that famous General of the *Athenians*, against the *Persians* at *Marathon* ; which they also prove by this, that his Tomb was a long time extant amongst the Monuments of that Family. For near unto the Gates of *Athens*, called *Melirides*, there was a place named *Coela*, and in it the Monuments called *Cimoniana*, belonging to the Family of *Miltiades*, in which none, but such as were of that Family, might be buried. And amongst those was the Monument of *Thucydides*, with this Inscription, *Thucydides Oroli Halimusus*. Now *Miltiades* is confessed by all, to have descended from *Olorus*, King of *Thrace*, whose Daughter another *Miltiades*, Grandfather to this, married, and had Children by. And *Miltiades*, that won the memorable victory at *Marathon*, was Heir to goodly Possessions, and Cities in the *Chersonesus* of *Thrace*, over which also he reigned. In *Thrace* lay also the Possessions of *Thucydides* and his wealthy Mines of Gold, as he himself professeth in his Fourth Book. And although those

Of the Life and History

Riches might come to him by a Wife (as is also by some affirmed) which he married in *Scapte-Hyle*, a City of *Thrace*, yet even by that Marriage, it appeareth, that his Affairs had a relation to that Country, and that his Nobility was not there unknown. But in what degree of Kindred *Miltiades* and he approached each other, is not any where made manifest. Some also have conjectured that he was of the House of the *Pisistratides*; the ground of whose Conjecture hath been only this, That he maketh honourable mention of the Government of *Pisistratus*, and his Sons, and extenuateth the Glory of *Harmodius* and *Aristogiton*; proving that the freeing of the State of *Athens* from the Tyranny of the *Pisistratides*, was falsely ascribed to their Fact (which proceeded from private Revenge, in a quarrel of Love) by which the Tyranny ceased not, but grew heavier to the State, till it was at last put down by the *Lacedæmonians*. But this opinion, as it is not so well grounded, so neither is it so well received as the former.

Agreeable to his Nobility, was his Institution in the study of *Eloquence*, and *Philosophy*. For in *Philosophy* he was the Scholar (as also was *Pericles* and *Socrates*) of *Anaxagoras*, whose Opinions, being of a strain above the apprehension of the Vulgar, procured him the estimation of an *Atheist*, which name they bestowed upon all men that thought not as they did, of their ridiculous Religion, and in the end, cost him his life. And *Socrates* after him, for the like causes, under-went the like fortune. It is not therefore much to be regarded, if this other Disciple of his, were by some reputed an *Atheist* too. For though he were none, yet it is not improbable, but by the light of natural reason, he might see enough in the Religion of these Heathens to make him think it vain and superstitious; which was enough to make him an *Atheist* in the opinion of the People. In some places of his History, he noteth the *Æquivocation* of the Oracles; and yet he confirmeth an Assertion of his own, touching the time this War lasted, by the Oracles Prediction. He taxeth *Nicias* for being too punctual in the observation of the Ceremonies of their Religion, when he overthrew himself and his Army, and indeed the whole Dominion, and liberty of his Country by it. Yet he commendeth him in another place for his worshipping of the *Gods*, and faith in that respect, he least of all men deserved to come to so great a degree of Calamity as he did. So that in his Writings our Author appeareth to be, on the one side, not superstitious; on the other side, not an *Atheist*.

In *Rhetorick*, he was the Disciple of *Antiphon*, one (by his description in the Eighth Book of this History) for power of Speech almost a Miracle, and feared by the *People* for his Eloquence. Insomuch as in his latter days he lived retired, but so, as he gave Counsel to, and writ Orations for other men that resorted unto him, to that purpose. It was he that contrived the deposing of the *People*, and the setting up of the Government of the Four hundred. For which also he was put to death, when the *People* again recovered their authority; notwithstanding that he pleaded his own cause, the best of any man to that day.

It need not be doubted, but from such a Master, *Thucydides* was sufficiently qualified, to have become a great Demagogue; and of great authority with the *People*. But it seemeth he had no desire at all to meddle in the Government, because in those times it was impossible for any man to give good and profitable counsel for the Common-wealth, and not incur the displeasure of the *People*. For their opinion was such of their

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own power, and of the facility of atchieving whatsoever action they undertook, that such men only swayed the Assemblies, and were esteemed wise and good Commonwealths-men, as did put them upon the most dangerous and desperate enterprizes. Whereas he that gave them temperate, and discreet advice, was thought a Coward, or not to understand, or else to malign their power. And no marvel; for much prosperity (to which they had now for many years been accustomed) maketh men in love with themselves; and it is hard for any man to love that counsel which maketh him love himself the less. And it holdeth much more in a Multitude, than in one Man; for a man that reasoneth with himself, will not be ashamed to admit of timorous suggestions in his business, that he may the stronglier provide; but in publick deliberations before a Multitude, Fear, (which for the most part adviseth well, though it execute not so) seldom or never sheweth it self, or is admitted. By this means it came to pass amongst the *Athenians*, who thought they were able to do any thing, that wicked men and flatterers drave them headlong into those actions that were to ruine them; and the good men either durst not oppose, or if they did, undid themselves. *Thucydides* therefore, that he might not be either of them that committed, or of them that suffered evil, forbore to come into the Assemblies, and propounded to himself a private life as far as the eminency of so wealthy a person, and the writing of the History he had undertaken, would permit.

For his opinion touching the government of the State, it is manifest that he least of all liked the *Democracy*. And upon divers occasions he noteth the emulation and contention of the Demagogues, for reputation, and glory of wit; with their crossing of each others counsels to the damage of of the Publick; the inconstancy of Resolutions, caused by the diversity of ends, and power of Rhetorick in the Orators; and the desperate actions undertaken upon the flattering advice of such as desired to attain, or to hold what they had attained of authority and sway amongst the Common people. Nor doth it appear, that he magnifieth any where the authority of the *Few*; amongst whom he saith every one desireth to be chief, and they that are undervalued, bear it with less patience than in a *Democracy*; whereupon sedition followeth, and dissolution of the Government. He praiseth the Government of *Athens*, when it was mixt of the *Few* and the *Many*; but more he commendeth it, both when *Pisistratus* reigned (saying that it was an usurped Power) and when in the beginning of this War, it was *Democratical* in name, but in effect *Monarchical* under *Pericles*. So that it seemeth that as he was of Regal descent, so he best approved of the *Regal Government*. It is therefore no marvel, if he meddled as little as he could in the business of the Commonwealth, but gave himself rather to the observation and recording of what was done by those that had the managing thereof. Which also he was no less prompt, diligent, and faithful by the disposition of his mind, than by his fortune, dignity, and wisdom, able to accomplish. How he was disposed to a work of this nature, may be understood by this, that when being a young man he heard *Herodotus* the Historiographer reciting his history in publick, (for such was the fashion both of that, and many Ages after) he felt so great a sting of emulation, that it drew tears from him, inasmuch as *Herodotus* himself took notice how violently his mind was set on Letters, and told his Father *Olorus*. When the *Peloponnesian* War began to break out, he conjectured truly, that it would prove an Argument worthy

Of the Life and History

his labour : and no sooner it began, than he began his History ; pursuing the same, not in that perfect manner, in which we see it now, but by way of Commentary, or plain Register of the Actions and Passages thereof, as from time to time they fell out, and came to his knowledge. But such a Commentary it was, as might perhaps deserve to be preferred before a History written by another. For it is very probable that the Eighth Book is left the same it was when he first writ it, neither beautified with *Orations*, nor so well Cemented at the *Transitions*, as the former Seven Books are. And though he began to write as soon as ever the War was on foot, yet began he not to perfect and polish his History, till after he was banished.

For notwithstanding his retired life upon the Coast of *Thrace*, where his own Possessions lay, he could not avoid a service of the State, which proved to him afterwards very unfortunate. For whilst he resided in the Isle *Thasus*, it fell out that *Brasidas* the *Lacedæmonian*, besieged *Amphipolis*, a City belonging to the *Athenians*, on the Confines of *Thrace*, and *Macedony*, distant from *Thasus* about half a days sayl. To relieve which, the Captain thereof for the *Athenians*, sent to *Thucydides*, to levy a Power, and make haste unto him, (for *Thucydides* was one of the *Strategi*, that is, had authority to raise Forces in those parts, for the service of the Commonwealth.) And he did accordingly. But he came thither one night too late, and found the City already yielded up. And for this he was afterwards banished, as if he had let slip his time through negligence, or purposely put it off, upon fear of the Enemy. Nevertheless he put himself into the City of *Eion*, and preserved it to the *Athenians*, with the repulse of *Brasidas*, which came down from *Amphipolis*, the next morning, and assaulted it. The Author of his banishment is supposed to have been *Cleon*, a most violent Sycophant in those times, and thereby also a most acceptable Speaker amongst the people. For where affairs succeed amiss, though there want neither providence, nor courage in the Conduction, yet with those that judge only upon events, the way to Calumny is always open, and *Envy*, in the likeness of *Zeal* to the publick good, easily findeth credit for an accusation.

After his Banishment he lived in *Scapte-Hyle*, a City of *Thrace*, before mentioned, as *Plutarch* writeth ; but yet so as he went abroad, and was present at the Actions of the rest of the War, as appeareth by his own words in his Fifth Book. Where he saith, that he was present at the Actions of both parts, and no less at those of the *Peloponnesians*, by reason of his exile, than those of the *Athenians*. During this time also he perfected his History, so far as is now to be seen ; nor doth it appear that after his exile he ever again enjoyed his Country. It is not clear in any Author, where, or when, or in what year of his own Age, he died. Most agree that he died in Banishment ; yet there be that have written, that after the defeat in *Sicily*, the *Athenians* decreed a general revocation of all banished persons, except those of the Family of *Pisistratus* ; and that he then returned, and was afterwards put to death at *Athens*. But this is very unlikely to be true, unless by *after* the defeat in *Sicily*, be meant *so long after*, that it was also after the end of the *Peloponnesian* War, because *Thucydides* himself maketh no mention of such return, though he out-lived the whole War, as is manifest by his words in the Fifth Book. For he saith he lived in banishment twenty years after his charge at *Amphipolis* ; which hapned in the eighth year of this war, which in the whole lasted but twenty seven years compleat.

And

of THUCYDIDES.

And in another place he maketh mention of the razing of the *Long-walls* between *Pieræus* and the City ; which was the last stroke of this War. They that say he died at *Athens*, take their conjecture from his Monument which was there. But this is not a sufficient Argument ; for he might be buried there secretly, (as some have written he was) though he died abroad ; or his Monument might be there, and (as others have affirmed) he not buried in it. In this variety of conjecture there is nothing more probable than that which is written by *Pausanias*, where he describeth the Monuments of the *Athenian* City, and saith thus. *The worthy Act of Oenobius, in the behalf of Thucydides, is not without honour* (meaning that he had a Statue.) *For Oenobius obtained to have a Decree passed for his return ; who returning was slain by treachery, and his Sepulchre is near the Gates called Melirides.* He died, as saith *Marcellinus*, after the seven and fiftieth year of his Age. And if it be true that is written by *A. Gellius*, of the Ages of *Hellanicus*, *Herodotus*, and *Thucydides*, then died he not before the sixty eighth year. For if he were forty when the War began, and lived (as he did certainly) to see it ended, he might be more when he died, but not less than sixty eight years of Age. What Children he left is not manifest. *Plato* in *Menone* maketh mention of *Milesias* and *Stephanus*, Sons of a *Thucydides*, of a very Noble Family ; but it is clear that they were of *Thucydides*, the Rival of *Pericles*, both by the name *Milesias* ; and because this *Thucydides* also was of the Family of *Miltiades*, as *Plutarch* testifieth in the Life of *Cimon*. That he had a Son, is affirmed by *Marcellinus*, out of the authority of *Polemon*, but of his name there is no mention, save that a learned man readeth there, in the place of *θεός...* (which is in the imperfect Copy) *Timotheus*. Thus much of the Person of *Thucydides*.

Now for his Writings, two things are to be considered in them, *Truth*, and *Elocution*. For in *Truth* consisteth the *Soul*, and in *Elocution* the *Body* of History. The latter without the former, is but a picture of History, and the former without the latter, unapt to instruct. But let us see how our Author hath acquitted himself in both. For the Faith of this History, I shall have the less to say, in respect that no man hath ever yet called it into question. Nor indeed could any man justly doubt of the truth of that Writer, in whom they had nothing at all to suspect of those things that could have caused him either voluntarily to lie, or ignorantly to deliver an untruth. He overtasked not himself by undertaking an History of things done long before his time, and of which he was not able to inform himself. He was a man that had as much means, in regard both of his dignity and wealth, to find the truth of what he relateth, as was needful for a man to have. He used as much diligence in search of the truth, (noting every thing whilst it was fresh in memory, and laying out his wealth upon intelligence,) as was possible for a man to use. He affected least of any man the acclamations of Popular Auditories, and wrote not his History to win present applause, as was the use of that Age, but for a Monument to instruct the Ages to come, Which he professeth himself, and Entitleth his Book *Κτήμα ἐς αἰῶνα*, *A Possession for everlasting*. He was far from the necessity of servile Writers, either to fear or flatter. And whereas he may peradventure be thought to have been malevolent towards his Country, because they deserved to have him so, yet hath he not written any thing that discovereth any such passion, Nor is there any thing written of them that tendeth to their dishonour, as *Athenians*, but only as *People* ; and that by the

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the necessity of the narration, not by any sought digression. So that no word of his, but their own actions do sometimes reproach them. In sum, if the truth of a History did ever appear by the manner of relating, it doth so in this History; So coherent, perspicuous, and perswasive is the whole Narration, and every part thereof.

In the *Eloquution* also; Two things are considerable, *Disposition* or *Method*, and *Stile*. Of the *Disposition* here used by *Thucydides*, it will be sufficient in this place briefly to observe only this: That in his First Book, first he hath by way of *Exordium* derived the State of Greece from the Cradle to the vigorous stature it then was at when he began to write; and next, declared the causes, both *real* and *pretended*, of the War he was to write of; In the rest, in which he handleth the War it self, he followeth distinctly and purely the order of time throughout; relating what came to pass from year to year, and subdividing each year into a Summer and Winter. The grounds and motives of every action he setteth down before the action it self, either Narratively, or else contriveth them into the form of *Deliberative Orations*, in the persons of such as from time to time bare sway in the Commonwealth. After the actions, when there is just occasion, he giveth his judgment of them, shewing by what means the success came either to be furthered or hindered. Digressions for instructions cause, and other such open conveyances of Precepts (which is the Philosophers part) he never useth, as having so clearly set before mens eyes the ways and events of good and evil counsels, that the Narration it self doth secretly instruct the Reader, and more effectually than possibly can be done by Precept.

For his *Stile*, I refer it to the judgment of divers antient and competent Judges. *Plutarch* in his Book, *De gloria Atheniensium*, saith of him thus: *Thucydides aimeth always at this, to make his Auditor a Spectator, and to cast his Reader into the same passions that they were in, that were beholders. The manner how Demosthenes arranged the Athenians on the rugged shore before Pylus. How Brasidas urged the Steersman to run his Gally a ground; how he went to the Ladder, or place in the Gally for descent, how he was hurt, and swooned, and fell down on the Ledges of the Gally; how the Spartans fought after the manner of a Land-fight upon the Sea, and the Athenians of a Sea-fight upon Land. Again, in the Sicilian War, how a battel was fought by Sea and Land, with equal fortune. These things, I say, are so described, and so evidently set before our eyes, that the mind of the Reader is no less affected therewith, than if he had been present in the Actions.* There is for his perspicuity. *Cicero* in his Book entituled *Orator*, speaking of the affectation of divers Greek Rhetoricians, saith thus: *And therefore Herodotus and Thucydides are the more admirable. For though they lived in the same Age with those I have before named, (meaning Thrasymachus, Gorgius, and Theodorus) yet were they far from this kind of delicacy, or rather indeed foolery. For the one without rub, gently glideth like a still River, and the other (meaning Thucydides) runs stronglier, and in matter of War, as it were, bloweth a Trumpet of War. And in these two (as saith Theophrastus) History hath romsed her self, and adventured to to speak, both more copiously, and with more ornament than in those that were before them.* This commends the gravity; and the dignity of his Language. Again, in his Second Book, *De Oratore*, thus: *Thucydides in the Art of speaking, hath in my opinion far exceeded them all. For he is so full of matter, that the number of his Sentences doth almost reach to the number of his words; and in his words he is so apt, and so close, that it*

is hard to say, whether his Words do more illustrate his Sentences, or his Sentences his Words. There is for the pithiness and strength of his Stile. Lastly, for the purity, and propriety, I cite *Dionysius Halicarnassensis*, whose testimony is the stronger in this point, because he was a Greek Rhetorician for his faculty, and for his affection, one that would no further commend him, than of necessity he must. His words are these : *There is one vertue in Eloquence, the chiefest of all the rest, and without which there is no other goodness in speech. What is that ? That the Language be pure, and retain the propriety of the Greek Tongue. This they both observe diligently. For Herodotus is the best rule of the Ionique, and Thucydides of the Attique Dialect.* These testimonies are not needful to him that hath read the History it self, nor at all, but that the same *Dionysius* hath taken such pains, and applied so much of his faculty in Rhetorick to the extenuating of the worth thereof; Moreover, I have thought it necessary to take out the principal objections he maketh against him, and without many words of mine own, to leave them to the consideration of the Reader. And first *Dionysius* saith thus: *The principal, and most necessary office of any man that intendeth to write a History, is to chuse a Noble Argument, and grateful to such as shall read it. And this Herodotus, in my opinion, hath done better than Thucydides: For Herodotus hath written the joynt History, both of the Greeks and Barbarians, to save from oblivion, &c. But Thucydides writeth one only War, and that neither honourable, nor fortunate; which principally were to be wished never to have been; and next, never to have been remembred, nor known to Posterity. And that he took an evil Argument in hand, he maketh it manifest in his Proem, saying, That many Cities were in that War made desolate, and utterly destroyed, partly by Barbarians, partly by the Greeks themselves: so many banishments, and so much slaughter of men as never was the like before, &c. So that the hearers will abhor it at the first propounding. Now by how much it is better to write of the wonderful acts both of the Barbarians, and Grecians, than of the pitiful and horrible calamities of the Grecians, so much wiser is Herodotus in the choice of his Argument than Thucydides.*

Now let any man consider whether it be not more reasonable to say; *That the principal, and most necessary of him that will write a History, is to take such an Argument, as is both within his power well to handle, and profitable to Posterity that shall read it. Which Thucydides, in the opinion of all men, hath done better than Herodotus. For Herodotus undertook to write of those things, of which it was impossible for him to know the truth; and which delight more the Ear with fabulous Narrations, than satisfy the mind with truth. But Thucydides writeth one War, which, how it was carried from the beginning to the end, he was able certainly to inform himself. And by propounding in his Proem, the miseries that hapned in the same, he shewed that it was a great War, and worthy to be known, and not to be concealed from Posterity, for the calamities that then fell upon the Grecians; but the rather to be truly delivered unto them, for that men profit more by looking on adverse events, than on prosperity. Therefore by how much mens miseries do better instruct, than their good success, by so much was Thucydides more happy in taking his Argument, then Herodotus was wise in chusing his.*

Dionysius again saith thus: *The next office of him that will write a History, is to know where to begin, and where to end. And in this point Herodotus seemeth to be far more discreet than Thucydides. For in the first place*
he

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he layeth down the cause, for which the Barbarians began to injure the Grecians; and going on, maketh an end at the punishment, and the revenge taken on the Barbarians. But Thucydides begins at the good estate of the Grecians, which being a Grecian, and an Athenian, he ought not to have done; nor ought he, being of that dignity amongst the Athenians, so evidently to have laid the fault of the War upon his own City, when there were other occasions enough to which he might have imputed it. Nor ought he to have begun with the business of the Corcyraeans, but at the more Noble Acts of his Country, which they did immediately after the Persian War, (which afterward in convenient place he mentioneth, but it is but cursorily, and not as he ought.) And when he had declared those, with much affection, as a lover of his Country, then he should have brought in, how that the Lacedaemonians, through envy and fear, but pretending other causes, began the War, and so have descended to the Corcyraean business, and the Decree against the Megareans, or whatsoever else he had to put in. Then in the ending of his History, there be many errors committed. For though he profess he was present in the whole War, and that he would write it all, yet he ends with the Naval battle at Cynossema, which was fought in the twenty first year of the War; whereas it had been better to have gone through with it, and ended his History with that admirable, and grateful return of the banished Athenians from Phile, at which time the City recovered her liberty.

To this I say, That it was the duty of him that had undertaken to write the History of the Peloponnesian War, to begin his Narration no further off, than at the causes of the same, whether the Grecians were then in good, or in evil estate. And if the injury, upon which the War arose, proceeded from the Athenians, then the Writer, though an Athenian, and honoured in his Country, ought to declare the same, and not to seek, nor take, though at hand, any other occasion to transfer the fault. And that the Acts done before the time comprehended in the War he writ of, ought to have been touched but cursorily, and no more than may serve for the enlightning of the History to follow, how Noble soever those Acts have been. Which when he had thus touched, without affection to either side, and not as a lover of his Country, but of truth, then to have proceeded to the rest, with the like indifferency. And to have made an end of writing, where the War ended, which he undertook to write; not producing his History beyond that period, though that which followed were never so admirable and acceptable. All this Thucydides hath observed.

These two criminations, I have therefore set down at large, translated almost *verbatim*, that the judgment of *Dionysius Halicarnassius*, may the better appear, concerning the main and principal vertues of a History. I think there was never written so much absurdity in so few lines. He is contrary to the opinion of all men that ever spake of this subject besides himself, and to common sense. For he makes the scope of History not profit by writing truth, but delight of the hearer, as if it were a Song. And the Argument of History, he would not by any means have to contain the calamities and misery of his Country, (these he would have buried in silence) but only their glorious and splendid actions. Amongst the vertues of an Historiographer, he reckons affection to his Country; study to please the hearer; to write of more than his Argument leads him to; and to conceal all actions that were not to the honour of his Country. Most manifest vices. He was a Rhetorician, and it seemeth he would have nothing written, but that which was most capable of Rhetorical ornament. Yet *Lucian*, a Rhetorician also, in a Treatise, entitled,

ruled, *How a History ought to be written*, saith thus: *That a writer of History, ought in his writings to be a forreigner, without Country, living under his own Law only, subject to no King, nor caring what any man will like, or dislike, but laying out the matter as it is.*

The third fault he finds, is this: That the method of his History is governed by the time, rather than the periods of several actions. For he declares in order what came to pass each Summer, and Winter, and is thereby forced sometimes, to leave the Narration of a siege, or sedition, or a War, or other action, in the midst, and enter into a Relation of somewhat else, done at the same time, in another place, and to come to the former again when the time requires it. This, saith he, causeth confusion in the mind of his hearer, so that he cannot comprehend distinctly the several parts of the History.

Dionysius aimeth still at the delight of the *present* hearer; though *Thucydides* himself professes that his scope is not that, but to leave his work for a *perpetual possession* to posterity. And then have men leisure enough to comprehend him thoroughly. But indeed, whosoever shall read him once attentively, shall more distinctly conceive of every action this way than the other; and the method is more natural; for as much as his purpose being to write of one *Peloponnesian* War, this way he hath incorporated all the parts thereof into one body, so that there is unity in the whole, and the several Narrations are conceived only as parts of that; Whereas the other way, he had but sowed together many little Histories, and left the *Peloponnesian* War (which he took for his subject) in a manner unwritten; for neither any part, nor the whole, could justly have carried such a Title.

Fourthly, he accuseth him for the method of his first Book, in that he deriveth *Greece* from the infancy thereof to his own time; and in that he setteth down the Narration of the quarrels about *Corcyra*, and *Potidaea*, before he entreateth of the true cause of the War, which was the greatness of the *Athenian* Dominion, feared and envied by the *Lacedaemonians*.

For answer to this, I say thus: For the mentioning of the ancient State of *Greece*, he doth it briefly, insisting no longer upon it than is necessary for the well understanding of the following History. For without some general notions of these first times, many places of the History are the less easie to be understood, as depending upon the knowledge of the original of several Cities, and Customs, which could not be all inserted into the History it self, but must be either supposed to be foreknown by the Reader, or else be delivered to him in the beginning, as a necessary Preface. And for his putting first the Narration of the publick and avowed cause of this War, and after that the true and inward motive of the same, the reprehension is absurd. For it is plain that a cause of War, divulged and avowed, how slight soever it be, comes within the task of the Historiographer, no less than the War it self, for without a pretext no War follows. This pretext is always an injury received, or pretended to be received. Whereas the inward motive to hostility is but conjectural, and not of that evidence, that a Historiographer should be always bound to take notice of it; as envy to the greatness of another State, or fear of an injury to come. Now let any man judge, whether a good Writer of History, ought to handle, as the principal cause of War, proclaimed injury, or concealed envy. In a word, the Image of the Method used by *Thucydides* in this point, is this: *The Quarrel*

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about Corcyra, passed on this manner; and the Quarrel about Potidæa, on this manner; (relating both at large) and in both, the Athenians were accused to have done the injury. Nevertheless the Lacedæmonians had not upon this injury entred into a War against them, but that they envied the greatness of their Power, and feared the consequence of their Ambition. I think a more clear, and natural order cannot possibly be devised.

Again he says, that he maketh a Funeral Oration (which was solemnly done on all occasions through the War) for fifteen Horsemen only, that were slain at the Brooks called *Rheiti*; and that for this reason only, that he might make it in the person of *Pericles*, who was then living, but before another the like occasion hapned, was dead.

The manner of the *Athenians* was, that they that were slain the first in any war, should have a solemn Funeral, in the Suburbs of the City. During this War, they had many occasions to put this custom in practise. Seeing therefore it was fit to have that Custom, and the form of it known, and that once for all, the manner being ever the same, it was fittest to relate it on the first occasion, what number soever they were that were then buried; which nevertheless is not likely to have been so few as *Dionysius* saith. For the Funeral was not celebrated till the Winter after they were slain, so that many more were slain before this solemnity, and may all be accounted amongst the first. And that *Pericles* performed the Office of making their Funeral Oration, there is no reason alledged by him why it should be doubted.

Another fault he finds, is this; That he introduceth the *Athenian* Generals in a Dialogue, with the Inhabitants of the Isle of *Melos*, pretending openly, for the cause of their invasion of that Isle, the power and will of the State of *Athens*, and rejecting utterly to enter into any disputation with them concerning the equity of their cause; which he saith, was contrary to the dignity of the State.

To this may be answered; That the Proceeding of these Generals was not unlike to divers other actions, that the people of *Athens* openly took upon them; and therefore it is very likely they were allowed so to proceed. Howsoever, if the *Athenian* People gave in charge to these their Captains, to take in the Island, by all means whatsoever, without power to report back unto them first the equity of the Islanders cause, as is most likely to be true, I see then no reason the Generals had to enter into disputation with them, whether they should perform their charge, or not, but only whether they should do it by fair, or foul means; which is the point treated of in this Dialogue. Other Cavils he hath, touching the matter, and order of this History, but not needful to be answered.

Then for his Phrase, he carpeth at it in infinite places, both for obscure and licentious. He that will see the particular places he reprehendeth, let him read *Dionysius* himself, if he will; for the matter is too tedious for this place. It is true, that there be some Sentences in him, somewhat long, not obscure to one that is attentive; and besides that, they are but few. Yet is this the most important fault he findeth. For the rest, the obscurity that is, proceedeth from the profoundness of the Sentences, containing Contemplations of those humane passions, which either dissembled, or not commonly discoursed of, do yet carry the greatest sway with men in their publick conversation. If then one cannot penetrate into them without much meditation, we are not to expect a man should understand them at the first speaking. *Marcellinus* saith,

faith, he was obscure on purpose, that the Common people might not understand him. And not unlikely ; for a wise man should so write (though in words understood by all men) that wise men only should be able to commend him. But this obscurity is not to be in the Narrations of things done, nor in the descriptions of Places, or of Battels ; in all which *Thucydides* is most perspicuous, as *Plutarch*, in the words before cited, hath testified of him. But in the Characters of mens humours and manners, and applying them to Affairs of consequence, it is impossible not to be obscure to ordinary capacities, in what words soever a man deliver his mind ; If therefore *Thucydides* in his Orations, or in the Description of a Sedition, or other thing of that kind, be not easily understood, it is of those only that cannot penetrate into the nature of such things, and proceedeth not from any intricacy of expression. *Dionysius* further findeth fault with his using to set word against word, which the *Rhetoricians* call *Antitheta*. Which, as it is in some kind of speech, a very great vice, so is it not improper in Characters ; and of comparative discourses, it is almost the only Stile.

And whereas he further taxeth him for licentiousness in turning *Nouns* into *Verbs*, and *Verbs* into *Nouns*, and altering of *Genders*, *Cases*, and *Numbers*, as he doth sometimes for the more efficacy of his Stile, and without *Solecism*, I leave him to the answer of *Marcellinus* ; who says, *That Dionysius findeth fault with this, as being ignorant (yet he was a professed Rhetorician) that this was the most excellent, and perfect kind of speaking.*

Some men may peradventure desire to know, what motive *Dionysius* might have, to extenuate the worth of him, whom he himself acknowledgeth to have been esteemed by all men for the best by far of all Historians that ever writ, and to have been taken by all the Antient Orators, and *Philosophers*, for the measure and rule of writing History. What motive he had to it I know not ; but what glory he might expect by it, is easily known. For having first preferred *Herodotus*, his Countryman, a *Halicarnassian*, before *Thucydides*, who was accounted the best, and then conceiving that his own History might perhaps be thought not inferiour to that of *Herodotus*, by this computation he saw the honour of the best Historiographer falling on himself ; Wherein (in the opinion of all men) he hath misreckoned. And thus much for the objections of *Denis* of *Halicarnasse*.

It is written of *Demosthenes*, the famous Orator, that he wrote over the History of *Thucydides* with his own hand, eight times. So much was this Work esteemed, even for the Eloquence. But yet was this his Eloquence not all fit for the Bar, but proper for History, and rather to be read, than heard. For words that pass away (as in publick Orations they must) without pause, ought to be understood with ease, and are lost else ; though words that remain in writing, for the Reader to meditate on, ought rather to be pithy, and full. *Cicero* therefore doth justly set him apart from the rank of Pleaders, but withal, he continually giveth him his due for History, *Lib. 2. De Oratore*. *What great Rhetorician ever borrowed any thing of Thucydides ? Yet all men praise him, I confess it, as a wise, severe, grave Relator of things done. Nor for a Pleader of Causes at the Bar, but a Reporter of War in History. So that he was never reckoned an Orator, nor if he had never written a History, had his name therefore not been extant, being a man of Honour and Nobility. Yet, none of them imitate the gravity of his Words and Sentences ; but when they*

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have uttered a kind of lame and disjoynted stuff, they presently think themselves Brothers of Thucydides. Again, in his Book, *De optimo Oratore*, he saith thus: But here will stand up Thucydides; For his Eloquence is by some admired; and justly. But this is nothing to the Orator we seek; for it is onething to unfold a matter by way of Narration; another thing to accuse a man, or clear him by Arguments. And in Narrations, one thing to stay the Hearer; another to stir him. Lucian, in his Book entituled, *How a History ought to be written*, doth continually exemplifie the vertues which he requires in an Historiographer by Thucydides. And if a man consider well that whole Discourse of his, he shall plainly perceive, that the Image of this present History, præconceived in Lucians mind, suggested unto him all the Precepts he there delivereth. Lastly, hear the most true and proper commendation of him, from Justus Lipsius, in his Notes to his Book, *De Doctrina Civili*, in these words: Thucydides, who hath written, not many, nor very great matters, hath perhaps yet won the Garland from all that have written of matters, both many and great. Every where for Elocution grave; short and thick with sense; sound in his judgments; every where secretly instructing, and directing a mans life and actions. In his Orations and Excursions almost Divine. Whom the oftner you read, the more you shall carry away, yet never be dismissed without appetite. Next to him is Polybius, &c. And thus much concerning the Life and History of Thucydides.

The

The names of the places of Greece, occurring in Thucydides, or in the Map of Greece, briefly noted out of divers Authors, for the better manifesting of their situation, and enlightning of the History.

A



Bas, a City of the *Locrians* of *Opus*, confining on *Hiampolis*, which is a City of *Phocis*. *Pausanias* in *Phocicis*.

Abdera, a City situate next beyond the River *Nestus*, towards the East, *Strab. Epitome lib. 7.* *Nestus* a River of the Territory of *Abdera*. *Herodotus, lib. 7.*

Abydus, a City on the entrance of *Hellespont*, between *Lampsacus* and *Ilium*, equally distant from both. In sight of *Ilium*, and is distant from the mouth of the River *Æsepus* by Sea 700 furlongs. *Strab. lib. 13.*

Acanthus, a City near to the *Isthmus* of Mount *Athos*, and (as in the *Epitome* of *Straboes* seventh Book) in the Bay of *Singus*. But it appeareth by *Herodotus* in his seventh Book, that it lieth on the other side, in the Bay of *Strymon*; where he saith, that the *Isthmus* of Mount *Athos* is of twelve furlongs length, and reacheth from *Acanthus* to the Sea that lieth before *Torone*. And in another place of the same Book he saith, that the Fleet of *Xerxes* sailed through the Ditch (which *Xerxes* had caused to be made through the said *Isthmus*) from *Acanthus*, into the Bay, in which are these Cities, *Singus*, &c.

Arcanania, a Region in Greece, divided from *Epirus* by the Bay of *Ambracia*. *Pol. lib. 4.* it reacheth from *Ambracia* to the River *Achelous*; and is divided from the *Ætolians* by *Achelous*. *Strab. lib. 10.*

Achaum, a City of *Troas*, opposite to the Isle *Tenedos*, *Strab. lib. 13.*

Achaia, a Region of *Peloponnesus*, confining on *Elis*, *Arcadia*, and *Sicyonia*, bounded on one side with *Elis*, at the Promontory of *Araxus*, and on the other side with the Territory of *Sicyon*. *Strab. lib. 8.* It hath in it twelve Cities in this order, beginning at

that part which confineth on *Sicyonia*. *Pelene*, *Ægra*, *Ægia*, *Bura*, *Helice*, *Ægium*, *Rhy- pes*, *Patra*, *Pharæ*, *Olenus*, *Dyme*, *Tritæa*. *Herodotus lib. 1.* *Strab. lib. 9.* It is also a part of *Thessaly*, in which are the *Phthiotæ*. *Herod. lib. 7.* *Strab. lib. 9.*

Acharna, a Town of *Attica*, distant from *Athens* about sixty Furlongs; *Thucyd. lib. 2.* and lieth toward the North of it, as may be collected out of the Narration of the journey of *Archidamus* with his Army, in the same Book.

Achelous, a River that riseth in the Mountain *Pindus*, and running through the Territories of *Agræis*, and *Amphilochia*, and by the City of *Stratus*, divideth the Maritime parts of *Acarnania* from *Ætolia*, *Strabo lib. 10.* *Achelous* riseth in *Pindus*, and runneth through *Dolopia*, *Agræis*, *Amphilochia*, by the City of *Stratus*, and by the City *Oenias* into the Sea. *Thucyd. lib. 2.* in the latter end.

Acheron, -- } *Acherusia* is a Lake which
Acherusia, { issueth into the Sea, near unto *Cheimærium*, a Promontory of *Thesprotis*, and into this Lake falleth the River *Acheron*. *Thucyd. lib. 1.* *Acheron* cometh out of the Lake *Acherusia*, into the Haven *Glycys*. *Strab. lib. 7.* *Acheron* cometh out of *Molossis*, and falleth into the Lake *Acherusia*, which *Livy* calleth the Bay of *Thesprotis*, *Livy, lib. 8.*

Acrae, a City of *Laconia*; between it and *Githyum* the River *Eurotas* goeth out into the Sea. *Strabo lib. 8.* From *Helos*, which is at the mouth of *Eurotas*, it is thirty Furlongs distant, and from the Promontory of *Tenarus* two hundred thirty Furlongs. *Pausan. in Laconicis.*

Acritas, A Promontory joyning to the Territory of *Methone*, and is the beginning of the Bay of *Messenia*. *Strabo. lib. 8.*

Acrothoi,

Acrothoi, — } *Acrothoi* are the People
Acrothos prom. } of a City in the Territo-
Acrothoon. — } ry of *Aëte*, in which *Aëte*
 is the Mountain *Athos*. *Thucyd.* lib. 4. *Acro-*
thos is a Promontory of Mount *Athos*, to-
 wards the Bay of *Strymon*. And *Acrothoon*
 a City in the same. *Herodotus* lib. 7. Instead
 of this *Acrothos* and *Acrothoon*, *Ptolomy*
 hath *Athosa*, a City and Promontory. *Acro-*
ton, a Town on the top of Mount *Athos*.
Pliny, lib. 4.

Aëte is that Territory wherein standeth
 the Mountain *Athos*, disjoyned from the
 Continent by a Ditch made by the King of
Persia, and hath in it these Cities, *Sane*, *Di-*
on, *Thyffus*, *Cleona*, *Acrothoi*, *Olophyxus*. *Thu-*
cyd. lib. 4.

Actium, a Temple of *Apollo*, upon the
 shore. It is situate where the Bay of *Am-*
bractu is narrowest. *Polybius*, lib. 4. In the
 mouth of the Bay of *Ambracia*, not far from
Anactorium. *Strab.* lib. 10.

Adramyttium } The Bay of *Adramyttium*
 & *sinus A-* (taken in the greatest ex-
dramyttenus, -) Stent) beginneth at the
 Promontory of *Leçtus*, and endeth at the
 Promontory of *Cane*, which is opposite to
Malea of *Lesbos*. And the Bay of *Adramyt-*
tium (properly so called) beginneth at the
 Promontory of *Gargara*, and endeth at the
 Promontory of *Pyrrha*. And the City of
Adramyttium is within the Promontory of
Pyrrha. *Strabo* lib. 13.

Ædepsa, a City of *Eubœa*, over against
Opus, a City of the *Locrians*, *Strab.* lib. 9.

Ædessa, a City of *Macedonia*, in the way
 called by *Strabo*, *Ignatia*, from *Apollonia* and
Dyrrachium (or *Epidamnus*) to *Theffalonica*
 (or *Therme*), and lieth between *Theffalo-*
nica and the *Eordians*. *Strab.* lib. 7.

Ægæ, a City of *Eubœa*, opposite to the
 mouth of the River *Cephissus*. *Strab.* lib. 9.
 It is also the name of a City of *Achaia* in
Peloponnesus, between *Helice* and *Bura*. *He-*
rodotus, lib. 1. *Pausan.* in *Achaicis*. It is the
 name also of another City in *Æolia*, lying
 up from the Sea behind the Territory of
Cyme. *Strab.* lib. 13.

Ægina, an Island over against *Epidaurus*,
 in the *Saronian* Bay. *Strabo* lib. 8. *Pausan.*
 in *Cor.*

Ægyræ, a City of *Achaia*, between *Pelle-*
ne and *Ægæ*. *Herod.* lib. 1. *Strab.* lib. 9. *Op-*

posite to *Parnassus*. *Polyb.* lib. 4. Also a City
 of *Lesbos*, where the Island is narrowest
 between the Bay of *Pyrrha*, and the other
 Sea. *Strab.* lib. 13.

Ægitium, a Town in *Ætolia*, amongst
 the Hills, 80 furlongs distant from the Sea.
Thucyd. lib. 3.

Ægium, a City of *Achaia*, between *He-*
lice and *Rhypes*. *Herodot.* lib. 1. *Strab.* lib. 9.
 distant from *Patræ* 160 Furlongs. *Pausan.* in
Achaicis.

Ægos potamos, a River in the *Thracian*
Chersonnesus distant from *Sestos* 15. furlongs.
Xenophon. *Græcorum* 2.

Æmathia, a Region of *Macedonia*, placed
 by *Ptolomy* between *Theffaly* and the River
Axius.

Æmus, a Mountain of *Thrace*, which di-
 videth it almost in the midst, and reacheth
 from the *Pannonian* Mountains to *Pontus*
Euxinus. *Strab.* lib. 7.

Ænia, a City in the Bay of *Therme*, last
 in order from *Potidæa* towards *Therme*. *He-*
rodotus lib. 7. It is distant from *Theffalonica*,
 (which is the same with *Therme*) 120 Fur-
 longs, and opposite to *Pydnæ*. *Livy* lib. 44.
 in the beginning.

Ænus, a City between the River *Hebrus*
 and the Bay of *Melas* (i.e. the *Black Bay*)
Herod. lib. 7. *Appian.* lib. 4. *Civilium*.

Ænians, a Greek Nation, inhabiting in
 Mount *Ocia*, part of them above the *Æto-*
lians, (that is, so as the *Ætolians* are be-
 tween them and the Sea.) They border on
 the *Locri Epicnemides*, in such manner, as
 the *Ætolians* do on the *Locri Ozolæ*. *Strab.*
 lib. 9, 10.

Æolis, a Greek Nation inhabiting by the
 Sea-side in *Asia* from the Promontory of *Le-*
çtus to the River *Hermus*. *Strabo* lib. 13.

Æsepus, a River in *Troas*, rising out of
 Mount *Ida*, falling into *Propontis*, in that
 part which is nearest to *Zeleia*, about seven
 hundred furlongs from *Abydus* by Sea. *Strab.*
 lib. 13.

Æthea, a City of *Laconia*, not far from
Thurium, as may be gathered out of *Thucyd.*
 lib. 1.

Ætolia, a Region divided from the *Acar-*
nanians, on the parts toward the Sea, by the
 River *Achelous*; confining on the East,
 with the *Locrians* called *Ozolæ*. On the
 North it hath the *Athamanes*, and part of
 the

the *Ænians*. *Strab. lib. 10. Ætolia, Locris, Phocis*, and *Bœotia* are divided from each other by parallel lines, drawn from the West Northwards. *Idem. lib. 9.*

Agora, a City near to the *Thracian Chersonesus*. They that go to it from *Sestus*, leave *Cardia* on the left hand. *Herod. lib. 7.* where he describeth the way of the *Persian Army*.

Agræis, a Region North of *Acarmania*. The River *Achelous* rising out of the Mountain *Pindus*, passeth first through *Dolopia*, then through *Agræis*, and lastly, through *Acarmania*, by the City of *Stratus*, and the City of *Oeneias*, into the Sea. *Strabo lib. 10. Thucyd. lib. 3.* in the latter end.

Agrianes, a Nation dwelling at the head of the River *Strymon*, in the Mountain *Rhodope*. *Strab. in the Epitome of the end of his Seventh Book. Thucydides in his Second Book*, seemeth to place them also thereabouts.

Alalcomene, a City of *Macedonia* by the River *Erigon*. *Strabo lib. 7.* Also a City of *Bœotia*, near the Lake *Copais*.

Aliacmon, a River of *Macedonia*. It riseth out of the Mountains called *Canaluvii*, according to *Ptolomy*: *Livy* hath *Elymæa*, a City by the River *Aliacmon*, near the Mountains which he calleth *Cambunii*, which are likely to be the same, *Livy lib. 42.* It mixeth waters with *Lydius*, the confluent of which two Rivers divide *Bottia* from *Macedonia*. *Herod. lib. 7.*

Almopia, a Region of *Macedonia*, of whose situation I find nothing, but in *Ptolomies Tables*, who putteth it between 46 and 47 Degrees of Longitude, and between 41 and 42 of Latitude. *Ptolomy* in his tenth Table of *Europe*.

Aloneus, A little Island lying before *Magnesia* of *Thessaly*. *Strab. lib. 9.* Also a City in the *Chersonesus* of *Erythræa*, between *Cassius* and the Promontory *Argenum*. *Strab. lib. 14.*

Alope, a City of the *Locri Epicnemides*, distant from *Elatea* of *Phocis* 120 Furlongs, from *Cynus* the Haven of the *Opuntians*, 90 Furlongs. *Strab. lib. 9.*

Alpheus, a River of *Peloponnesus*, rising in the Territory of *Megalopolis*, near unto the Springs of *Enrotas*, *Strab. lib. 8.* divideth

Laconia from *Megalopolis*, and from *Tegea*. *Pausanias in Arcadicis.* It runs by *Heræa*. *Idem ibidem.* and *Polybius, lib. 4.* It goeth out into the Sea near *Olympia*. *Strab. lib. 8.* *Pausanias* saith it goeth out above *Cyllene*, the Haven of the *Eleans*; but it is contrary to all other, both ancient and modern Geographers.

Alyzea, a City on the Sea-coast of *Acarmania*, between the City *Palyre*, and the Promontory *Crithota*. *Strab. lib. 10.*

Ambracia, } *Ambracia* is a City in the
 & sinus } bottom of the *Ambracian*
Ambracius, } Bay, upon the River *A-*
 raethus, a little remote from the Sea. *Strab.*
lib. 7. The *Ambracian Bay* divideth *Epirus*
from *Acarmania*, *Polyb. lib. 4.*

Amorgos, an Island, one of the *Sporades*. *Strab. lib. 10.*

Ampelus, a Promontory of *Torone*. *Herod. lib. 7.*

Amphilochia, a Region lying North of *Acarmania*, South of *Dolopia*, through it runneth the River *Achelous*, *Strab. lib. 10.*

Amphipolis, Called formerly the *Nine-waves*, a City situate on the River *Strymon*, the River running on both sides it; 25 furlongs from *Eion*. *Herod. lib. 7. Thucyd. lib. 4.*

Amphissa, a City of the *Locrians* called *Ozola*, confining on the Territory of *Crisfa*. *Herodot. lib. 8. Strab. lib. 9.* Distant from *Delpki* one hundred and twenty furlongs. *Pausan. in Phocicis.*

Amycle, a City of *Laconia*, twenty furlongs from *Sparta* towards the Sea. *Pol. lib. 4.*

Anactonium, a City of *Acarmania*, within the Gulf of *Ambracia*, forty furlongs from *Actium*. *Strab. lib. 10.* in the mouth of the *Ambracian Bay*. *Thucyd. lib. 1.*

Anæa, a City in *Asia*, by the Sea-side over against the Isle *Samos*. *Thucydides lib. 4.*

Anapus, a River of *Acarmania*, mentioned by *Thucydides, lib. 2.* it should seem by the History, that it runneth between *Stratus* and *Oeneias*. *Livy* mentioneth a River thereabout, also called *Peletarus. lib. 43.* it may be it is the same.

Anaphe, an Island not far from *Thera*. *Strab. lib. 10.*

Andania, a City of *Messenia*, on the confines of *Arcadia*. *Pausan. in Messen.*

Andros,

Andros, an Island, one of the *Cyclades*, *Strab. lib. 10. vide Cyclades.*

Antandrus, a City of *Troas*. *Herod. lib. 5.* in the Bay of *Adramyttium*, (properly so called.) *Strab. lib. 13.* under Mount *Ida*. *Thucyd. lib. 3.*

Anthedon, a City of *Bœotia*, on the shore opposite to *Eubœa*, the utmost on that shore towards *Locris*. *Strab. lib. 9.*

Anthemus, a Territory in *Macedonia*, not far from *Grestonia*, as may be gathered out of *Thucyd. lib. 2.*

Athens, a City of the Territory of *Cynuria*. *Thucyd. lib. 5.* at the foot of the Hill *Parnethus*. *Paus. in Corinthiacis.*

Anticyra, a City of *Phocis* upon the Sea-side, next after *Crissa* towards *Bœotia*. *Strab. lib. 9.* Also a City of the *Melians* upon the River *Sperchius*. *Idem.*

Antirrhium, which is called also *Rhium Molychricum*, is that Promontory which with the opposite Promontory of *Achaia*, called *Rhium*, comprehendeth the streight of the *Crissæan* (or *Corinthian*) Bay, of five furlongs breadth. *Strab. lib. 8.* It is near to the City *Molycria*. *Strab. lib. 9.* and to the East of it. *Idem. lib. 10.*

Antissa, a City of *Lesbos*, between the Promontory of *Sigrium*, and the City *Me-thymna*. *Strab. lib. 13.*

Antitanes, a Nation whom *Strabo* calleth *Atintanes*, and placeth in the Mountains of *Epirus*. *Strab. lib. 7.* *Appianus* hath also *Atintanes*, and *Livy*, *lib. 45.* maketh them as an addition to the fourth part of *Macedonia*, in the division of that Kingdom by *Paulus Æmilius*. So that it may be gathered that the *Atintanes*, whom *Thucydides* calleth *Antitanes*, and numbred amongst *Epirotical* Nations, are situate on the Confines of *Epirus* and *Macedonia*.

Aous, a River of *Illyris*, After *Epidamnus* (saith *Strabo*, describing the Sea-coast towards *Epirus*) are the Rivers *Apfus*, and *Aous*. *Strab. lib. 7.* Near to it standeth *Apollonia*. *Ibidem.* *Plutarch* hath *Anius* instead of it, in the life of *Cæsar*. In this River it was that he took Boat to cross the *Ionian* Sea unknown, and was forced back by Tempest.

Aphrodisia, a Town of *Laconia*, near the Sea-side. *Thucyd. lib. 4.*

Aphytis, a City in *Pallene*, *Herodot. lib. 7.*

Thucyd. lib. 1. between *Potidæa* and *Menda*. *Strab. in the Epitome of the end of his seventh Book.*

Apidamnus, a River of *Achaia* in *Thessaly*. *Herodotus lib. 7.* It falleth into *Peneus*. *Idem.* It runneth by *Pharsalus*. *Strab. lib. 8.*

Apodoti, a Nation, part of the *Ætolians*; nearest to the Sea, *Thucyd. lib. 3.*

Apollonia, a City of *Illyris*, in the *Ionian* Gulf, *Herod. lib. 9.* upon the River *Aous*, threescore furlongs from the Sea. *Strab. lib. 7.* Also a City between *Therme* and *Amphipolis*. *Itinerar. Peutinger. Itiner. Antonini. A Chalcidick City Athen. 8.*

Apfus, a River of *Illyris*, between *Epidamnus* and *Apollonia*. *Strab. lib. 7.*

Araethus, a River of *Epirus*, rising out of the Hill *Stympha*, in the Territory of the *Paroræi*, (peradventure the same with *Paravæi*) and running by the City of *Ambracia*, into the *Ambracian* Bay. *Strab. lib. 7.*

Araxus, a Promontory in the Confines of *Elis* and *Arcadia*. *Strab. lib. 8.*

Arcadia, a Region of *Peloponnesus*, in the midst of it; bounded with *Elis*, *Achaia*, *Argolica*, *Laconia*, and *Messenia*. *Strab. lib. 8.*

Argenum, a Promontory of *Erythræa* in *Asia*, lying out between *Alonesus* and the City *Erythræa*, opposite to, and distant 60 furlongs from *Posideum* a Promontory of *Chius*. *Strab. lib. 14.*

Arginuse, are three Islands lying near to the Promontory of *Cane* in *Æolis*, opposite to *Malea*, a Promontory of *Lesbos*. *Strab. lib. 13.*

Argilus, a City by the Sea-side, West of the River *Strymon*, *Herod. lib. 7.* not far from *Amphipolis*, *Thucyd. lib. 4.*

Argos, & *Argos* is a City of *Argia*, much *Argolica*, celebrated in History; It standeth from the Sea forty furlongs. *Paus. in Corinthiacis.* In all Maps that I have yet seen, it is placed unreasonably far from the Sea; but it appears by the beginning of the First Book of *Herodotus*, where he speaketh of the women of *Argos*, that came down to the Sea-side, to the Ships of the *Phœnicians*: and by *Thucydides*, *lib. 5.* where he relateth, that the *Argives* were building Walls to reach unto the Sea from their City, that it cannot be farther from it than

is

is by *Pausanias* set down. *Argolica* confineth on *Laconia*, *Arcadia*, *Isthmus*. *Strab. lib. 8.*

Argos Amphilocheicum, a City of *Amphilocheia*, upon the side of the Bay of *Ambracia*. *Thucyd. lib. 2.* 22 miles from *Ambracia*. *Livy. lib. 48.*

Arne, a City of the *Chalcidæans* near *Acanthus*, as it seemeth by *Thucyd. lib. 4.*

Arne, a City of *Theffaly*, *Thucyd. lib. 1.* in that part of *Theffaly* which is called *Eftiotis*. *Strab. lib. 9.*

Arrhiame, a place in the *Thracian Chersonesus*, opposite to *Abydus*. *Thucyd. lib. 8.*

Arnissa, a City of *Macedonia*, on the confines of *Lyncus*. *Thucyd. lib. 4.*

Artemisium, a Temple of *Diana* by the Sea-side, in *Eubœa*, at the streights of it, not far from *Thermopylæ*, *Herod. lib. 7.* Famous for a Battle by Sea, fought there between the *Grecian* and *Persian* Fleet.

Asine, a maritime City in *Argolica*, (or *Argia*) the first in the Bay of *Hermione*, *Strab. lib. 8.* Also a maritime City of *Messenia*, and the first in the Bay of *Messenia*, *Strab. lib. 8.* between the Promontory *Acritas*, and the City *Colonides*, forty furlongs from each. *Pausan. in Messenicis.* Also a City of *Laconia*, by the Sea-side, between *Tenarus* the Promontory, and *Gythium*. *Strab. lib. 8.* Also a City of *Laconia*, near *Cardamyle*. *Herod. lib. 8.*

Asopus, a River running between *Platea* and *Thebes*, *Thucyd. lib. 2.* It divideth the Territory of the *Plateans* from that of the *Thebans*, and runneth within ten furlongs of *Thebes*. *Pausan. in Bœoticis.* According to *Strabo*, it runneth into the Sea by *Tanagra*, *Strab. lib. 9.* But according to *Ptolomy*, *Cephissus*, and *Asopus*, and *Ismenus* meet all in *Bœotia*, and *Asopus* passeth through *Attica*, entreth into the Sea by the Promontory *Cynosura*. *Ptolom. Tab. 10.* It is also the name of a River rising about *Phlius* in *Peloponnesus*, and entring into the Sea near *Corinth*. *Pausanias in Corinthiacis.* It is also the name of a City in *Laconia*, by the Sea-side, distant from the Promontory *Onugnathos* two hundred furlongs, and from the City *Acritæ* threescore furlongs. *Pausan. in Laconicis.*

Astacus, a maritime City of *Acarnania*, between the Promontory *Crithota*, and the mouth of the River *Achelous*. *Strab. lib. 10.*

Asteria, an Island between *Ithaca* and *Cephalœnia*. *Strab. lib. 10.*

Astypalœa, an Island one of the *Sporades*, lying far within the main Sea. *Strab. lib. 10.* Also a Promontory of the Territory of *Mindus* in *Asia*. *Strab. lib. 14.*

Atalante, a little Island in the Bay of *Opus*, between *Eubœa* and *Bœotia*, over against the City of *Opus*, *Strab. lib. 9.* *Thucyd. lib. 2.*

Atarnens, a City of *Æolis*, over against *Lesbos*. *Herod. lib. 1.* between *Pitane* and *Adramyttium*, *Strab. lib. 13.*

Athamanes, a Nation inhabiting on the North of the *Ætolians*, the last of the *Epirotes*. *Strab. lib. 9.* above the *Ætolians* (that is, more remote from the Sea than the *Ætolians*) *Idem. lib. 10.*

Athens, *Hellados*, *Hellas*, the most renowned City of *Greece*, situate in *Attica*, about forty furlongs from *Piræus*, and the Sea, *Strab. lib. 9.* *Thucyd. lib. 2.*

Athos, a famous Mountain in the *Chersonesus* called *Acte*, abutting on the *Ægean* Sea. *Thucyd. lib. 4.* and beginning at the Ditch made by *Xerxes*, of twelve furlongs length, between *Acanthus*, and the Sea opposite to *Torone*. *Herod. lib. 7.*

Atrax, a City of *Theffaly*, by which *Peneus* runneth, before it come to *Larissa*, *Strabo lib. 9.*

Attica, a famous Region of *Greece*, bounding on the Territory of *Megara*, on the shore, over against *Salamis*. *Strab. lib. 9.* and on the Territory of the *Bœotians* by Sea at *Oropus*. *Idem.* by Land at *Panaetum*, *Thucyd. lib. 5.* at *Oenoe*, *Thucyd. lib. 2.* at *Hysia*, *Idem. lib. 2.*

Aulis, a Village in *Bœotia*, of the Territory of *Tanagra*, by the Sea-side, thirty furlongs from *Delium*, *Strab. lib. 9.*

Aulon, a place near the Sea-side, in the Bay of *Strymon*, near which the Lake *Bolbe* issueth into the Sea, and is some where between *Arne* of *Chalcidica* and *Argilus*, as may be gathered out of *Thucyd. lib. 4.*

Axius, a River of *Macedonia*, rising in the Mountain *Scardus*. *Ptolomy.* It divideth *Botia* from *Mygdonia*, *Herod. lib. 7.* it falleth into the Bay of *Tlerme*, between *Therme* and *Pella*. *Strab. Epit. lib. 7.*

Azorus, a City of *Perhabia*, *Livy, lib. 44.*

B

BErmius, a Mountain of Macedonia, *Herod.lib.8.* at the foot whereof standeth the City Berrhoea. *Strab.Epitom.lib.7.*

Berrhoea, a City of Macedonia, between Pydna, from which it is distant seventeen miles, and Thessalonica (or Therme) from which it is distant one and fifty miles. *Itiner. Antonini Pii.*

Bisaltia a Region of Macedonia, near the River Strymon, containing the City of Argilus, and the Country about it. *Herod.lib.7.*

Bistonis, a Lake in Thracia, close by the City Dicea. *Herod.lib.7.*

Boea, a City of Laconia, between the Promontories of Onugnathos and Malea. *Strab. lib.8.* directly opposite to Cythera, in the utmost part of the Bay of Boea, which begins at Onugnathos, and ends at Malea. The Territory of Boea joyneth to that of Epidaurus Limera. *Pausan.in Laconicis.*

Bæotia, a Region of Greece, between Attica and Phocis, reaching from Sea to Sea. *Strabo lib.9.*

Boium, a City of Doris. *Thucyd. lib. 1. Strab. lib.9.*

Bolbe, a Lake in Mygdonia, *Thucyd.lib.1.* A Lake not far from Olynthus. *Herod. lib.8.* It is called Bolyce by Athenæus, *lib.8.* It goeth out into the Sea by Aulon and Bromiscus, which are two places between Arnæ in Chalcidea, and Amphipolis. *Thucyd. lib.4.*

Bolyssus, a place in Chius. *Thucyd.lib.8.*

Bome, a Town of the Ætolians, towards the Melian Bay. *Thucyd. lib.3.*

Bottia, or } A Region of Macedonia, ly-
Bottiaæ, or } ing to the Sea, divided from
Bottiaïs,-- } Mygdonia by the River Axius, and from Macedonia by the confluent of the Rivers Aliacmon and Lydius. *Herod.lib.7.*

Branchide, a Town where there was a Temple of Apollo, on the Milesian shore. *Herod. lib.7.* between the Promontory of Posideum, and the City Milctus. *Strab.lib.14.*

Brauron, a Town of Attica, between Præsie and Marathon, on the Sea-side towards Eubœa. *Strab. lib.9.*

Brilessus, a Mountain in Attica, between Eleusis and Acharnæ. *Thucyd.lib.2.*

Bromiscus, a Town near the Sea, between Acanthus and Argilus. *Thucyd. lib.4.*

Budorus, a Promontory of the Island Salamis, lying out towards Megara. *Scholiasfes ad Thucyd.lib.2.*

Buphras, a Mountain of Messenia, about Pylus. *Thucyd. lib.4.*

Bura, a City of Achaia, between Helice and Ægira, distant from Helice thirty furlongs, and from Ægira, seventy two furlongs. *Pausan.in Achaicis.*

Byzantium, called now Constantinople, situate at the entrance of the Bosphorus. *Strab.lib.12.*

C

CAicus, a River of Asia, which passing by Pergamus, falleth into the Bay of Elæa, in Æolis between Elæa and Pitane. *Strab. lib.13.*

Calauria, an Island in the Bay of Hermione, lying just before Træzen. *Strab.lib.8.*

Callia, a Town of the Ætolians, towards the Melian Bay. *Thucyd.lib.3.*

Calydon, a City of the Ætolians, near the Sea, upon the River Euenus. *Strab.lib.10.*

Cambunii, Mountains of Macedonia, between it and Peræbia. *Livy, lib.42,44.*

Cameiros, a City of the Dorians in Asia, *Herod. lib.1.* It standeth in the Island Rhodus. *Strab. lib.14. Thucyd. lib.8.*

Canæ, a City and Promontory of Æolis, distant from Elæa towards Ionia 100 furlongs, and as much from Malea, a Promontory of Lesbos, to which it is opposite. *Strab. lib. 13.*

Canastræa, A Promontory of Pallene. *Herod. lib.7. Strab. Epit. lib. 7. Livy, lib.44.*

Caphareus, a Haven of Eubœa, on the outside, not far from Geræstus. *Herod.lib.7.*

Caphyæ, a City of Arcadia, not far from Orchomenus. *Polyb. lib.4.* the River Ladon runneth between it and Psophis. *Pausan. in Arcadius.*

Cardamyle, a City of Laconia, between Pharæ and Leuctra, by the Sea-side, in the Messenian Bay. *Strab. lib.8.* distant from the Promontory of Tanarus 400 furlongs. *Paus. in Laconicis.* It is also a City in the Island Chios. *Thucyd. lib.8.*

Cardya, a City in the Isthmus of the Thracian Chersonesus, upon the Sea-side in the black Bay (or Bay of Melas.) *Herod. lib.6.*

Carpathus, an Island in that Sea, which called from it Mare Carpathium, hath to the North, the Sea called Icarium, to the South, the Ægyptian Sea, to the West, the Cretick and African Seas. *Strab. in the end of the tenth Book.*

Carya,

Caryæ, a Town in *Arcadia*, between *Orchomenus* and *Pheneum*, in the Confines of both, distant from *Pheneum* threescore Furlongs. *Pausan. in Arcadicis.*

Carystus, a City of *Eubœa*, at the foot of the Mountain *Ocha*. *Strab. lib. 10.* *Marathon* a City of *Attica*, is equally distant from it and *Athens*. *Pausan. in Atticis.*

Casos, an Island in the *Carpathian Sea*, from *Carpathus* 80 furlongs, and from *Sammonium* a Promontory of *Crete*, 250 in quantity 80 furlongs about. *Strab. lib. 10.*

Calistus, a Haven in the *Chersonesus* of *Erythræa*, at the foot of the Mountain *Corycus*. *Strab. lib. 14.*

Caunus, a maritime City of *Lycia*, subject to the *Rhodians*, by the River *Calbis*. *Strab. lib. 14.*

Caystrus, a River of *Asia*, falling into the Sea at *Ephesus*, so as the mouth of it is the Haven of the *Ephesians*, *Strab. lib. 14.* When the *Ionians* made a journey against *Sardes*, they left their Fleet at *Coressus*, and then went up by the River *Caystrus*, and then over the Mountain *Tmolus*, and so to *Sardes*. *Herod. lib. 5.*

Cecropia, a Region of *Attica*, between the Hills *Parnethus* and *Brileffus*. *Thucyd. lib. 2.*

Cecryphalea, a place mentioned in the first Book of *Thucydides*. *Pliny* hath the Island *Cecryphalus*, opposite to *Epidaurus*, and distant from it six Miles. The *Scholiast.* and *Steph.* put it in the West parts of *Peloponnesus*, falsely.

Ceneum, a Promontory of *Eubœa*, opposite to the Promontory of *Cnemides* of the *Locrians*, and to *Thermopylæ*. *Strab. lib. 9.*

Cenchreæ, a Haven of the *Corinthians*, on the side of the *Isthmus* that lieth towards *Athens*. *Thucyd. lib. 8.* *Cenchreæ* on one side, and *Lechaum* on the other, contain the *Isthmus*. *Pausan. in Corinthiacis.*

Ceos, an Island, one of the *Cyclades*, the nearest to the Island *Helena*, *Strab. lib. 10.*

Cephalenia, an Island over against *Acarnania*, distant from *Lencadia* ten furlongs, *Strab. lib. 10.* *Thucyd. lib. 2.* and hath in it four Cities, *Pale*, *Same*, *Prone*, *Cranii*, *Thucyd. lib. 2.*

Cephissus, a River, which rising about *Lilæa*, a City of *Phocis*, and going by *Elatea*, *Daulia*, and *Phanotis*, Cities of *Phocis*, and *Charonea*, and *Coronea*, Cities of *Bœotia*, falleth into, at *Coronea*, and filleth the Lake

called *Copais*. Afterwards, an Earthquake opening the way, it went on to the Sea, and entred it at *Larymna*, a Town of *Bœotia*, opposite to *Ægæ* of *Eubœa*. *Strab. lib. 9.* Also a River of *Attica*, rising in the Territory of *Eleusis*, and falling into the Sea by *Piræus*. *Pausan. in Atticis.*

Ceraunii, Mountains of *Epirus*, on the Sea-side, in the entrance of the *Ionian Gulf*, *Strab. lib. 7.*

Ceraunus, a Town between *Cnidus* and *Halicarnassus*, from whence also the Bay there is called the *Ceraunian Bay*. *Strab. lib. 14.*

Cerdylum, a Hill of the *Argilians*, beyond *Strymon*, near *Amphipolis*. *Thucyd. lib. 2.*

Cercine, a Mountain between *Thracia* and *Macedonia*, the same divideth the *Pæonians* from the *Sintians*. *Thucyd. lib. 4.*

Cestrine, a Region of *Epirus*, divided from *Thesprotis* by the River *Thyanis*. *Thucyd. lib. 1.* The *Chaonians* and *Thesprotians* have all the Sea-coast from the Mountains called *Ceraunii*, to the *Ambracian Bay*, (therefore *Cestrine* seemeth part of the *Chaonians*) *Strab. lib. 7.* called *Cestrine* from *Cestrinus* the Son of *Helenus*. *Paus. in Corinthiacis.*

Charonea, a City of *Bœotia*, confining on *Phocis*, twenty furlongs distant from *Panopeus* or *Phanotis*, and situate upon the River *Cephissus*. *Pausan. in Phocicis.* *Strab. lib. 9.*

Chalce, an Island, one of the *Sporades*, distant from *Telos* 80 furlongs, and from *Carpathus* 400 furlongs. *Strab. lib. 10.*

Chalcedon, a City of *Bithynia*, over against *Byzantium*. *Strab. lib. 12.* in the mouth of *Pontus Euxinus*. *Ibid. Thucyd. lib. 4.*

Chalcis, a City of *Eubœa*, at the *Euripus*. *Herod. lib. 7.* *Strab. lib. 10.* Also a City of *Ætolia*, upon the River *Euenus*, on the East side of it, *Strab. lib. 10.* beneath *Calydon*. *Idem. lib. 9.*

Chalcidea, a Region joyning to *Thrace*, containing most of the Towns upon, or near the Sea, from the mouth of the River *Strymon*, to *Potidea* in *Pallene*. This may be gathered out of *Thucydides*. It was so named, for that they were Colonies of *Chalcis* in *Eubœa*, either immediate or derived.

Challæi, the people of a City of the *Locri Ozolæ*. *Thucyd. lib. 3.*

Chaonia, a maritime Region of *Epirus*, beginning at the Mountains called *Ceraunii*, and together with *Thesprotis* reaching as far

as the *Ambracian Bay*. *Strab. lib. 7.* It is divided from *Thesprotis* by the River *Thianis*. *Thucyd. lib. 1.*

Cheidorus, a small River of *Macedonia*, which rising in *Grestonia*, runneth into the River *Axius*. *Herod. lib. 7.*

Cheimerium, a Promontory of *Epirus*, between the Islands called *Sybota*, and the mouth of the River *Acheron*. *Strab. lib. 7. vide Acheron.*

Chelonata, a Promontory of *Elis*, between the Promontories of *Araxus* and *Ichthys*. *Strab. lib. 8.*

Chersonesus signifieth any portion of Land that is almost environed with the Sea; but for the most part, when there is no word added to determine the signification. It is here that Territory of *Thrace*, which is included with these three Seas, *Propontis*, *Hellepont*, and the Black Bay, *Melas*, *Strab. Epit. lib. 7.* In the *Isthmus* of this *Chersonesus* standeth the City [*Cardia*, at the side toward the Black Bay, and *Pactya* on the part toward *Propontis*. *Herod. lib. 6.*

Chius, now called *Scio*, an Island and City of the *Ionians*. *Herod. lib. 1.* distant from *Lesbos* about 400 furlongs, and 900 furlongs in circuit. *Strab. lib. 13.*

Chiusis, a part of *Mygdonia* so called. *Steph.*

Chrysopolis, a Village of the *Chalcedonians*, in the mouth of *Pontus*. *Strab. lib. 12.*

Cimolis, an Island, one of the *Cyclades*. *vide Cyclades.* It lieth West of *Sicinus*, *Pholegandros*, and *Lagusa*. *Strab. lib. 10.*

Cirrha, a City of *Phocis*, in the *Corinthian Bay*, over against *Sicyon*. *Strab. lib. 9.* distant from *Delphi* threescore furlongs from *Delphi* to *Cirrha* runs the River *Plistus*. It is the Haven or Town of shipping for *Delphi*. It confineth upon *Locris*. *Paus. in Phocicis.* He maketh it the same with *Crissa*. *vide Crissa.*

Citarinus, a Mountain of *Macedonia*, joyn- ing to *Olympus*, out of which riseth the River *Eurotas*. *Strab. Epit. lib. 7.*

Cithæron, a Mountain of *Attica*. When the *Persian* Camp under *Mardonius* lay about *Asopus* in the Territory of *Platea*, the Army of the *Grecians* that were encamped at the foot of *Cithæron*, were opposite to them. *Herod. lib. 9.* *Platea* is between *Cithæron* and the City of *Thebes*. *Strab. lib. 9.*

Citium, a City of *Cyprus*.

Claros, an Island, one of the *Sporades*. *Ex*

Ortelii Thesauro. Also a City belonging to the *Colophonians*, *Paus. in Achaic* between the mouth of the River *Caystrus* and the City of *Colophon*. *Strab. lib. 14.*

Clazomenæ, an Ionique City in *Lydia*. *Herod. lib. 1.* Situate in the *Chersonesus* of *Erythræ*, confining on the *Erythræans*, these being within, the *Clazomenians* without the *Chersonesus*. Between *Clazomenæ* and *Teos*, across the *Isthmus* it is but fifty furlongs, but round about by Sea, a thousand furlongs. Presently without the *Isthmus*, where it is narrowest, stands *Clazomenæ*. *Strab. lib. 13.* Before it lie eight little Islands. *Idem. lib. 14.*

Cleitor, a city of *Arcadia*, between *Psophis* and *Caphyæ*. *Polyb. lib. 4.* It confineth on the Territory of *Pheneum*, towards the East. *Paus. in Arcadicis.*

Cleonæ, a City of *Argia*, between *Argos* and *Corinth*, confining on the *Phliasians*. *Paus. in Corinthiacis.* Also a City in the Territory where Mount *Athos* standeth. *Herod. lib. 7. Thucyd. lib. 4.*

Cnemides, a Promontory of *Locris*, distant from *Cynus*, the Haven of the *Opuntians*, towards *Thermopylæ*, 50 furlongs. *Strab. lib. 9.*

Cnidus, a City of the *Dorians* in *Asia*, by the Sea called *Triopium*. *Herod. lib. 1.* On the North it hath the *Ceraunian Bay*; on the South, the *Rhodian Sea*. *Strab. lib. 14.*

Colonæ, an upland City of *Hellepont*, in the Territory of *Lampsacus*. *Strab. lib. 13.* Also a maritime City of *Troas*, 140 furlongs from *Ilium*, between *Hamaxitus* and *Larissa*. *Idem. lib. 13.*

Colonides, a maritime City of *Messenia*, between *Asine* and the mouth of the River *Pamissus*, distant from *Asine* forty furlongs. *Paus. in Messeniicis.*

Colophon, an Ionique City in *Lydia*, *Herod. lib. 1.* between *Ephesus* and *Lebedus*: from *Lebedus* 120 furlongs: from *Ephesus* 70 furlongs. *Strab. lib. 14.*

Colophoniorum portus, a Haven not far from *Torone*. *Thucyd. lib. 5.*

Copæ & Copais lacus. *Copæ* is a City of *Bœotia*, situate on the North part of the Lake *Copais*. *Strab. lib. 9. Paus. in Bœoticis.*

Corassie, two little Islands on the West of the Island *Patmus*. *Strab. lib. 10.*

Corecyra, now called *Corfu*, an Island over against *Epirus*, whose East parts are opposite to the Islands called *Sybota*, and West parts,

parts, to the Haven called *Onchimus*, *Strab. lib. 7.*

Coreffus, a Town of the Territory of *Ephesus*, by the Sea-side near to the mouth of the River *Caystrus*. *Herod. lib. 5.*

Corinthus, a famous City, near the *Isthmus* of *Peloponnesus*.

Coronea, a City of *Bæotia*, upon the River *Cephissus*, where it entreth into the Lake *Copaïs*, and not far from the Hill *Helicon*. *Strab. lib. 9.*

Corontæ, a City of *Acarmania*. *Thucyd. lib. 4.*

Cortyta, a Town near the Sea in *Laconia*. *Thucyd. lib. 4.*

Corycus, a Mountain in the *Chersonesus* of *Erythræ*, between *Teos* and *Erythræ*. *Strab. lib. 13.*

Coryphasium, a Promontory of *Messenia*, distant from *Methone* 100 furlongs: in this Promontory stood the Fort of *Pylus*. *Paus. in Messeniæ.*

Cos, an Island, with a City in it of the same name. It belonged to the *Doriens* of *Asia*. *Herod. lib. 1.* called *Cos Meropidis*, *Thucyd. lib. 8.* because inhabited of old by the *Meropians*. It lieth in the *Carpathian* Sea, *Strab. lib. 10.* Opposite to *Termerium*, a Promontory of the *Mindians*. *Idem. lib. 14.*

Cranaon, a City in the Champagn of *Theffaly*, *Strab. lib. 9.* The same may be gathered out of *Livy*, *lib. 42.*

Cranii, a people of *Cephalenia*, *Thucyd. lib. 2.* About the straight of that Island. *Strab. lib. 10.*

Craterei, a Haven near the City of *Phocæa* in *Æolis*. *Thucyd. lib. 8.*

Crenæ, i.e. the Wells, a place in *Acarmania*, not far from *Argos*. *Thucyd. lib. 3.*

Crensa, a Sea-Town of *Bæotia*, upon the Bay of *Crissa*, belonging to the City *Thespia*, *Strab. lib. 9.* *Pausan. in Bæoticis.*

Crissa, unde *sinus Crisseus*, a Sea-Town of *Phocis*, between *Cirrha* and *Anticyra*, from which the Bay of *Corinthis* called also the *Crissæan* Bay, *Strab. lib. 9.* This Bay is called now the Bay of *Lepanto*.

Crithota, a Promontory of *Acarmania*, lying out into the Sea, between the City *Alyzeæ*, and the mouth of the River *Achelous*. *Strab. lib. 10.*

Crocylum, a Town in *Ætolia*, of the Region inhabited by the *Apodoti*. *Thucyd. lib. 3.*

Crommion, a Town in the *Isthmus* of *Co-*

rinth, *Thucyd. lib. 4.* *Pausan. in Corinthiacis*, between *Schoenus* and the Rocks called *Scironides*, and confineth on *Megaris*. *Strab. lib. 8.*

Cyclades, Islands in the *Ægean* Sea, so called, for that they lie round about the Island *Delos*. Their number and order, according to *Strabo*, is this, *Helena*, *Ceos*, *Cythnus*, *Seriphus*, *Melos*, *Siphnus*, *Cimolis*, *Prepelinthus*, *Olearus*, *Naxus*, *Parus*, *Syrus*, *Myconus*, *Tennus*, *Andrus*, *Gyarus*. *Strab. lib. 10.*

Cyllene, a Sea-Town of *Elis* in *Peloponnesus*, belonging to the City of *Elis*, and where their shipping lay, sixty furlongs distant from *Araxus*. *Strab. lib. 8.* and from *Elis* 120 furlongs. *Paus. in 2. Eliacorum*. Also a Mountain, the highest in *Peloponnesus*, on the Confines of *Arcadia* and *Achaia*, near *Phe-neum*. *Paus. in Arcadicis.*

Cyme, a City of *Æolis*, on the Sea-coast, *Herod. lib. 1.* the last of the maritime Cities of *Æolis*, towards *Ionia*, as may be gathered out of *Strab. lib. 13.*

Cynos-fema, a Promontory of the *Thracian Chersonesus*, not far from *Abydus*. *Thucyd. lib. 8.* overagainst the mouth of the River *Rhodium*, which falleth into the Sea between *Abydus* and *Dardanum*. *Strab. lib. 13.*

Cynus, a Town of *Locris*, upon the Sea towards *Eubæa*, belonging to the City of *Opus*, distant from the Promontory *Cnemides* 50 furlongs, in the entrance of the Bay of *Opus*. *Strab. lib. 9.* *Livy, lib. 28.*

Cynuria, a Territory on the border between *Argia* and *Laconia*, towards the Sea-side, containing the Cities *Thyrea* and *Anthena*. *Thucyd. lib. 5.* *Pausan. in Corinthiacis.*

Cyphanta, a maritime Town of *Laconia*, distant from *Zares* on one side 16 furlongs, from *Prasie* on the other 200. *Pausan. in Laconicis.*

Cypsela, a Castle in *Parrhasia*, a Territory of *Arcadia*, near to *Sciritis* of *Laconia*. *Thucyd. lib. 5.*

Cyrrhus, a City of *Macedonia*, not far from *Pella*. *Thucyd. lib. 2.* *Cyrrhestæ*, that is, the people of *Cyrrhus* are placed thereabouts by *Pliny*, *lib. 4.*

Cytinium, a City of *Doris* on the side of *Parnassus*. *Thucyd. lib. 3.* *Strab. lib. 9.*

Cythera, an Island opposite to *Malea*, a Promontory of *Laconia*, and distant from it forty furlongs. *Strab. lib. 8.* opposite directly to the City *Boea*. *Pausan. in Laconicis.* In it are

two Cities, *Cythera* and *Standea*. *Thucyd. lib. 4.*
Paus. in Laconicis.

Cythus, an Island, one of the *Cyclades*.
vide Cyclades.

Cyzicus, an Island and City in *Propontis*,
Strab. lib. 12. distant from *Zeleeia*, which is a
City near the Sea, on the River *Æsepus*,
190 furlongs. *Idem lib. 13.*

D

Dardanus & Dardanum. *Dardannus* is a
City on the Sea-side from *Abydus*, 70
furlongs between it and *Roetium*. *Strab. lib.*
13. It confineth on *Abydus*. *Herod. lib. 7.*
Dardanum is a Promontory between *Aby-*
dus and *Dardannus*. *Strab. lib. 13.*

Dascylis, a Region of *Bithynia*, lying up-
on *Propontis*. *Ptolomy* and *Strabo* mention
the Town *Dascyclos* or *Dascylium*, which
Strabo saith standeth upon the Lake *Dascy-*
litis, by the River *Rhindacus*, *Strab. lib. 12.*
It was a Province subject to the *Persians* in
the time of *Xerxes*, and governed by *Mega-*
bates, his Lieutenant. *Thucyd. lib. 1.*

Daulia, a City of *Phocis*, on the East of
Delphi, upon the River *Cephissus*, and at the
foot of *Parnassus*. *Strab. lib. 9.* *Pausanias in*
Phocicis.

Declea, a Town in *Attica*, in the way
between *Oropus* and *Athens*, distant from
Athens 120 furlongs, and not much more,
from *Bæotia*. *Thucyd. lib. 7.*

Delium, a Temple of *Apollo* by the Sea-
side, in the Territory of *Tanagra*. *Thucyd.*
lib. 4. *Paus. in Bæoticis*, opposite to *Chalcis*
of *Eubœa*. *Herod. lib. 6.*

Delos, an Island, and in it a City with a
Temple consecrated to *Apollo*, *Thucyd. lib. 3.*
It is distant from *Andros* 15 miles, and as
many from *Miconus*. *Plin. lib. 4.*

Delphi, a City of *Phocis*, famous for the
Temple and Oracle of *Apollo*. It standeth at
the foot of the Hill *Parnassus*. *Herod. lib. 8.*
on the South part of the Hill. *Strab. lib. 9.*
60 furlongs from the Sea. *Paus. in Phocicis.*

Delphinium, a Town in the Isle *Chius*, not
far from the City *Chius*, and by the Sea-side,
Thucyd. lib. 8.

Dercei, a people of *Thrace*.

Dicea, a City of *Thrace*, between *Abdera*
and *Maronea*, *Herod. lib. 7.*

Dididii, a people in Mount *Athos*, *Thu-*
cyl. lib. 8.

Dion, a City, and in it a Temple of *Ju-*

pter, standing at the Sea-side, at the foot of
Olympus, *Thucyd. lib. 4.* *Strab. Epit. lib. 7.* Al-
so a City in Mount *Athos*. *Thucyd. lib. 4.*

Doberus, a City of *Paonia*, at the foot of
Cercine. *Thucyd. lib. 2.*

Doliche, a City of the *Perrhebian*s, not far
from the Mountains called *Cambunii*. *Livy,*
lib. 44.

Dolopia, a Region on the South side of
the Hill *Pindus*, on the North of the *Am-*
philochians, and confining on *Phthiotis* of
Theffaly. *Strab. lib. 9, 10.*

Doris, a Region confining on the *Meli-*
ans, and with a narrow corner running in
between them and *Phocis*. *Herod. lib. 8.* It
lieth on the East part of *Parnassus*, and di-
videth the *Locrians* called *Ozole*, from the
Locrians called *Opuntians*. It was called *Tet-*
rapolis, because it contained these four Ci-
ties, *Erineus*, *Boium*, *Cytinium*, and *Pindus*.
Strab. lib. 9. The *Doriens* are also a Nation
in *Asia*, by the Sea-side, joyning to *Caria*, of
which were numbred the Inhabitants of the
Islands *Rhodes* and *Cos*, and the Cities *Cnidus*
and *Halicarnassus*. *Strab. lib. 14.*

Doriscus Campus, a large Champaign by
the side of the River *Hebrus* in *Thrace*, where
Xerxes, passing on towards *Greece*, mustered
his mighty Army. *Herod. lib. 7.*

Drabescus, a City of *Edonia*, beyond the
River *Strymon*. *Thucyd. lib. 1.*

Dreacum, a Promontory of the Island
Cos, distant from the City *Cos* 200 furlongs.
Strab. lib. 14.

Drimysa, an Island lying before *Clazome-*
næ. *Thucyd. lib. 8.* *Livy, lib. 38. vide Clazomenæ.*

Droi, a People of *Thrace*. *

Dyme, a City of *Achaia*, the nearest to the
Confines of *Elis*. *Strab. lib. 8.* *Paus. in Achaicis.*

E

Echinades, Islands, lying in and out before
the mouth of the River *Achelous*. *Thu-*
cyl. lib. 3. *Strab. lib. 10.*

Edonia, a Region of *Thrace*, lying to the
River *Strymon*, and the Sea; It had in it
Amphipolis, *Drabescus*, and other Cities. *Thu-*
cyl. lib. 1. by which the situation thereof
may be sufficiently understood.

Eidemene, a City of *Macedonia*, not far
from *Doberus*. *Thucyd. lib. 2.* *Plin. lib. 4.*

Eion, a City of *Thrace*, on the River *Stry-*
mon. *Herod. lib. 7.* In the mouth of *Strymon*,
25 furlongs from *Amphipolis*. *Thucyd. lib. 4.*

Elæa,

Elea, a Sea-Town in *Æolis*, belonging to the City of *Pergamus*, distant from the mouth of the River *Caicus* towards *Ionis*, 12 furlongs: and from *Canæ* 100 furlongs. *Strab. lib. 13.*

Elatea, a City of *Phocis*, by the River *Cephissus*, confining on the *Locrians*. *Strab. lib. 9. Paus. in Phocicis.* It standeth in the straights of the *Phocæan* Mountains. *Strab. lib. 9.*

Eleuthera, a Town of *Attica*, between *Eleusis* and *Platea*, on the border of *Attica*. *Paus. in Attic. Id. in Bæotic.*

Eleus, a City of *Chersonesus* to the North of *Lemnos*, *Herod. lib. 6.*

Eleusis, a Sea-Town of *Attica*. *Strab. lib. 8.* on the Confines of *Megaritis*. *Paus. in Atticis.*

Elis. *Elis* and *Messenia* are two Regions, that take up the West part of *Peloponnesus*. *Elis* is bounded on the North by the Promontory *Araxus*, and divided from *Messenia* in the parts towards the Sea, by the River *Neda*. *Strab. lib. 8.* *Elis* the principal City thereof is distant from the Sea 120 furlongs, and from *Olympia* almost three hundred. *Pausan. in fine secundi Eliacorum.*

Ellomenus, a Town in *Neritum* of the Territory of *Lencadia*. *Thucyd. lib. 3.*

Elymiote, a Nation of *Macedonia*, which

Elimæa, -- *Ptolomy* placeth on the Sea-side upon the *Ionian* Gulf. *Livy* hath the City *Elimæa* at the foot of the Mountains *Cambunii*, and by the River *Aliacmon*, *Liv. lib. 42.*

Embatus, a Town of *Erythræa*. *Thucyd. lib. 3.* on the part toward *Lesbos*, as may be probably conjectured by the History.

Enipeus, a River of *Theffaly*, which falleth into the River *Peneus*. *Herod. lib. 7.* But first it receiveth into it self the water of *Apidamnus*, that passeth by *Pharsalus*. *Strab. lib. 8.* It riseth in the Mountain *Othrys*. *Idem. Ibid.*

Eorda, a Region of *Macedonia*, between the *Lyncestians* and *Theffalonica* (or *Therma*) in the way called *Ignatia*, that leadeth from *Epidamnus* to *Theffalonica*, *Strab. lib. 7.*

Ephesus, an *Ionique* City in *Lydia*. *Herod. lib. 1.* at the mouth of the River *Caistrus*, on the side towards *Mycæ*. *Strab. lib. 13.*

Ephyre, a City of *Theffotis*, upon the River *Thyamis*. *Strab. lib. 7. Thucyd. lib. 1.* Also a City of *Agræis*. *Strab. lib. 7. & lib. 10.*

Epidamnus, a City afterwards called *Dyrachium*, now *Durazzo*, situate on the *Ionian* Gulf, amongst the *Taulantii*, *Illyrians*. *Thucyd.*

lib. 1. next without the Bay called *Rhizicus*. *Strab. lib. 7.*

Epidaurus, a City of *Argia* by the Sea-side, in the inmost part of the *Saronian* Bay. *Strab. lib. 8.*

Epidaurus Limera, a maritime City of *Laconia*, in the Bay of *Argos*, 300 furlongs from the Promontory of *Malea*. *Paus. in Laconicis.*

Era, a City in *Erythræa*, between *Teos* and *Cassus*. *Strab. lib. 13.*

Eressus, a City in the Isle *Lesbos*, between *Pyrrha* and the Promontory *Sigrinum*. *Strab. lib. 13.*

Eretria, a City of *Eubœa*, between *Chalcis* and *Gereftus*. *Strab. lib. 10.* opposite to *Oropus* in *Attica*. *Strab. lib. 9.*

Erigon, a River of *Macedonia*, arising in *Illyris*, and falling into the River *Axius*. *Liv. lib. 39. Strab. lib. 7.*

Erineus, a City of *Doris*. *Thucyd. lib. 1. Strab. lib. 9.* Also a Haven in the Territory of *Rhypes* in *Achaia*. *Thucyd. lib. 7. Pausan. in Achaicis.*

Erythræa, an *Ionique* City. *Herod. lib. 1.* It standeth in the midst of the *Chersonesus*, between the Promontory *Argenum* and the Mountain *Mimas*, and before it lie certain Islands called *Hippi*. *Strab. lib. 13.* Also a Town in the Confines of *Attica*, not far from *Platea*. *Thucyd. lib. 3. Herod. lib. 9.*

Estiotis, a Region of *Theffaly*, confining on the Mountains *Olympus* and *Ossa*. *Herod. lib. 1.* It is the West part of *Theffaly*, and lieth between Mount *Pindus* and the upper *Macedony*. *Strab. lib. 9.*

Eubœa, an Island lying opposite to the Continent of *Attica*, and *Bæotia*, and *Locris*, extending from *Sunium* as far as *Theffaly*. The length of it is reckoned from the Promontory *Cenenum* to the Promontory *Gereftus*. *Concava Eubœa* is all that shore that is from the *Euripus* to *Gereftus*. *Strab. lib. 10. Herodotus* maketh it to be on the other side of the Island. *Herod. lib. 7.* It seems therefore that *Concava Eubœa* is not the proper name of a place, but an Appellation signifying any hollow bending of the shore.

Euennus, a River, which rising amongst the *Boii*, a Nation of *Ætolia*, runneth by *Chalcis* and *Calydon*, and then bending towards the West by *Pleuron* into the Sea. *Strab. lib. 10.*

Eurotas, a River of *Laconia*, rising in the Territory of *Megalopolis*, and passing by the

the City of *Lacedæmon*, on the East side of it, falleth into the Sea near *Helos*, between *Gythium* and *Aciriæ*. *Strab. lib. 8.* Also a River of *Theffaly*, rising out of the Hill *Citarinus*, and falling into the River *Penens*. *Strab. lib. 7. Epit.*

Eurytanes, a Nation of the *Ætolians*, one of the three. *Apodoti* being those that dwelt toward the Sea; *Ophionei*, those toward the *Melians*, *Thucyd. lib. 3.* *Eurytanes* therefore must be those toward *Agræis* and *Athamania*.

G

G *Alepfus*, a City not far from *Torone*. The Fleet of *Xerxes* compassing the Promontory of *Ampelus*, passed by these Cities, *Torone*, *Galepfus*, *Sermyla*, &c. *Herod. lib. 7.*

Gapselus a City of *Thrace*, not far from *Amphipolis*. *Thucyd. lib. 4.* *Ortelius* thinketh it the same with *Galepfus*: but it is more probable by the History to be another.

Gargara, a Promontory in *Asia*, 260 furlongs within the Promontory of *Leçtus*, and is the beginning of the Bay of *Adramyttium*, properly so called. *Strab. lib. 13.*

Geræstus a Promontory of *Eubæa*. *Geræstus* and *Petalia* are opposite to *Sunium*, a Promontory of *Attica*. *Strab. lib. 10.* *Geræstus* is between the City *Styra* and *Eretria*. *Idem. lib. 10.*

Gerania, a Hill in *Megarîs*, near the entrance of the *Isthmus*. *Thucyd. lib. 1. Paus. in Atticis.*

Glauce, a City in *Ionia*, near the Mountain *Mycæle*. *Thucyd. lib. 8.*

Gigonus, a Promontory not far from *Potidea*. *Thucyd. lib. 2. Herod. lib. 7.*

Gomphi, a City of *Theffaly*, in the Region called *Estiotis*. *Strab. lib. 9.* near to the springs of *Penens*. *Pliny, lib. 4.* The nearest of the *Theffalian* Cities to *Epirus*. *Livy, lib. 32.*

Gonnus, a City of the *Perrhæbians* in *Theffaly*, at the foot of *Olympus*. *Strab. lib. 9.* in the entrance to *Tempe*. *Polyb. lib. 17. Livy, lib. 44.* twenty miles distant from *Larissa*, *Liv. lib. 36.* *Gonnus*, is in the entrance out of *Macedonia* through the *Perrhæbians* into *Theffaly*. *Herod. lib. 7.*

Gortynia, a City of *Macedonia*, not far from the Hill *Cercine*. *Thucyd. lib. 2.*

Granicus, a River in *Hellefpont*, rising in Mount *Ida*, near unto *Scepsis*, and falling into *Propontis* between the City *Priapus* and

the mouth of the River *Æsepus*. *Strab. lib. 13.*

Grestonia, a Region of *Macedonia*, joyning to *Mygdonia*, in which riseth the River *Che-dorus*. *Herod. lib. 7.*

Gyarus, a small Island, one of the *Cyclades*. *Vide Cyclades.*

Gyrton, a City of *Perrhæbia*, at the foot of *Olympus*. *Strab. lib. 9.* before *Gonnus* to such as come out of *Macedonia*, by the Mountains called *Cambunii*. *Livy, lib. 44.*

Gythium, a City of *Laconia*, the Harbour of the *Lacedæmonian* Shipping between *Asine* and *Ariæ*. *Strab. lib. 8.* distant 230 furlongs from the Promontory of *Tanarus*. *Paus. in Laconicis.*

H

H *Alias Thucydidi*, -- } A maritime Town
Halieis Straboni, } of *Argia*, in the Bay
Halice Pausaniæ, -- } of *Hermione*, *Strab. lib. 8.* between *Asine* and *Hermione* 250 furlongs from *Asine*. *Paus. in Corinthiacis.*

Haliartus, a City of *Beotia*, by the side of the Lake *Copaïs*, towards *Helicon*. *Strab. lib. 9.* It confineth on the Territory of *Theffæ*. *Paus. in Bæoticis.*

Halicarnassus, a City of the *Doreans* in *Asia*. *Herod. lib. 1.* In the bottom of the *Ceraunean* Bay. *Strab. lib. 14.*

Halimus, a Town of *Attica*, next after *Phaleron*, towards the Promontory of *Sunium*. *Strab. lib. 9.* In this Town was *Thucydides* born, the Author of this History.

Haljarna, a Town in the Island *Cos*, near unto the Promontory of *Ladter*. *Strab. lib. 14.*

Hamaxitus, a City of *Troas*, under the Promontory of *Leçtus*. *Strab. lib. 13.*

Harmatus, a City in the Continent, over against *Methymna* of *Lesbos*. *Thucyd. lib. 8.*

Harpagium, a place on the Confines of *Priapus* and *Cyzicus*. *Strab. lib. 13.*

Hebrus, a River of *Thrace*, falling into the Sea between *Ænus* and *Doriscus*. *Herod. lib. 7.*

Helena, an Island, one of the *Cyclades*, adjacent to the Continent of *Attica*, and extending from *Sunium* to *Thoriscus*. *Strab. lib. 10.*

Helice, a City of *Achaia*, on the Sea-side, between *Ægium* and *Bura*, distant from *Ægium* forty furlongs. *Pausan. in Achaicis.*

Helos, a *Laconique* City, by the side of the River *Eurotas*, not far from the Sea. *Strab. lib. 8.* distant from *Gythium* 100 furlongs,

longs, and from *Acria* 30. *Pausan. in Laconicis.*

Herea, a City of *Arcadia*, in the Confines of *Elis*, upon the River *Alpheus*. *Polyb. lib. 4. Pausan. in Arcadicis.* It confineth on *Megalopolis*; and the River *Ladon* runneth within 15 furlongs of it. *Pausan. in Arcadicis.*

Heraclea, a City of the *Melians*, built by the *Lacedamonians*, within the straight of *Thermopylae*, distant from it forty furlongs, and from the Sea twenty. *Thucyd. lib. 3. Strab. lib. 9.* Also a City in the Bay of *Latmus*, between *Miletus* and *Pyrroha*, distant from *Pyrroha* 100 furlongs. *Strab. lib. 14.* Also a City of the *Sinti*, a people of *Macedonia*, called *Heraclea Sintica*. *Livy, lib. 45.*

Hermione, a maritime City in *Argia*, between *Asine* and *Træzen*. *Strab. lib. 8. Pausan. in Corinthiacis.* From it is named the Bay of *Hermione*, which hath in it in order these three Cities, *Asine*, *Hermione*, *Træzen*. *Strab. lib. 8. Pausan. in Corinthiacis.* But *Strabo* seemeth to make the Bay of *Hermione* to begin at the Promontory *Scylleum*, and to end at *Epidaurus*. *Quere.*

Hermus, a River dividing *Æolis* from *Ionina*. *Strab. lib. 14.* It runneth through the Plains that lie before the City *Sardis*, and entreth the Sea by *Phocæa*. *Herod. lib. 1.*

Hesii, the people of a City of the *Locri Ozolæ*. *Thucyd. lib. 3.*

Hestia, a City of *Eubæa*, not far from the Promontory *Ceneum*. *Strab. lib. 10.* The Territory of *Hestia* is called *Hestiotis*, and is over against *Thessaly*, as may appear out of *Herod. lib. 7.*

Hyæi, The People of a City of the *Locri Ozolæ*. *Thucyd. lib. 3.*

Hiampolis, a City of *Phocis*, confining on *Abas*, a City of the *Locrians* of *Opus*. *Pausan. in Phocicis.*

Hysia, a Town of *Attica*, on the Confines of *Plateis*. *Herod. lib. 9. Thucyd. lib. 3. Vide Oenoe.* Also a Town of *Argia*, on the Confines of *Tegea*, in the way between *Tegea* and *Argos*. *Pausan. in Corinthiacis.*

I

I*Asus*, a maritime City of *Asia*, situate in an Island, near to the Continent. *Strab. lib. 14.* in that Bay which on the side towards *Miletus* hath *Posideum* for bound, and on the other side the City *Mindus*. *Polyb. lib. 16.* The Bay is called *Sinus Bargileaticus*. *Idem.*

Icarus, or *Icaria*, an Island on the West of

the Isle *Samos*. *Strab. lib. 10.* distant from it 80 furlongs. *Idem. lib. 14.*

Ithys, a Promontory of *Elis*, near the City of *Phia*. *Thucyd. lib. 2. Vide Phia.*

Icus, an Island lying before *Magnesia*. *Strab. lib. 9.*

Ida, a Mountain of *Asia*, extending from *Lectus* and the places on the *Adramyttian* Bay, to the City *Zeleia* by *Propontis*. *Strab. lib. 12.*

Idacus, a place in the *Thracian Chersonesus*, opposite to *Abydus* and *Dardanus*. *Thucyd. lib. 8.*

Idomenæ, two Hill tops so called, between *Ambracia* and *Argos Amphilocheicum*. *Thucyd. lib. 3.*

Ielysus, a City in the Island of *Rhodes*, between *Cameirus* and the City of *Rhodes*. *Strab. lib. 14.*

Ilium sive *Troja*, a famous City in *Asia*, 170 furlongs from *Abydus*, standing from the Sea towards the Mountain *Ida*. *Strab. lib. 13.*

Imbros, an Island not far from the *Thracian Chersonesus*. *Thucyd. lib. 8.* It is distant from *Lemnos* two and twenty miles, and from the Isle *Samothrace*, that lieth before the River *Hebrus*, two and thirty miles. *Plin. lib. 4.*

Iolcus, a maritime Town in *Thessaly*, in the *Pegasian* Bay, not far from *Demetrias*. *Livy, lib. 4.*

Ionina, a Region inhabited by the *Grecians* in *Asia*, by the Sea-side, reaching from *Posideum* a Promontory of *Miletus*, on the South to *Phocæa*, and the mouth of the River *Hermus* on the North. *Strab. lib. 14.*

Ionian Gulf. The *Ionian Gulf*, or the *Ionian Sea*, is the utmost part of the *Adriatique* Sea, beginning at the *Ceraunian* Mountains. *Strab. lib. 7.*

Ios, an Island on the Coast of *Crete*, equally distant from *Therassia* and *Anaphe*. *Strab. lib. 10.*

Ipneses, the people of a City of the *Locri Ozolæ*. *Thucyd. lib. 3.*

Ismaris, a Lake in *Thrace*, between *Stryma* and *Maronea*. *Herod. lib. 7.*

Istone, a Hill in the Isle *Corcyra*. *Thucyd. lib. 3.*

Ithaca, an Island over against *Cephalonia*, and near to it. *Strab. lib. 10.*

Ithome, a Hill in *Messenia*, near the Sea, and on it a City, which was afterward the Cittadel of the City *Messene*, that was built

after the Peloponnesian War, by Epaminondas. *Paus. in Messenicis.*

L

Laconia, a Region of Peloponnesus, confining on Messenia, Argia, and Arcadia. *Strab. lib. 8.* divided from the Territory of Megalopolis of Arcadia by the River Alpheus. *Paus. in Arcadicis.*

Laërter, the most Southern Promontory of the Isle Cos. *Strab. lib. 14.*

Lacedæmon, the head City of Laconia, on the West side of the River Eurotas, remote from the Sea, beneath the Mountain Taygetus. *Strab. lib. 8. Polyb. lib. 5.*

Lade, a small Island, lying before the City Miletus. *Herod. lib. 6. Thucyd. lib. 8. Paus. in Atticis.*

Ladon, a River rising in the Territory of Cleitor in Arcadia, passing by the border of Heræa, and falling into the River Peneus in Elis, near to Pylus. *Pausan. in Arcadicis, & Eliacorum secundo.*

Lagusa, an Island on the West of the Island Ios. *Strab. lib. 10.*

Lampsacus, a maritime City in Hellepont, from Abydus, towards Propontis, distant 170 furlongs. *Strab. lib. 13.*

Laodicea, a Town of the Territory of Orestis in Arcadia. *Thucyd. lib. 4.*

Larissa, a City of Thessaly, on the River Peneus. *Strab. lib. 9.* Also a City of Troas between Achæum and Colona. *Strab. lib. 13.*

Latmus and **Latmus**, a Mountain at the bottom of the Bay of Latmus—**Smus**, which Bay beginneth at **Posideum**, in the Territory of Miletus, and endeth at the Promontory of **Pyræa**, between which places by the shore it is two hundred furlongs, and streight over but thirty. *Strab. lib. 4.* **Latmus** is also an Island in those parts, as appeareth by *Thucydides lib. 2.* but I can find no mention of it in any other Author.

Laurium, a Mountain and Town in Attica, not far from Sunium, between Sunium and Athens. *Paus. in Atticis.* The Athenians had silver Mines in this Mountain. *Thucyd. Herod.*

Leai, a Nation dwelling on the River Strymon, and the border between Thrace and Macedony. *Thucyd. lib. 2.*

Lebedus, an Ionique City in Lydia. *Herod. lib. 1.* Situate on the Sea-side, between Colo-

phon and Teus, distant from each 120 furlongs. *Strab. lib. 14.*

Lechaum, a Haven of the Corinthians in the Crissean or Corinthian Bay. Between Lechaum and Cenekrea is contained the Corinthian Isthmus. *Paus. in Corinthiacis.*

Lectus, a City and Promontory of Troas, the beginning of the Bay of **Adramyttium**, *Strab. lib. 14.*

Lemnos, an Island in the Ægean Sea, on the East of the Mountain Athos, so as the shadow of the Mountain falleth sometimes upon it. *Plin. lib. 4. Strab. Epit. lib. 7.*

Lepreum, a City of Elis, forty furlongs from the Sea. *Paus. Eliacorum secundo.* On the Confines of Arcadia. *Thucyd. lib. 5.*

Lernus, an Island, one of the Sporades, near to Patmos. *Strab. lib. 10.*

Lesbos, an Island over against Æolis in Asia, distant from Lemnos, Tenedos, and Chios almost equally; less than 599 furlongs from the farthest of them. It reacheth in length between Lectus and Canæ 560 furlongs, and is in compass 1100 furlongs. *Strab. lib. 13.*

Leucas, a Peninsula, distant from Actium 240 furlongs. *Strab. lib. 10.* now an Island, and called Santa Maura.

Leuctra, a Town in Bœotia, between Plataea and Thespia. *Strab. lib. 9.* Also a Town of Laconia in the Messenian Bay, between Thurides and Cardamyle, distant from Cardamyle 60 furlongs, and from Tanarus three hundred and forty. *Strab. lib. 8. Paus. in Laconicis.*

Leucimna, the most Eastern Promontory of the Isle Corcyra, opposite to the Islands called Sybota, *Strab. lib. 7.*

Lilæa, a City of Phocis, distant from Delphi by Parnassus 180 furlongs. *Paus. in Phocicis.*

Limnea, a City on the Confines of Agræis, on the West to the River Achelous, as may be gathered out of *Thucyd. lib. 3.*

Lindii, a City of the Island Rhodes, situate on the right hand to them that sail from the City of Rhodes Southward. *Strab. lib. 14.*

Lissus, a small River of Thrace, between **Me'mbria** and **Stryma**. *Herod. lib. 7.*

Locri, a Nation of Greece, whereof one part, called **Locri Ozolæ**, inhabit on the West of Parnassus, and confine on Ætolia. *Strab. lib. 9.* And the other part, called **Locri Opuntii**, are divided from the Ozolæ by the Mountains Parnassus and the Region of Doris. *Idem, lib. 9.*

lib.9. Part of the *Opuntians* are called *Epicnemides*, for that they dwell near the Promontory called *Cnemides*.

Loryma, a City in the opposite Continent to *Rhodes*, between *Cnidus* and *Physcus*, where the shore beginneth to turn Northward. *Strab.lib.14.* distant twenty miles from *Rhodes*. *Liv.lib.45.*

Lycaum, a Mountain in *Arcadia*, near to the Confines of *Laconia*, and *Megalopolis*. *Paus.in Arcadicis.* Not far from *Tegea*. *Strab.lib.8.*

Lychnidus, a City of *Illyris*, on the Confines of *Macedony*, in the *Ignatian* way, that leadeth from *Apollonia* to *Therme*. *Strab.lib.7.*

Lydius, a River of *Macedony*. *Lydius* and *Aliacmon* meeting in one divided *Bottiaea* from *Macedony*. *Herod.lib.7.*

Lyncus, a Region and City of the upper *Macedonia*, the people are called *Lyncesti* by *Thucyd.lib.4.* and placed by *Strabo* in the way between *Epidamnus* and *Therme*, which he calls the *Ignatian way*. *Strab.lib.7.*

M

Macedonia, a famous Kingdom, bordered with *Thracia*, *Epirus*, *Illyris*, and *Thessaly*.

Madytus, a City in the *Thracian Chersonesus*. Between *Sestus* and *Madytus*, is the shortest cut over the *Hellepont*, of not above seven furlongs. *Herod.lib.7.*

Maender, a River of *Caria*. The mouth of it is 50 furlongs from *Pyrrha*, the beginning of the *Latmian Bay*. *Strab.lib.14.*

Mædi, a People of *Thrace*, bordering on *Macedony*. *Polyb.lib. Thucyd.lib.2.*

Manalia, a Territory of *Arcadia*, belonging to the City *Manalus*, which City is about threescore and ten furlongs from *Megalopolis*. *Paus.in Arcadicis.*

Magnesia, a City of *Thessaly*, the Territory whereof extendeth from the Mountain *Ossa* and the Lake *Bæbeis* to the Mountain *Pelion*. *Strab.lib.9.* Before the Continent of *Magnesia* lieth the Island *Scyathus*. *Herod.lib.7.* Also a City of *Ionia* called *Magnesia* on *Maender*, above the City of *Myus*. *Strab.l.14.*

Malea, a Promontory of *Laconia*, between which and *Tenarus* is comprehended the *Laconian Bay*. *Strab.lib.8.* Also the most Southern Promontory of *Lesbos*, opposite to *Canæ*. *Strab.lib.13.*

Mantineæ, a City of *Arcadia*, confining

on *Argia*, *Tegea*, *Methydrium*, and *Orchomenus*. *Paus.in Arcadicis.*

Marathon, a Town in *Attica*, over against *Eretria* of *Eubœa*. *Herod.lib.6.* Between *Rhamnus* and *Brauron*. *Strab.lib.9.* Equally distant from *Athens* and from *Carystus* in *Eubœa*. *Paus.in Atticis.*

Marathusa, an Island lying before *Clazomenæ*. *Thucyd.lib.8.* Vide *Clazomenæ*.

Maronea, a City of *Thrace*, lying to the *Ægean Sea*. *Xerxes*, after he had passed the River *Lissus*, went on towards *Greece* by these Cities, *Maronea*, *Dicaa*, *Abdera*, &c. *Herod.lib.7.*

Mecyberna, a maritime Town in the Bay of *Torone*, serving for the shipping of the City *Olynthus*. *Strab.Epit.lib.7.* The Fleet of *Xerxes* being come about *Ampelus*, (this is a Promontory near *Torone*) passed by these Cities, *Torone*, *Galepsus*, *Sermyla*, *Mecyberna*, &c. *Herod.lib.7.*

Medeon, a City of *Amphilochia*, on the West of the River *Achelous*. The Army of the *Peloponnesians* having passed the River *Achelous*, out of *Ætolia*, went on into *Agræis* by these Cities in order, *Phytia*, *Medeon*, and *Lymnæa*. *Thucyd.lib.3.*

Megalopolis, a City of *Arcadia*, built after the *Peloponnesian War*, by *Epaminondas*. The Territory thereof confineth on *Laconia*, *Messenia*, *Herœa*, *Orchomenus*, *Mantineæ*, and *Tegea*. It standeth on the River *Helisson*, not far from *Alphens*. *Paus.in Arcadicis.*

Megara, a City confining with *Attica* at *Eleusis*, distant from the Sea 18 furlongs. *Paus.in Atticis.* *Strab.lib.8.*

Melas, a River, and a Bay into which it entreth, on the West of the *Thracian Chersonesus*. *Herod.lib.7.*

Melena, a Promontory of the Island *Chios*, over against the Isle *Psyra*. *Strab.lib.15.*

Melienses, } The *Melienses* are next to
and the } *Thessaly* Southward. *Strab.*
Melian Bay. } lib.8. The *Melian Bay* be-
ginneth at the Promontory *Cnemides*. *Idem.*
lib.9.

Melitea, a City of *Thessaly*, near the River *Enipeus*. *Strab.lib.9.* between *Pharsalus* and *Heraclea*. *Thucyd.lib.4.*

Melos, an Island, one of the *Cyclades*. Vide *Cyclades*. Distant from the Promontory *Scylæum* 700 furlongs. *Strab.lib.10.*

Mende, a City in the *Chersonesus* of *Pallene*.
(d 2) *Herod.*

Herod. lib. 7. between *Aphytis* and *Scione*.
Strab. Epit. lib. 7.

Mesembria, a maritime City of *Thrace*, near *Doriscus*, the last in the shore of *Doriscus* towards the West. *Herod. lib. 7.*

Messenia, a Region on the West part of *Peloponnesus*, confining on *Elis*, *Arcadia*, and *Laconia*, divided from *Elis* on the parts to the Sea, by the River *Neda*, and confining with *Laconia* at *Thurides*. *Strab. lib. 8.* *Paus. in Messenicis.* Of the *Messenian* Bay, the first Town is *Asine*, the last *Thurides*. *Idem. lib. 8.* The City of *Messene* was built after the *Peloponnesian* War by *Epaminondas*, under the Hill *Ithome*. *Paus. in Messenicis. Vide Ithome.*

Methone, a City of *Macedonia*, forty furlongs from *Pidna*. *Strab. Epit. lib. 7.* Also a City in *Argia*, between *Epidaurus* and *Træzen*. *Strabo lib. 8.* Situate in a *Chersonesus* belonging to the *Træzenians*. *Paus. in Corinthiacis.* *Strabo* calleth it *Methana*. Also a maritime City of *Messenia*, between the Promontories *Coryphasium* and *Acritas*. *Strab. lib. 8.* *Paus. in Corinthiacis.* *Pausanias* calleth it *Methone*. It is now called *Modeno*.

Messapii, the People of a City of the *Locri Ozolæ*. *Thucyd. lib. 2.*

Methydrium, a City of *Arcadia*, confining on *Mantineia*, distant from *Megalopolis* 170 furlongs. *Paus. in Arcadicis.*

Methymna, a City of *Lesbos*, between the Promontories *Sigrinum* and *Malea*, distant from *Malea* 340 furlongs, and from *Sigrinum* 210. *Strab. lib. 13.*

Miletus, an *Ionique* City of *Caria*, the farthest toward the South. *Herod. lib. 1.* next to *Posideum*, in the *Latmian* Bay. *Strab. lib. 14.*

Mimas, a Hill in the *Chersonesus* of *Erythræ*, between the Cities *Erythræ* and *Clazomenæ*. *Strab. lib. 13.*

Mindus, a maritime City of *Caria*, between the Promontories of *Astypalæa*, and the City *Iäsus*. *Strab. lib. 14.*

Minœ, an Island, as *Thucyd.* a Promontory as *Strabo* saith, that maketh *Nisæa* a Haven. *Strab. lib. 9.* *Thucyd. lib. 2.*

Mitylene, the chief City of *Lesbos*, situate between *Methymna* and *Malea*, distant from *Malea* 70 furlongs, from *Canæ* 120 furlongs. *Strab. lib. 13.*

Milossians, a people of *Epirus*. *Thucyd. lib. 1.* dwelling by the River *Acheron*. *Livy, lib. 8.*

Molycræa a City of the *Locri Ozolæ*, on the Sea-side, next to *Antirrhiûm* on the part toward *Euenus*. *Paus. in Phocicis.*

Munychia, a Promontory of *Attica*, which with *Piræus* made the Harbour of the *Athenian* shipping, with three fair Havens within it. *Strab. lib. 9.*

Mycalæ, a Promontory over against the Isle *Samos*, *Herod. lib. 1.* A Mountain near to *Priene*, opposite to *Samos*, which with *Posideum* a Promontory of *Samos*, maketh the streight of seven furlongs over. *Strab. lib. 14.*

Mycaleſſus, a City of *Bœotia*, between *Thebes* and *Chalcis* of *Eubœa*. *Paus. in Bœoticis.* *Thucyd. lib. 7.*

Mycenæ, a City once the head of *Argia*, on the left hand to those that go from *Cleonæ* to *Argos*, distant from *Argos* 50 furlongs. *Strab. lib. 8.* *Paus. in Corinthiacis.*

Myconus, an Island, one of the *Cyclades*. *Vide Cyclades.*

Mygdonia, a Region of *Macedonia*, divided from *Bottia* by the River *Axius*, and reaching unto *Pallene*. *Herod. lib. 7.*

Mylasa, an upland City of *Caria*, nearest to the Sea at *Physcus*. *Strab. lib. 14.*

Myonnesus, a maritime City of *Ionica*, between *Teos* and *Lebedus*. *Strab. lib. 14.*

Myrcinus, a City of the *Edonians* in *Thrace*, by the River *Strymon*. *Herod. lib. 5.*

Myus, an *Ionique* City, 30 furlongs above the mouth of the River *Mæander*. *Strab. lib. 14.* Also a City of the *Locri Ozolæ*, near *Amphissa*, and 30 furlongs more remote from the Sea. *Paus. in Phocicis.*

N

N *Napaëus*, a City of the *Locri Ozolæ*, near to *Antirrhiûm*, within the *Crissæan* Bay. *Strab. lib. 9.* and next to it is *Oeanthea*. *Paus. in Phocicis.*

Nauplia, a City of *Argia*, in the *Argive* Bay, next after *Temenium*, towards the Promontory *Scyllæum*. *Strab. lib. 8.*

Naxus, an Island, one of the *Cyclades*. *Vide Cyclades.*

Neda, a River of *Peloponnesus*, rising in the Mountain *Lycaëum*. *Paus. in Arcadicis.* and passing through *Messenia*. *Idem in Messenicis.* It divideth the maritime parts of *Elis* and *Messenia*. *Strab. lib. 8.*

Nemea, a Forrest and Town, the Forrest between *Cleonæ* and *Phlius*. *Strab. lib. 8.* The Town between *Cleonæ* and *Argos*. *Pausan. in Corinth.* *Neritum,*

Neritum, the *Chersonesus* of *Lencas*, since cut off and made an Island by the *Corinthians*. *Strab. lib. 10.*

Nestus, a River of *Thrace*, that goeth out into the Sea, near to the City *Abdera*. *Herod. lib. 7.* on the West side of *Abdera*. *Strab. Epit. lib. 7.*

Nisea, the Haven Town to the City of *Megara*. *Pega* and *Nisea* comprehend the *Isthmus*, and are distant from each other 120 furlongs. *Strab. lib. 8.* On the East of the Island *Minoe*. *Idem. lib. 9.*

Nisyra, an Island, one of the *Sporades*, 60 furlongs from the Isle *Cos*, and as many from the Isle *Telos*, in compass 80 furlongs. *Strab. lib. 10.*

Nonacris, a City of *Arcadia*, to the West of *Pheneum*, and enclining to the right hand. *Paus. in Arcadicis.*

Notium, a Town on the Sea-side belonging to the *Colophonians*, and distant from *Colophon* two miles. *Livy, lib. 37.* Also a place in the Isle *Chius*, between the Promontory *Melena* and the Haven *Phana*. Distant from the City *Chius* by Land threescore furlongs, by Sea 300. *Strab. lib. 14.*

Nymphæum, a Promontory of Mount *Athos*, towards the Bay of *Singus*. *Strab. Ep. lib. 7.*

O

Oche, a Mountain, the greatest of *Eubœa*, near to the City *Carystus*. *Strab. lib. 10.*

Odomanti, a people of *Thrace*, near the Mountain *Pangæum*. *Herod. lib. 7.*

Odryse, a people of *Thrace*. *Thucyd. lib. 2.*

Oeantkei, a maritime City of the *Locri Ozolæ*. *Paus. in Phocicis.* Over against *Ægira* of *Achaia*. *Polyb. lib. 4.*

Oenias, a City of *Acarmania*, by the Sea-side, opposite to the Promontory *Araxus*, in *Peloponnesus*, and confining on *Ætolia*. *Polyb. lib. 4.* on the East-side of the River *Achelous*, at the mouth of it. *Strab. lib. 10.*

Oeneon, a City of the *Locri Ozolæ*, not far from *Naupactus*, as may be gathered out of *Thucyd. lib. 3.*

Oenoe, a Town on the border of *Attica*, towards *Bœotia*. *Thucyd. lib. 2.* *Oenoe* and *Hysia* the last of the Towns of *Attica*, towards *Bœotia*, on that part which is remotest from *Chalcis* and *Eubœa*. *Herod. lib. 5.*

Oenophyta, a place in *Bœotia*, *Thucyd. lib. 2.* but whereabouts I cannot find.

Oenussæ, certain Islands upon the Coast

of *Chius*. *Herod. lib. 1.* *Thucyd. lib. 8.*

Oeta, a Mountain near *Thermopylæ*, that part which is near *Thermopylæ*, for about 20 furlongs, is properly called *Oeta*, though the whole tract from *Thermopylæ*, as far as the Bay of *Ambracia*, be commonly also called *Oeta*. *Strab. lib. 9.*

Oecyme, a City of the *Edonians*. *Thucyd. lib. 4.* Beyond the River *Strymon*, and by the Sea-side, according to *Ptolomy*.

Olearus, an Island, one of the *Cyclades*. *Vide Cyclades.*

Olenus a City of *Achaia*, between *Patra* and *Dyme*, at the mouth of the River *Peirus*. *Paus. in Achaicis.*

Olpa, a Castle by the side of the Bay of *Ambracia*, near to *Argos Amphilocheum*. *Thucyd. lib. 3.*

Oepe, a City of the *Locri Ozolæ*. *Thucyd. lib. 3.* but whereabouts I know not.

Olophyxus, a City in Mount *Athos*. *Herod. lib. 7.*

Olympia, a place in *Elis*, with a Temple dedicate to *Jupiter*, upon the side of the River *Alpheus*, distant from the Sea 80 furlongs. *Strab. lib. 8.*

Olympus, a Mountain, which is the bound of *Thessaly* on the North, and of *Macedonia* on the South, between it and the Mountain *Ossa*, in a narrow Valley, runneth the River *Penæus*. *Herod. lib. 7.* *Paus. Eliacorum secundo.*

Olynthus, a City of the *Bottiaens* driven out of *Bottia* by the *Macedonians*. *Herod. lib. 8.* The *Bottiaens* driven out of *Bottia*, seated themselves on the borders of the *Chalcideans* towards *Thrace*. *Thucyd. lib. 2.* *Olynthus* standeth somewhat remote from the Sea, and about 60 furlongs from *Potidaea*. *Idem. lib. 2.* *Mecyberna*, which standeth on the Bay of *Torone*, served them for the place of their shipping. *Strab. Epit. lib. 7.*

Onugnathos, a Promontory of *Laccnia*, between which and *Malea*, is the City and Bay of *Boea*. *Paus. in Laccnicis.*

Ophionei, a people of *Ætolia*, toward the *Melian Gulf*. *Thucyd. lib. 3.*

Opus, the chief City of the *Locri Opuntii*, distant from the Sea 15 furlongs, opposite to *Ædepsa* in *Eubœa*. *Strab. lib. 9.*

Orchomenus, a City of *Bœotia*, confining on *Phocis*, through the Territory whereof the River *Cephissus* palleth from *Claronea* into

into the Lake *Copais*. *Strab. lib. 9. Paus. in Bæoticks.*

Also a City of *Arcadia*, confining on *Mantineia* and *Pheneum*. *Paus. in Arcadicis.*

Orestis, a Region of *Macedonia* confining on *Epirus*. *Thucyd. lib. 2.* not far from *Elymæa*. *Liv. lib. 31.*

Orestium } A City of *Arcadia*, in the way
or } between *Sparta* and the *Isth-*
Orestasum } mus. *Herod. lib. 9.* and between
Megalopolis and *Tegea*. *Paus. in Arcadicis.*

Orens, a City of the *Heftiæans*, in *Eubæa*. *Thucyd. lib. 1. Strab. lib. 9.* not far from the Promontory of *Ceneum*. *Id. lib. 9.* the first City of *Eubæa* on the left hand to them that come from the Bay of *Demetriæ*, (or *Pegasæan Bay*) toward *Chalcis*. *Livy, lib. 9.*

Orneæ, a City of *Argia*, on the borders of the *Phliæian* and *Sicyonian* Territories. *Paus. in Corinthiacis.*

Orobæ, a City of *Eubæa*, not far from *Ægæ*. *Strab. lib. 9.*

Oropus, a maritime Town in *Attica*, towards *Eubæa*, and opposite to *Eretria*. *Strab. lib. 9.* It is distant from *Eretria* 60 furlongs. *Thucyd. lib. 8.*

Ossa, a Mountain of *Thessaly*. Between *Ossa* and *Olympus*, in a narrow valley, runneth the River *Penæus*. *Herod. lib. 7.*

Othrys, a Mountain bounding *Thessaly* on the South. *Herod. lib. 7.* It hath on the North side the *Phthiotæ*, but reacheth also to the *Dolopians*. *Strab. lib. 9.*

P

Pæolus, a River of *Asia* the less, rising in the Mountain *Tmolus*, and falling into the River *Hermus*. *Strab. lib. 13.* It runneth through the Market-place of *Sardes*. *Herod. lib. 5.*

Pætya, a City standing in the *Isthmus* of the *Thracian Chersonnesus*, toward *Propon-tis*. *Herod. lib. 6.*

Pæonia, a Region of *Macedonia*, reaching on one side to the River *Strymon*. *Herod. lib. 5.* on the other side to the River *Axius*. *Paus. Eliacorum primo*, in the beginning.

Pæ, a City of *Cephallenia*, in the narrow part thereof, near to the Bay. *Strab. lib. 10.*

Palyre, a maritime City of *Acarnania*, between *Lucas* and *Alyzeæ*. *Strab. lib. 10.*

Pamisus, a River of *Messenia*, rising between *Thurium* and *Arcadia*, and falling into the Sea in the midst of the *Messenian Bay*. *Strab. lib. 8.*

Panaetum, a Town in *Attica*, on the Con-fines of *Bæotia*. *Thucyd. lib. 5.*

Panæi, a People of *Thrace*. * *Thucyd. lib. 2.*

Pangæum, a Mountain in *Thrace*, above the Region called the *Pierian Bay*. *Thucyd. lib. 2. Vide Pierian Bay.*

Panopeus, the same with *Phanotis*. *Vide Phanotis.*

Panormus, a Haven of *Achaia*, near to *Rhium*. *Thucyd. lib. 2.* opposite to *Naupactus*. *Polyb. lib. 4.* Distant from *Rhium* within the *Crissæan Bay* 15 furlongs. *Strab. lib. 9.* Also a Town in the Territory of *Miletus*. *Thucyd. lib. 8.*

Parasia, a City of *Thessaly*. *Thucyd. lib. 1.* Whereabouts in *Thessaly* I find not.

Parænei, a Nation of *Epirus*, near to the *Molossians*. *Thucyd. lib. 2. Plutarch. in quæst. Græcis, quæst. 13, 26.*

Parium, a maritime City of *Hellepont*, be-tween *Lampsacus* and *Priapus*. *Strab. lib. 13.*

Parnassus, a Mountain, on whose West part are the *Locri Ozolæ*; East part, the *Pho-ceans* and *Doreans*; and which extendeth to the Mountains that run along from *Thermo-pylæ* to the *Ambracian Bay*, and meeteth with them at a right Angle. *Strab. lib. 9.*

Parnethus, a Hill in *Peloponnesus*, where-in are the bounds of *Argia*, *Tegea*, and *Laco-nia*. *Paus. in Corinthiacis.* Also a Hill in *At-tica*. *Thucyd. lib. 2.*

Paros, an Island, one of the *Cyclades*. *Vide Cyclades.*

Parrhasia, a City and Territory of *Arca-dia*, bordering upon *Laconia*. *Thucyd. lib. 5.*

Patmus, an Island, one of the *Sporades*, on the West of *Icarus*. *Strab. lib. 10.*

Patræ, a maritime City of *Achaia*, distant from *Rhium*, fifty furlongs; from *Olenus* 80 furlongs. *Paus. in Achaicis. Strab. lib. 8.*

Pegæ, a City in the Mountainous part of *Megaris*. *Pausan. in Achaicis.* *Pegæ* and *Ni-seæ* comprehend the *Corinthian Isthmus*. *Strab. lib. 8.*

Pegasæa, a City of *Thessaly*, in the *Pegasæ-an Bay*. *Herod. lib. 7.*

Perræice, a small Territory on the Con-fines of *Attica* and *Bæotia*, near to *Oropus*. *Thucyd. lib. 2.*

Pelasgiotis, a Region of *Thessaly*, between *Estiotis*, and the Territory of *Magnesia*. *Strab. lib. 9.*

Pele,

Pele, an Island lying before *Clazomenæ*. *Thucyd.lib.8. Vide Clazomenæ.*

Pelion, a Mountain in the Territory of *Magnesia* in *Theffaly*, joyned to the Mountain *Ossa*. *Herod.lib.7.*

Pella, a City of *Macedony*, wherein *Alexander the Great* was born. It standeth in a Lake between the Rivers *Axius* and *Lydius*. *Strab.Epit.lib.7.*

Pellene, a City of *Achaia*, confining on *Sicyonia* and *Pheneum*, distant from the Sea 60 furlongs, and from *Ægira* 120 furlongs. *Paus.in Achaicis.* Also a Peninsula of *Macedony*, between the Bay of *Torone* and the Bay of *Therme*. *Herod. lib.7. Thucyd. lib.4.*

Pelagonia, a Region of *Macedonia*, toward *Illyris*. *Livy, lib.45.*

Peloponnesus, that part of *Greece* within the *Isthmus* of *Corinth*, now called *Morea*.

Peneus, a River of *Theffaly*, rising in the Mountain *Pindus*, near to *Macedony*, *Strab. lib.7.* running by *Larissa*, and thence through *Tempe* into the Sea. *Idem. lib.9.* It divideth *Ossa* from *Olympus* with a narrow Valley, and receiveth into it the Rivers *Apidanus*, *Enipeus*, and others. *Herod.lib.7.* Also a River of *Peloponnesus*, between the Promontory *Cheilonata*, and the Town *Cyllene*. *Strab. lib.8.*

Perarethus, an Island that lieth before *Magnesia*. *Strab. lib.9.*

Pergamus, a City of the *Pierians* of *Thrace* under the Mountain *Pangæum*. *Herod.lib.7.* Also an *Æolique* City, 120 furlongs from the Sea, by the side of the River *Caicus*. *Strab. lib.13.*

Perinthus, a maritime City of *Thrace*, on the side of *Propontis*.

Perrhæbi, a People of *Theffaly*, that inhabit the Mountainous Country about *Olympus*, from the City *Atrax*, as far as to *Tempe*, and the City *Gyrton*. *Strab. lib.9.* Out of *Macedony* into *Theffaly* there lieth a way through the *Perrhæbi*, by the City *Gonnus*. *Herod.l.7.*

Petalia, a Promontory of *Eubæa*, against which lie the Islands called also *Petalie*, opposite to the Promontory *Sunium* in *Attica*. *Strab. lib.10.*

Phacium, a City of *Theffaly*, between *Pharsalus* and *Dion*. *Thucyd.lib.4.*

Phagres. *Phagres* in *Thucydides*, *Niphagres* in *Herodotus*, a City of the *Pierians*, between *Pangæum* and the Sea, *Thucyd. lib.2. Herod. lib.7.*

Phaleron, a maritime Town of *Attica*, between *Piræus* and *Halinus*. *Strab.lib.8.* It was heretofore the Haven of *Athens*. *Paus. in Atticis.* distant from *Athens* 20 furlongs. *Idem in Arcadicis.*

Phanæ, a Haven in the Isle *Chios*. *Livy, lib.44.* between the Promontory *Posidenum* and the shore called *Notium*. *Strab. lib.14.*

Phanotis a City of *Phocis*, upon the River *Cephissus*. *Strab. lib.9.* the same with *Panopæus*, distant 20 furlongs from *Cheronea* in *Bœotia*. *Paus. in Phocicis.*

Pharæ, a City in the *Messenian* Bay, next after *Cardamyle*, Westward. *Strab. lib.8.* above it, within the Land, are *Thurium* and *Anthea*, 80 furlongs distant from it. *Paus. in Laconicis.* Also a City of *Achaia*, upon the River *Peirus*, distant from *Patræ*, 150 furlongs, from the Sea 70 furlongs, *Paus. in Achaicis.*

Pharsalus, a City of *Theffaly*, by the River *Apidanus*, *Strab. lib.8.*

Pharibus. *Pharibus* to *Ptolomy*, but in *Livy* *Baphyrus*, a River of *Macedonia*, falling into the Sea near to the City *Dion*. *Liv.*

Pheia, a City of *Elis*, between the mouth of the River *Alpheus*, and the Promontory *Ithys*. *Strab.lib.8.*

Pheneum, a City of *Arcadia*, confining on *Pellene* and *Ægira*, Cities of *Achaia*, and on *Stymphalus*, *Nonacris*, and *Cleitoe*, Cities of *Arcadia*. *Paus. in Arcadicis.*

Pheræ, a City of *Theffaly*, near the Lake *Boebei*s, and confining on *Pelion*, and the Territory of *Magnesia*. *Strab.lib.9.*

Phile, a Town on *Attica*, confining on *Tanagra* of *Bœotia*. *Strab.lib.9.*

Phlius, a City near the head of the River *Asopus* in *Achaia*, the Territory whereof is inclosed as it were in a circle, with the Territories of *Sicyon*, *Cleonæ*, and *Stymphalus*. *Strab.lib.8.*

Phocæa, an Ionique City in *Lydia*, at the mouth of the River *Hermus*. *Herod. lib.1.* the bound of *Ionia* that way. *Strab.lib.14.*

Phocis, a Region of *Greece*, between the *Locri Ozolæ* and *Bœotia*. *Ætolia*, *Locris*, *Phocis*, *Bœotia*, lie parallel one to another. The *Phocæans* inhabit the East side of *Parnassus*, *Strab.lib.9.* and extend by the Sea-side from *Cirrha* to *Anticyra*. *Paus. in Phocicis.*

Phœnicus portus, a Haven in *Messenia*, near the Promontory *Acritas*, between it and the

the City *Methone*. *Paus. in Messenicis*. Also a Haven in the *Peninsula Erythræa*, under the Hill *Mimas*. *Thucyd. lib. 8.*

Phologandros, an Island to the West of the Island *Ios*. *Strab. lib. 10.*

Phrygiæ, a place in *Attica*, near *Acharnæ*. *Thucyd. lib. 2.*

Phygalea, a City of *Arcadia*, on the Confines of *Messenia*. *Polyb. lib. 4.* upon the River *Lymax*, which falleth into the River *Neda*. *Paus. in Arcadicis.*

Phycus, a Castle not far from *Lepreum* in *Elis*. *Thucyd. lib. 5.*

Physca, a City of *Macedonia*. *Thucyd. lib. 2.* *Ptolomy* placeth it about the River *Chedorus*, not far from the River *Axius*.

Physcus, a maritime City of *Caria*, between *Loryma* and *Caunus*, opposite to *Rhodes*. *Strab. lib. 14.*

Phytia a City on the West side of the River *Achelous*, not far out of the way from *Stratus*, into *Agræis*, as may be gathered out of *Thucydides*, *lib. 3.*

Pieria, a maritime City of *Macedony*, touching on one side of the River *Penæus*. *Strab. lib. 9.* and on the other side the Confluent of the Rivers *Lydius* and *Aliacmon*, where begins *Bottiaæ*, according to *Herodotus*, *lib. 7.*

Pierius sinus, a tract of Land between the Mountain *Pangæum* and the Sea, in which standeth the City *Phagres*. *Thucyd. lib. 2.* *Pergamus* and *Niphagres* Towns of the *Pierians*, under the Hill *Pangæum*, on the West of the River *Nestus*. *Herod. lib. 7.*

Pindus, a Mountain bounding *Theffaly*, on the West. *Herod. lib. 7.* It hath on the South the *Dolopians*; on the North, *Macedony*. *Strab. lib. 9.* Also a City of the Region called *Doris*, one of the four for which it was called *Tetrapolis*, and standeth above *Erineus*. *Strab. lib. 9.*

Piræus, a Town and Haven of *Attica*, serving for the shipping of *Athens*, in the midst between *Pegæ* and *Sunium*. *Strab. lib. 8.* distant from *Athens* forty furlongs. *Thucyd. lib. 2.* Also a desert Haven in the Territory of *Corinth*, the utmost towards *Epidaurus*. *Thucyd. lib. 8.*

Pirefia, a City of *Theffaly*, near the mouth of the River *Penæus*. *Ex interprete Orphei Argonaut.*

Pitane, an *Æolique* City in the shore of

Asia, *Herod. lib. 1.* between *Atarneus* and the mouth of the River *Caicus*. *Strab. lib. 13.* Also a City of *Messenia*, on the Confines of *Elis*. *Strab. lib. 8.*

Platea, a City of *Bœotia*, 70 furlongs from *Thebes*. Between these Cities runneth the River *Asopus*. *Thucyd. lib. 2.* *Paus. in Bœoticis.* It standeth between Mount *Cithæron* and *Thebes*, near the Confines of *Attica* and *Megaris*. *Strab. lib. 9.*

Pleuron, a City of *Ætolia*, between *Chalcis* and *Calydon*, upon the River *Euenus*, on the Sea-side, West of *Chalcis* and the mouth of the River. *Strab. lib. 10.*

Polichna, a Town in the Continent of *Asia*, near to *Clazomenæ*. *Thucyd. lib. 8.*

Polis, a Village of the *Locri Ozolæ*. *Thucyd. lib. 3.*

Posideum, a Temple dedicated to *Neptune*: and because those Temples were for the most part in Promontories, and places open to the Sea, divers Promontories have been so called. There is *Posideum* a Promontory of *Chius*, opposite to the Promontory of *Argenum* in *Erythræa*, and between the City *Chius* and the Haven *Phanæ*. *Strab. lib. 14.* Also a Promontory of the *Milesians*, the utmost of *Ionia* Southward. *Strab. lib. 14.* Also a Promontory of *Samos*, which, with *Mycale* in the Continent, make the Straight there of seven furlongs over. *Strab. lib. 14.* Also a Promontory of *Pellene* near the City of *Menda*. *Thucyd. lib. 5.* Of two Promontories that are in *Pallene*, (*Canastrea* being one) this is the lesser. *Livy, lib. 44.* Also a Temple in the *Corinthian Isthmus*, where were celebrated the *Isthmian Games*.

Potidæa, a City in *Pallene*. *Herod. lib. 7.* in the very *Isthmus* of it. *Thucyd. lib. 1.* *Cassandra* is a City in the Streight that joyneth *Pellene* to *Macedony*, enclosed on one side with the *Toronean Bay*; on the other, with the *Macedonian Sea*. *Livy, lib. 44.* *Cassandra* was formerly called *Potidæa*. *Strab. Ep. lib. 7.*

Potidania, a City of *Ætolia*, on the Confines of the *Locri Ozolæ*. *Thucyd. lib. 3.*

Præsa, a maritime City of *Laconia*, In the Bay of *Argos*. *Strab. lib. 8.* *Paus. in Laconicis*, the last *Laconian* City towards *Argos*, and distant from *Cyphanta* 200 furlongs. *Paus. in Laconicis.* Also a Town in *Attica*, by the Sea-side towards *Eubœa*, between *Thoricus* and *Brauron*. *Strabo lib. 9.*

Prepesinthus,

Prepesinthus, an Island, one of the *Cyclades*.
Vide Cyclades.

Priapus, a City lying upon *Propontis*, between *Lampascus* and the River *Granicus*.
Strab. lib. 13.

Priene, an Ionique City in *Caria*. *Herod. lib. 7.* between the mouth of *Meander*, and the Mountain *Mycale*. *Strab. lib. 14.*

Proconnesus, an Island in *Propontis*, over against the shore that is between *Parium* and *Priapus*. *Strab. lib. 13.*

Prone, a City of *Cephalenia*. *Thucyd. lib. 2.*
Strab. lib. 10.

Propontis, the Sea between *Hellepont* and *Pontus Euxinus*. *Strab. lib. 2.*

Proschion, a City of *Ætolia*, not far from *Pleuron*, but more remote from the Sea.
Strab. lib. 10.

Prote, an Island over against *Messenia*, not far from *Pylus*. *Thucyd. lib. 4.*

Psira, An Island, distant 50 furlongs from *Melena* a Promontory of *Chius*, *Strab. lib. 44.*

Psytalea, an Isle between the Continent of *Attica*, and the Isle *Salamis*. *Herod. lib. 7.*

Psophis, a City of *Arcadia*, in the West parts thereof, towards *Achaia* and *Elis*. *Polyb. lib. 4.*

Pteleum, a Town on the Sea side in *Erythraea*. *Thucyd. lib. 8.*

Phthiotis, the South part of *Thessaly*, reaching in length to mount *Pindus*, and in breadth as far as *Pharsalus*. *Strab. lib. 9.*

Ptychia, a small Island, near to the City *Corcyra*. *Thucyd. lib. 4.*

Pydna, a Macedonian City in *Pieria*, *Strab. Epit. lib. 7.* opposite to *Ænea*. *Liv.*

Pylus, a City of *Messenia*, in the Promontory *Coryphasium*, distant from *Metbone* 100 furlongs. *Paus. in Messenicis. Thucyd. lib. 4, 5.* Also a City of *Elis*, at the confluent of *Pe-neus* and *Ladon*. *Paus. Eliacorum secundo.*

Pydius, a River between *Abydus* and *Dardanus*. *Thucyd. lib. 8.* It seemeth to be the same which *Strabo* calleth *Rhodium*. *Vide Rhodium.*

Pyræa, a Promontory of *Asia* the less, which with *Gargara* (another Promontory) distant from it 120 furlongs, maketh the Bay of *Adramyttium*, properly so called. *Strab. lib. 13.* Also a City of *Lesbos*, on the Sea-side towards *Greece*, distant from *Mitylene*, which is on the other Sea, 80 furlongs. *Strab. lib. 13.* Also a City of *Ionis*, in the *Lat-mian Bay*. *Strab. lib. 14.*

R

Rhamnus, a maritime Town of *Attica*, between *Marathon* and *Oropus*, distant from *Marathon* 60 furlongs. *Paus. in Atticis.*

Rheiti, certain Brooks of salt water, supposed to come from the Sea between *Attica* and *Eubæa*, under ground, as from the hither Sea, and rising in *Attica*, to fall into the *Saronian Bay*, as a lower Sea, between *Piræus* and *Eleusis*. *Paus. in Atticis & Corinthiacis.*

Rhenea, an Island, four furlongs distant from *Delos*. *Strab. lib. 10.* It lieth before *Delos*, as *Sphaacteria* before *Pylus*. *Paus. in fine Messenicorum.* *Polycrates* Tyrant of *Samos* tied it to *Delos* with a chain. *Thucyd. lib. 3.*

Rhium, a Promontory of *Achaia*, between *Patrae* and *Ægium*, which with *Antirrhium*, maketh the streight of the *Corinthian* (or *Crissæan*) Bay of five furlongs over. *Strab. lib. 8.* *Rhium Achaicum*, and *Antirrhium*, (which is also called *Rhium Molychricum*) are the jaws of the *Corinthian Bay*. *Livy, lib. 28.*

Rhodone, a Mountain of *Thrace*. *

Rhodium, a River in the *Hellepont*, between *Abydus* and *Dardanus*. *Strab. lib. 13.*

Rhodus, an Island in the *Carpathian Sea*, 920 furlongs in compass, inhabited by the *Doreans*, *Strab. lib. 14.*

Rhoetium, a City of *Hellepont*. *Thucyd. lib. 8.* on the Sea-side, between *Dardanium* and *Sigeum*. *Strab. lib. 13.*

Rhipes, a City of *Achaia*, thirty furlongs from *Ægium*. *Paus. in Achaicis.*

S

Sala, a City of the *Samothracians*, in the shore of *Doriscus*. *Herod. lib. 7.*

Salamis, an Island adjacent to *Eleusis* of *Attica*. *Strab. lib. 8.* *Paus. in Atticis.*

Same, a City in the Island *Cephalenia*, at the passage between it and *Ithaca*. *Strab. lib. 10.*

Samia, a City of *Elis*, a little above *Samicum*, between which Cities runneth the River *Anigrus*. *Paus. Eliacorum primo.*

Samicum, a maritime City of *Elis*, the first beyond the River *Neda*, at the mouth of the River *Anigrus*. *Paus. Eliacorum primo.*

Samintus, a Town of *Argia*, in the Plains of *Argos* towards *Nemea*. *Thucyd. lib. 5.*

Samothracia, an Island in the *Ægean Sea*, over against the mouth of the River *He-brus*. *Pliny, lib. 4.*

Samus, an *Ionique* Island, and City of the same name. The Island is six hundred furlongs about, and *Posideum* a Promontory thereof, not above seven furlongs from the Continent. The City standeth on the South part of it, at the Sea-side. *Strab.lib.14.*

Sane, a City in *Pallene*. *Herod.lib.7. Strab. Epit. lib.7.* Also a City by the side of the Ditch made by *Xerxes*, in Mount *Athos*, without the same, and to the Bay of *Singus*. *Herod. lib.7. Thucyd.lib.4.*

Sardes, the chief City of the *Lydians*, situate under the Hill *Tmolus*. *Strab. lib. 13.* Through it runneth the River *Pactolus*. *Herod.lib.5.*

Scamander, a River of *Troas*, rising in Mount *Ida*. *Simoeis*, and *Scamander* meet in a Fen, and then go out into the Sea by one Channel, at *Sigeum*. *Strab.lib.13.*

Scandarium, a Promontory of the Island *Cos*, near the City *Cos*, opposite to *Termerium*, a Promontory of the Continent. *Strab. lib. 14.*

Scandea, a City in the Island *Cythera*. *Paus. in Laconicis.*

Scepsis, a City of *Troas*, in the highest part of Mount *Ida*. *Strab.lib.13.*

Scione, a City in *Pallene*. *Herod.lib.7. between Mende and Sane. Strab.Epit.lib.7.*

Sciritis, the Territory of *Scirus*, a *Laconian* Town on the Confines of *Parrhasia* in *Arcadia*, near to *Cypselæ*. *Thucyd.lib.1.*

Schœnus, a Haven of the Territory of *Corinth*, at the narrowest part of the *Isthmus*, between *Cenchreæ* and *Crommyon*. *Strab.lib.8.*

Scholus, a City of *Chalcideæ*, not far from *Olynthus*. *Strab.lib.9.*

Scomius, a Mountain in *Thrace*, out of which riseth the River *Strymon*. *Thucyd.lib.2.*

Scyathus, an Island in the *Ægean* Sea, lying before the Territory of *Magnesia*. *Strab.lib.9.* Between *Scyathus* & the Continent of *Magnesia*, there is a narrow straight. *Herod.lib.7.*

Scyllæum, a Promontory of *Peloponnesus*, the bound of the Bay of *Argos*, towards *Corinth*. *Strab.lib.8.*

Scyrus, an Island in the *Ægean* Sea, lying over against the Continent of *Magnesia*, *Strab.lib.9.* between *Eubœa* and *Lesbos*. *Plin.lib.4.*

Sellasia, a Town in *Laconia*, between *Lacedæmon* and the Hill *Parnethus*, which is the bound of *Laconia* and *Argia*. *Paus. in Laconicis.*

Selimbria, a City of *Thrace*, by the side of *Propontis*.

Sepias, a Promontory of *Magnesia*. *Herod. lib.7.* the beginning of the *Pegasæan* Bay. *Ptolomy.*

Seriphus, an Island, one of the *Cyclades*. *Vide Cyclades.*

Serrium, a Promontory; the utmost Westward, of the shore of *Doris* in *Thrace*. *Herod.lib.7.*

Sermyla, a City of *Chalcideæ*, upon the *Toronean* Bay. The Navy of *Xerxes* being come about the Promontory *Ampelus* passed by these Cities, *Torone*, *Galepus*, *Sermyla*, &c. *Herod. lib.7.*

Sestus, a City of the *Thracian Chersonesus*, thirty furlongs from *Abydus*, but nearer to *Propontis* than *Abydus* is. *Strab. lib.13.*

Sicinus, an Island not far from *Melos*, on the West of the Island *Ios*. *Strab. lib.10.*

Sicyon, a City of *Peloponnesus*, between *Corinth* and *Achaia*, distant 100 furlongs from *Phlius*. *Paus. in Corinth.*

Sidussa, a Town by the Sea-side in *Erythræa*. *Thucyd.lib.8.*

Sigeum, a City and Promontory of *Troas*, at the mouth of the River *Scamander*. *Strab. lib.13.*

Sigrum, the most Northern Promontory of the Isle *Lesbos*, between *Eressus* and *Antissa*. *Strab. lib.13.*

Simois, a River of *Troas*, which running into a Fen, joyneth there with the River *Scamander*. *Strab. lib.13.*

Singus, and the Bay of *Singus*. A Town, and Bay taking name from it, between Mount *Athos* and *Torone*. *Herod.lib.7.*

Sintii, a people about *Amphipolis*. *Livy, lib. 44.* divided from *Pæonia* by the Mountain *Cercine*. *Thucyd. lib.2.*

Siphæ, a City of *Bœotia*, upon the *Crissæan* Bay. *Paus. in Bœoticis.*

Siphnus, an Island, one of the *Cyclades*. *Vide Cyclades.*

Smyrna, a maritime City of *Asia*, in the Bay called from it the Bay of *Smyrna*, beyond *Clazomenæ* towards *Æolis*. *Strab.lib.14.*

Solium, a maritime Town of *Acarnania*. *Thucyd.Scholias. ad lib.2.*

Sparta, the same with *Lacedæmon*. *Strab. lib.10. Vide Lacedæmon.*

Spartolus, a City of the *Bottiaens*, on the border of the *Chalcideans*. *Thucyd. lib.2.*

Sperchius,

Sperchius, a River that riseth in *Dolopia*, at a Mountain called *Tymphestus*, and falleth into the *Melian Bay*, ten furlongs within *Thermopylæ*. *Strab. lib. 9.*

Sphaacteria, a little Island lying before *Pylius* of *Messenia*. *Thucyd. l. 4. Paus. in Messenicis.*

Sporades, Islands upon the Coast of *Caria*, and of *Creta*. *Strab. lib. 8.*

Stagirus, a City in the Bay of *Strymon*, between *Argilus* and *Acanthus*. *Herod. lib. 7.*

Stratus, a City of the *Amphilochians* in *Acarmania*, upon the River *Achelous*. *Thucyd. lib. 3. 200 furlongs from the Rivers mouth. Strab. lib. 10.*

Strophades, Islands over against *Messenia*, about 400 furlongs from the Continent. *Strab. lib. 8.*

Stryma, a City on the Coast of *Thrace*, next after *Mesembria*, towards *Macedonia*. *Herod. lib. 7.*

Strymon, a River dividing *Thrace* from *Macedony*. It riseth in the Hill *Scomius*, *Thucyd. lib. 2.* It passeth by *Amphipolis*, on both sides of it, and falleth into the Sea at the City *Eion*. *Herod. lib. 7.* It is said to rise out of the Mountain *Rhodope*. *Strab. Epit. lib. 7.* But it is probable that the Hill *Scomius* is part of *Rhodope*.

Stymphalus, a City of *Arcadia*, confining on the Territory of *Pblins*. *Paus. in Arcadicis. Strab. lib. 8.*

Styra, a City in *Eubæa*, near to the City *Carystus*. *Strab. lib. 10.*

Sunium, a Promontory and Town in *Attica*, towards *Eubæa*, between the *Saronean Bay* and the Sea towards *Eubæa*. *Strab. lib. 10.* and distant from *Eubæa* 300 furlongs. *Idem. lib. 9.*

Sybota, Islands between *Leucymne*, a Promontory of *Corcyra*, and the Continent. *Strab. lib. 7. Thucyd. lib. 1.* Also a Haven by the Promontory of *Cheimerium*, in the same Continent. *Thucyd. lib. 1.*

Syme, an Island over against the Continent of *Caria*, between *Lorima* and *Cnidus*. *Strab. lib. 14.*

Syros, an Island, one of the *Cyclades*. *Vide Cyclades.*

T

T*enarus*, a Promontory of *Laconia*, between the *Laconian* and the *Messenian Bays*. *Paus. in Laconicis.* Also a maritime City of *Laconia*, in the *Messenian Bay*, distant

from *Tenarus* the Promontory 40 furlongs. *Paus. in Laconicis.*

Tanagra, a City of *Bæotia*, confining on *Attica*, 30 furlongs from *Aulis*, a Haven on the *Eubæan Sea*. *Strab. lib. 9.*

Taulantii, a People of *Illyris*, about *Dyrrachium* (or *Epidamnus*) *Strab. lib. 7. Thucyd. l. 1.*

Taygetus, a Mountain of *Laconia*, beginning at the Sea, above *Thurides*, and reaching up towards *Arcadia*, as far as *Amyclæ* and *Lacedæmon*. *Strab. lib. 8.*

Tegea, a City of *Arcadia*, between *Argos* and *Lacedæmon*. *Thucyd. lib. 5. Herod. lib. 6. Polyb. lib. 4.* the Territory thereof confineth with the *Argives* at *Hysia*, with *Laconia* at the River *Alpheus*, and with the Territory of *Thyrea* at the Hill *Parnethus*. *Paus. in Arcad.* These Cities of *Peloponnesus*, *Argos*, *Tegea*, and *Mantineia*, though much celebrated in History, are placed with little consideration of any History, in all the Maps that I have hitherto seen.

Teichiussa, a Castle of the *Milesians* in the Bay of *Iassus*. *Thucyd. lib. 8.*

Telos, an Island over against *Triopium*. *Herod. lib. 7.* a narrow Island, in circuit 140 furlongs, adjacent to *Cnidus*. *Strab. lib. 10.*

Temenium, a Town in *Argia*, distant from *Argos* 26 furlongs. *Strab. lib. 8.* from *Nauplia* 50 furlongs. *Paus. in Corinth.*

Tempe, a pleasant Valley between the Mountains *Ossa* and *Olympus*: through it runneth the River *Penæus*. *Herod. lib. 7. Strab. lib. 9. Livy, lib. 44.*

Tenedus, an Island in circuit about 80 furlongs, opposite to the Continent of *Troas*, at *Achaëum*, between *Sigeum* and *Larissa*, and distant from it 40 furlongs. *Strab. lib. 13.*

Tenos, an Island, one of the *Cyclades*. *Vide Cyclades.*

Teos, a maritime City of *Ionia*, situate in the very *Isthmus* of the *Erythræan Chersonesus*, distant from *Lebedus* 120 furlongs. *Strab. lib. 14.*

Termerium, a Promontory of the *Mindians*, opposite to the Isle *Cos*. *Strab. lib. 14.*

Tenglussa, an Island not far from *Halicanassus*. *Thucyd. lib. 8.*

Thassus, an Island upon the Coast of *Thrace*, half a days sail from *Amphipolis*. *Thucyd. lib. 4.*

Thebæ the principal City of *Bæotia*, situate near the Rivers *Ismenus* and *Asopus*. *Strab. lib. 9.* distant from *Platea* 70 furlongs. *Thucyd. lib. 2.*

Thera,

Tbera, an Island on the Coast of *Crete*, distant from a Promontory thereof called *Dion*, 70 furlongs, *Strab.lib.10.*

Therasia, a small Island near to *Tbera*. *Strab.lib.10.*

Therme and the } *Therme* is a City in the bot-
Thermean Bay. } tom of the *Thermean Bay*; and
the *Thermean Bay* is presently within *Pallene*. *Herod.lib.7.*

Thermopylae, the straight entrance into *Greece* out of *Thessaly*, of about half an Acres breadth, between the Mountain *Oeta* and the *Melian Bay*. Called *Thermopylae*, from hot waters that rise there (which the *Grecians* call *Therme*,) and from Gates made there by the *Phocians* in old time, (which they call *Pylae*.) *Herod.lib.7.* This streight is distant from *Chalcis* in *Eubæa* 530 furlongs. *Strab.lib.9.*

Thespie, a City of *Bæotia*, under Mount *Helicon*, on the Confines of the City *Aliartus*. *Pausan.in Bæoticis*, near to the *Crissæan Bay*. *Strab.lib.9.*

Thesprotis, a maritime Region of *Epirus*, bordering on the *Ambraciotes* and *Leucadians*. *Herod.lib.8.* The *Chaones* and *Thesproti* have the whole Coast, from the *Ceraunian Mountains* to the Bay of *Ambracia*. *Strab.lib.7.*

Thessalia, a Region of *Greece*, contained within the Mountains *Olympus*, *Offa*, *Pelion*, (which is to the Sea,) *Otobrys* and *Pyndus*. *Herod.lib.7.* where he layeth out the bounds of *Thessaly* exactly.

Thoricus, a maritime Town of *Attica*, toward the *Eubæan Sea*, next beyond the Promontory *Sunium*. *Strab.lib.9.* Vide *Helena*.

Thracia, a Kingdom bordering on *Macedony*, at the River *Strymon*, described at large by *Thucyd.lib.2.*

Tbrio, and } *Tbria* or *Tbrio*, a Town of *Atti-*
Tbriaſii campi. } ca, between *Athens* & *Eleusis*, over
against *Salamis*. The Fields belonging to it, are called *Tbriaſii Campi*, and the shore *Tbriaſium litus*. *Strab.lib.9.* *Herod.lib.8.*

Thronium, a City of *Locris*, upon the *Melian Bay*, between the Promontory *Cnemides*, and *Thermopylae*. *Strab.lib.9.*

Thurides, a City in the *Messenian Bay*, the first towards the East, distant from the Promontory *Tenarus* 70 furlongs. *Paus.in Laconicis*.

Thurium, a City of *Laconia*, 80 furlongs above *Phare*. *Paus.in Messenicis*.

Thyamis, a River of *Epirus*, dividing *Thesprotis* from *Cestrine*. *Thucyd.lib.1.*

Thyamus, a Hill on the Confines of *Agræis* and *Amphilochia*, not far from *Argos Amphilochicum*. *Thucyd.lib.3.*

Thyrea, a maritime City, in the Bay of *Argos*, in the Territory called *Cynuria*, it confineth on

Argia and *Laconia*. *Thucyd.lib.5.* and on the Territory of *Tegea*. *Paus.in Arcadicis*.

Thyſſus, a City in Mount *Athos*. *Thucyd.lib.4.* *Herod.lib.7.*

Tichium, a City of *Ætolia*, in the part inhabited by the *Apodoti*. *Thucyd.lib.8.*

Tiborea, a City in the top of *Parnassus*, called also *Neon*, 80 furlongs from *Delphi*. *Pausan.in Phocicis*.

Tmolus, a Mountain between the River *Cayſtrus* and the City of *Sardes*. *Herod.lib.5.* *Sardes* standeth at the foot of *Tmolus*, and out of this Hill riseth the River *Paſſolus*. *Strab.lib.13.*

Tolophon, a City of the *Locri Ozolæ*. *Thucyd.lib.3.*

Tomeus, a Hill near to *Pylus* in *Messenia*. *Thucyd.lib.4.*

Torone, and } *Torone* is a *Chalcidique* City, be-
the Bay of } tween the *Singitique* and *Toronean*
Torone.---- } Bays, near the Promontory *Am-*
pelus. *Herod.lib.7.* The place of the *Toronean Bay* is understood out of *Livy*, lib. 44. where he saith, that *Cassandrea* (or *Potidæa*) standeth between the *Macedonian Sea*, and the Bay of *Torone*.

Tragia, an Island near to *Samos*. *Thucyd.lib.1.*

Tragæe, Islands about *Miletus*. *Strab.lib.14.*

Triopium, a Promontory of the *Cnidians*. *Thucyd.lib.8.* Vide *Cnidus*.

Tripodiscus, a Village of *Megaris*. *Thucyd.lib.4.*

Tritea, a City of *Achaia*, remote from the Sea, distant from *Phare* 120 furlongs. *Paus.in Achaicis*. Also a City of the *Locri Ozolæ*. *Thucyd.lib.3.*

Troas, a Territory of *Asia* the Less, upon the side of the *Ægean Sea*, between *Æolis* and *Hellespont*. *Strab.lib.13.*

Trazen, a maritime City of *Argia*, the utmost in the Bay of *Hermione*. *Strab.lib.8.* confining on *Epidauria*. *Paus.in Corinthiacis*.

Troya. Vide *Ilium*.

Trogilium, a Promontory, and foot of the Mountain *Mycæe*, over against the Isle *Samos*, which with *Posideum*, a Promontory of that Isle, maketh the streight there of seven furlongs over. *Strab.lib.6.*

Z

Zacynthus, an Island over against *Peloponnesus*. *Strab.lib.10.* Now called *Zante*.

Zarex, a maritime City of *Laconia*, distant on one side from *Epidaurus Limera* 100 furlongs, and from *Cyphanta*, on the other side, sixteen furlongs. *Paus.in Laconicis*,

Zeieia, a City under Mount *Ida*, toward *Propontis*, distant from *Cyzicus* 190 furlongs, and from the Sea 80 furlongs. *Strab.lib.13.*

Zona, a City on the shore of *Dorisens* in *Thrace*. *Herod.lib.7.*

THE HISTORY OF THUCYDIDES.

BOOK I.

The PRINCIPAL CONTENTS.

The Estate of Greece, derived from the remotest known Antiquity thereof, to the beginning of the Peloponnesian War. The Occasion and Pretexts of this War, arising from the Controversies of the Athenians with the Corinthians, concerning Corcyra and Potidæa. The Lacedæmonians, instigated by the Confederates, undertake the War; not so much at their instigation, as of envy to the greatness of the Athenian Dominion. The degrees by which that Dominion was acquired. The War generally decreed by the Confederates at Sparta. The Demands of the Lacedæmonians. The obstinacy of the Athenians; and their Answer, by the advice of Pericles.



THUCYDIDES an Athenian, wrote the War of the Peloponnesians and the Athenians, * as they * *ὡς ἐπολέμησαν* warred against each other; beginning to write, as soon as the War was on foot, with expectation it should prove a great one, and most worthy the relation, of all that had been before it: Conjecturing so much, both from this, that they flourished on both sides in all manner of provision: and also because he saw the rest of Greece, siding with the one or the other Faction; some then presently, and some intending so to do. For this was certainly the greatest Commotion that ever happened amongst the Grecians, reaching also to part of the * *Barbarians*, and, as a man may say, to most Nations. For the Actions that

* The common appellation given by the Grecians, to all Nations besides themselves.

To make it appear that this War was greater than any before it, the Author sheweth the Imbecility of former Times; describing three Periods: 1. From the beginning of the Grecian memory to the War of Troy. 2. The War it self. 3. The time from thence, to the present War which he writeth.

preceded this, and those again that are yet more ancient, though the truth of them, through length of time, cannot by any means clearly be discovered; yet for any Argument that (looking into Times far past) I have yet light on to perswade me, I do not think they have been very great, either for matter of War, or otherwise.

The state of Greece
before the Trojan
War.

* Greece.

* Περίοροι Χρημα-
ται.

† Χρηματίζετο Aristot.
Whatsoever is esti-
mated by money.

* The Territory of the
Athenian City, so cal-
led from Atthis, the
Daughter of Cranaus.
† The Athenians had
an opinion of them-
selves, that they were
not descended from o-
ther Nations, but that
their Ancestors were
ever the Inhabitants
of Attica: wherefore
they also stiled them-
selves αὐθιγγοί, i.
men of the same Land.

The original of the
name Hellas.

* The name of Helle-
nes not given to all
the Grecians in the
time that Homer
wrote his Poems.

For it is evident, that that which now is called * *Hellas*, was not of old constantly inhabited; but that, at first, there were often removals, every one easily leaving the place of his abode, to the violence always of some greater number. For whiles Traffick was not, nor mutual entercourse, but with fear, neither by Sea nor Land; and every man so husbanded the ground, as but barely to live upon it, without any * stock of † Riches; and planted nothing, (because it was uncertain when another should invade them, and carry all away, especially, not having the defence of Walls) but made account to be Masters in any place, of such necessary sustenance, as might serve them from day to day, they made little difficulty to change their habitations. And for this cause, they were of no ability at all, either for greatness of Cities, or other provision. But the fattest Soils were always the most subject to these changes of Inhabitants; as that which is now called *Thessalia*, and *Boeotia*, and the greatest part of *Peloponnesus*, (except *Arcadia*) and of the rest of *Greece*, whatsoever was most fertile. For, the goodness of the Land increasing the power of some particular men, both caused Seditions, (whereby they were ruined at home) and withal, made them more obnoxious to the insidiation of strangers. From hence it is, that * *Attica*, from great antiquity, for the sterility of the Soil, free from Seditions, hath been inhabited ever by the same † People. And it is none of the least evidences of what I have said, That *Greece*, by reason of sundry transplantations, hath not in other parts received the like augmentation. For, such as by War, or Sedition, were driven out of other places, the most potent of them, as to a place of stability, retired themselves to *Athens*; where receiving the Freedom of the City, they long since so increased the same in number of People, as *Attica*, being incapable of them it self, they sent out Colonies into *Ionia*.

And to me, the imbecility of ancient Times, is not a little demonstrated also by this [that followeth.] For before the *Trojan War*, nothing appeareth to have been done by *Greece* in common; nor indeed was it, as I think, called all by that one name of *Hellas*; nor before the time of *Hellen*, the son of *Deucalion*, was there any such name at all. But *Pelagium* (which was the farthest extended) and the other parts, by Regions, received their names from their own Inhabitants. But *Hellen* and his Sons being strong in *Phthiotis*, and called in, for their aid, into other Cities; these Cities, because of their conversing with them, began more particularly to be called *Hellenes*: and yet could not that name of a long time after prevail upon them all. This is conjectured principally out of *Homer*; for, though born long after the *Trojan War*, yet he gives them not any where that * name in general; nor indeed to any, but those, that with *Achilles* came out of *Phthiotis*, and were the first so called. But in his Poems, he mentioneth *Danaans*, *Argives*, and *Achaëans*; nor doth he likewise use the word *Barbarians*; because the *Græcians*, as it seemeth unto me, were not yet distinguished by one common name of *Hellenes*, oppositely answerable unto them. The *Grecians* then, neither as they had that

Name

Name in particular by mutual intercourse; nor after, universally so termed, did ever before the *Trojan War*, for want of strength and correspondence enter into any Action, with their Forces joined. And to that Expedition they came together, by the means of Navigation, which the most part of *Greece* had now received.

For *Minos* was the most ancient of all, that by report we know to have built a Navy: and he made himself Master of the now * *Grecian* Sea; and both commanded the Isles called *Cyclades*, and also was the first that sent Colonies into most of the same, expelling thence the *Carians*, and constituting his own Sons there for Governours, and also freed the Seas of Pirates, as much as he could, for the better coming in (as is likely) of his own Revenue.

For the *Grecians* in old time, and such *Barbarians* as, in the Continent, lived near unto the Sea, or else inhabited the Islands, after once they began to cross over one to another in Ships, became Thieves, and went abroad under the conduct of their most puissant men, both to enrich themselves, and to fetch in maintenance for the weak: and falling upon Towns unfortified, and scatteringly inhabited, rifled them, and made this the best means of their living; being a matter at that time no where in disgrace, but rather carrying with it something of glory. This is manifest by some that dwell on the Continent, amongst whom, so it be performed nobly, it is still esteemed as an Ornament. The same also is proved by some of the ancient Poets, who introduce men questioning of such as sail by, on all Coasts alike, whether they be Thieves or not; as a thing neither scorned by such as were asked, nor upbraided by those that were desirous to know. They also robbed one another within the main Land: And much of *Greece* useth that old custom, as the *Locrians* called *Ozole*, the *Acar-nanians*, and those of the Continent in that quarter, unto this day. Moreover, the fashion of wearing Iron remaineth yet with the People of that Continent, from their old Trade of Thieving.

For once they were wont throughout all *Greece*, to go armed, because their houses were unfenced, and travelling was unsafe, and accustomed themselves, like the *Barbarians*, to the ordinary wearing of their Armour. And the Nations of *Greece* that live so yet, do testify that the same manner of life was anciently universal to all the rest. Amongst whom the *Athenians* were the first that laid by their Armour, and growing civil, passed into a more tender kind of life. And such of the Rich as were any thing stepped into years, laid away, upon the same delicacie, not long after, the fashion of wearing linnen Coats, and * golden Grasshoppers, which they were wont to bind up in the locks of their hair: from whence also the same Fashion, by reason of their affinity, remained a long time in use amongst the ancient *Ionians*. But the moderate kind of Garment, and conformable to the wearing of these Times, was first taken up by the *Lacedemonians*; amongst whom also, both in other things, and especially in the culture of their bodies, the Nobility observed the most equality with the Commons. The same were also the first, that when they were to contend in the † *Olympick* Games, stript themselves * naked, and anointed their bodies with ointment: whereas in ancient times, the Champions did also in the *Olympick* Games use Breeches; nor is it many years since

Greece, as contended for Prizes. *Olympick* Exercises.

† This was perhaps the cause, why it was a capital crime for women

The *Trojan War* was the first Enterprise where the *Grecians* combined their forces.

Minos King of *Creta*, the first that had a Navy.

* Before that time it was called the *Carian* Sea.

A Digression, touching the Piracie and Robberies of old Time; with other Notes of Salvageness.

Robbing had in honour.

* In distinction to the other *Locrians*, called *Opuntii*.

Continual wearing of Armour in fashion.

The *Athenians* grew first civil.

* The *Athenians*, holding themselves to be sprung from the ground they lived on, wore the Grasshopper for a kind of Cognizance, because that Beast is thought to be generated of the Earth.

† Exercises of divers kinds instituted in honour of *Jupiter*, at *Olympia* in *Peloponnesus*, to which resorted such out of

to be Spectators of the

this custome ceased. Also there are to this day amongst the *Barbarians*, especially those of *Asia*, Prizes propounded of fighting with Fists, and of Wrestling, and the Combatants, about their privy parts, wear Breeches in the Exercise. It may likewise by many other things be demonstrated, that the old *Greeks* used the same form of life, that is now in force amongst the *Barbarians* of the present Age.

The Cities of Greece, how seated and for what causes.

As for Cities, such as are of late Foundation, and since the increase of Navigation, in as much as they have had since more plenty of Riches, have been walled about, and built upon the Shore; and have taken up *Isthmi*, [that is to say necks of Land between Sea and Sea] both for Merchandise, and for the better strength against Confiners. But the old Cities, men having been in those times, for the most part, infested by Thieves, are built farther up, as well in the Islands, as in the Continent. For others also that dwelt on the Sea side, though not Seamen, yet they molested one another with Robberies; and even to these times, those People are planted up high in the Countrey.

The *Carians* and *Phœnicians* were those that committed the most robberies.

* The *Cyclades*.

* *Vide lib. 4. in the beginning.*

* The *Carians* having invented the Crest of the Helmet, and the handle of the Target, and also the drawing of Images on their Targets, had therefore a Helmet and a Buckler buried with them, and had their heads laid towards the west.

But these Robberies were the exercise especially of the Islanders; namely, the *Carians* and the *Phœnicians*: for by them were the greatest part of the * Islands inhabited. A testimony whereof, is this: The *Athenians*, when in this present * War they hallowed the Isle of *Delos*, and had digged up the Sepulchres of the Dead, found that more then half of them were *Carians*, * known so to be, both by the armour buried with them, and also by their manner of burial at this day. And when *Minos* his Navy was once afloat, Navigators had the Sea more free: For he expelled the Malefactors out of the Islands, and in the most of them, planted Colonies of his own. By which means, they who inhabited the Sea Coasts, becoming more addicted to Riches, grew more constant to their dwellings; of whom, some grown now rich, compassed their Towns about with Walls. For out of desire of gain, the meaner sort underwent servitude with the mighty; and the mighty with their wealth, brought the lesser Cities into subjection. And so it came to pass, that rising to power, they proceeded afterward to the War against *Troy*.

The Action of *Troy*.

▪ The son of *Atreus*, the son of *Pelops*.

▪ The opinion was, that *Tyndareus* the Father of *Helena*, took an Oath of all his Daughters Suitors, that if violence were done to him that obtained her, all the rest should help to revenge it. And that *Mene-laüs* having married her, and *Paris* the son of *Priam*, King of *Troy* taken her away, *Agamemnon* in the behalf of his Brother *Menelaüs*, drew them by this Oath to the Siege of *Ilium*.

Peloponnesus, so called from *Pelops*.

The increase of the Power of the *Pelopians*. A kindred and race of men, whereof was *Hercules*. This Family was persecuted by *Euristheus*, who was of the House of *Perseus*, and driven into *Attica*, thither he following them, was slain by the *Athenians*. A *Aspidamnia*, the Mother of *Euristheus*, was *Atreus* his Sister. * *Atreus* and *Thyestes*, sons of *Pelops*, at the impulsion of their Mother, slew this *Cryssippus*, who was their half Brother, viz. by the Father; and for this fact, *Atreus* fled to *Euristheus*. *Atreus* King of *Mycenæ*, after the death of *Pelops*.

And to me it seemeth, that * *Agamemnon* got together that Fleet, not so much for that he had with him the * Suiters of *Helena*, bound thereto by Oath to *Tyndareus*, as for this, that he exceeded the rest in power. For they that by tradition of their Ancestors, know the most certainty of the Acts of the *Peloponnesians*, say, That first *Pelops*, by the abundance of wealth which he brought with him out of *Asia* to men in want, obtained such power amongst them, as, though he were a Stranger, yet the Country was called after his name. And that this power was also increased by his Posterity: For, *Euristheus* being slain in *Attica*, by the * *Heracleides*, *Atreus* that was his * Uncle by the Mother, (and was then abiding with him as an exiled person, for fear of his Father, for the * death of *Chryssippus*) and to whom *Euristheus*, when he undertook the Expedition, had committed *Mycenæ*, and the government thereof, for that he was his Kinsman; when as *Euristheus* came not back, (the *Mycenians* being willing to it, for fear of the *Heracleides*, and because he was an able man, and made much of the Common people) ob-

tained

tained the Kingdom of *Mycenæ*, and of whatsoever else was under *Euristheus*, for himself: and the Power of the ^a *Pelopeides* became greater then that of the ^b *Perseides*. To which greatness ^c *Agamemnon* succeeding, and also far excelling the rest in Shipping, took that War in hand, as I conceive it, and assembled the said Forces, not so much upon favour, as by fear. For it is clear, that he himself both conferred most Ships to that Action, and that some also he lent to the *Arcadians*. And this is likewise declared by *Homer* (if any think his testimony sufficient) who, at the delivery of the Scepter unto him, calleth him, *Of many Isles, and of all Argos King*. Now he could not, living in the Continent, have been Lord of the Islands, other then such as were adjacent, which cannot be many, unless he had also had a Navy. And by this Expedition, we are to estimate what were those of the Ages before it.

Now seeing *Mycenæ* was but a small Citie, or if any other of that Age seem but of light regard, let not any man for that cause, on so weak an Argument, think that Fleet to have been less then the Poets have said, and Fame reported it to be. For, if the City of *Lacedæmon* were now desolate, and nothing of it left but the Temples, and floors of the buildings, I think it would breed much unbelief in posterity long hence, of their power, in comparison of the Fame. For although of ^{*} five parts of *Peloponnesus*, it possess [†] two, and hath the leading of the rest, and also of many Confederates without; yet the City being not close built, and the Temples and other Edifices not costly, and because it is but scatteringly inhabited, after the ancient manner of *Greece*, their power would seem inferiour to the report. Again, The same things happening to *Athens*, one would conjecture by the sight of their City, that their power were double to what it is. We ought not therefore to be incredulous, [concerning the Forces that went to *Troy*,] nor have in regard so much the external shew of a City, as the Power: but we are to think, that that Expedition was indeed greater then those that went before it, but yet inferiour to those of the present Age; if in this also we may credit the Poetry of *Homer*, who being a Poet, was like to set it forth to the utmost. And yet even thus it commeth short; for he maketh it to consist of 1200 Vessels: those that were of *Bæotians*, carrying 120 men apiece, and those which came with *Philoctetes*, 50. Setting forth, as I suppose, both the greatest sort, and the least, and therefore of the bigness of any of the rest, he maketh in his Catalogue no mention at all: but declareth, that they who were in the Vessels of *Philoctetes*, served both as Mariners and Souldiers: for he writes, that they who were at the Oar, were all of them Archers. And for such as wrought not, it is not likely that many went along, except ^{*} Kings, and such as were in chief authority, especially being to pass the Sea with Munition of War, and in Bottoms without Decks, built after the old and Pyratial fashion. So then, if by the greatest and least, one estimate the mean of their Shiping, it will appear, that the whole number of men considered, as sent jointly from all *Greece*, were not very many. And the cause hereof was not so much want of men, as of wealth. For, for want of Victual, they carried the lesser Army, and no greater then they hoped might both follow the War, and also maintain it self. When upon their arrival they had gotten the upper-hand in fight, (which is manifest, for else they could not have fortified their Camp) it appears, that from that time forward they employed not there their whole power, but that for want of Victual, they betook them-

^a The House of Pelops.
^b The house of Perseus.
^c The son of Atreus,
 heir to the power of
 both Houses, both of
 the Pelopeides, and
 of the Perseides.

Mycenæ, though no
 great City, yet was
 of great power.

^{*} 1 Laconia. 2 Arca-
 dia. 3 Argolica. 4 Mes-
 senia. 5 Elis.

Morea.

[†] Laconia, *Messenia*.
 The City of *Sparta*
 less, and the City
 of *Athens* greater,
 then for the pro-
 portion of their
 power.

A Survey of the
 Fleet sent to *Troy*.

^{*} As Achilles, Ulysses, Ajax, Diomedes, Patroclus, and the like.

[†] The whole number of men, estimating the Ships at a medium to carry 85 men apiece, which is the mean between 120 and 50, come to 102000 men, carried in these 1200 Ships. Yet the Author makes it a light matter in respect of the present War.

themselves

The poverty of the
Greeks was the cause
why the Trojans
could so long hold
out.

The state of Greece,
after the Trojan War.

Bœotia, more anci-
ently Cadmeis.

The Ionians were
the Colonies of the
Athenians.

The difference be-
tween Tyranny, and
regal Authority.

At Corinth were
made the first Tri-
emes, or Gallies of
three tire of Oars,
one above another.

* By this it appears
that Thucydides
out-lived the whole
war.

* By Periander the
Tyrant of Corinth, for
the slaughter of his son
Lycophron. Herod.
in Thalia.

The means of the
wealth of Corinth.
Corinth firnamed the
Rich.

selves, part of them to the tillage of *Chersonesus*, and part to fetch in Booties : whereby divided, the *Trojans* the more easily made that ten years resistance ; as being ever a Match for so many as remained at the Siege. Whereas, if they had gone furnished with store of provision, and with all their Forces, eased of Boothaling and Tillage, since they were Masters of the Field, they had also easily taken the City. But they strove not with their whole power, but onely with such a portion of their Army, as at the several occasions chanced to be present : when as, if they had pressed the Siege, they had won the place, both in less time, and with less labour. But through want of money, not onely they were weak matters all that preceded this Enterprize ; but also this, (which is of greater name then any before it) appeareth to be in fact beneath the Fame, and report, which, by means of the Poets, now goeth of it.

For also after the *Trojan War*, the *Grecians* continued still their shiftings and transplantations ; insomuch as never resting, they improved not their power. For the late return of the *Greeks* from *Ilium*, caused not a little innovation, and in most of the Cities there arose seditions, and those which were driven out built Cities for themselves in other places. For those that are now called *Bœotians*, in the sixtieth year after the taking of *Troy*, expelled *Arne* by the *Thessalians*, seated themselves in that Country, which now *Bœotia*, was then called *Cadmeis*. (But there was in the same a certain portion of that Nation before, of whom also were they that went to the Warfare of *Troy*.) And in the eightieth year, the *Doreans*, together with the *Heracleides*, siezed on *Peloponnesus*. And with much ado, after long time, *Greece* had constant rest ; and shifiting their seats no longer, at length sent Colonies abroad. And the *Athenians* planted *Ionian*, and most of the Islands ; and the *Peloponnesians* most of *Italy*, and *Sicily*, and also certain parts of the rest of *Greece*. But these Colonies were all planted after the *Trojan War*.

But when the power of *Greece* was now improved, and the desire of money withal, their revenues being enlarged, in most of the Cities there were erected Tyrannies : (for before that time, Kingdoms with honours limited, were hereditary.) And the *Grecians* built Navies, and became more seriously addicted to the affairs of the Sea. The *Corinthians* are said to have been the first that changed the form of Shipping into the nearest to that which is now in use ; and at *Corinth* are reported to have been made the first Gallies of all *Greece*. Now it is well known that *Aminocles* the Shipwright of *Corinth*, built four Ships at *Samos*. And from the time that *Aminocles* went to *Samos*, until the end of this present War, are at the most but 300 years. And the most ancient naval Battle that we know of, was fought between the * *Corinthians* and the *Corcyreans*, and from that Battle to the same time, are but 260 years. For *Corinth* seated on an *Isthmus*, had been always a place of Traffique ; because the *Grecians* of old, from within and without *Peloponnesus*, trading by Land more then by Sea, had no other intercourse one to another, but thorow the *Corinthians* Territory. And was also wealthy in money, as appears by the Poets, who have firnamed this Town the Rich. And after the *Grecians* had commerce also by Sea, then likewise having furnished themselves with a Navy, they scowred the Sea of Pirates, and affording Traffique both by Sea and Land, mightily increased their City in revenue of money. After this
the

the *Ionians* in the times of *Cyrus*, first King of the *Persians*, and of his son *Cambyſes*, got together a great Navy, and making War on *Cyrus*, obtained for a time the dominion of that part of the Sea that lieth on their own Coast. Also *Polycrates*, who in the time of *Cambyſes* tyrannized in *Samos*, had a strong Navy, wherewith he subdued divers of the Islands; and amongst the rest, having won *Rhenea*, he consecrated the same to *Apollo* of *Delos*. The * *Phocæans* likewise, when they were building the City of *Marseilles*, overcame the *Carthaginians* in a fight at Sea.

These were the greatest Navies extant, and yet even these, though many Ages after the time of *Troy*, consisted as it seems, but of a few Gallies, and were made up with Vessels of fifty Oars, and with long Boats, as well as those of former times. And it was but a little before the * *Median* War, and death of *Darius*, successor of *Cambyſes* in the Kingdom of *Persia*, that the Tyrants of *Sicily*, and the *Corcyreans* had of Gallies any number. For these † last were the onely Navies worth speaking of in all *Greece*, before the Invasion of the *Medes*. And the people of *Ægina*, and the *Athenians* had but small ones, and the most of them consisting but of fifty Oars apiece; and that so lately, as but from the time that the *Athenians* making War on *Ægina*, and withal expecting the coming of the *Barbarian*, at the perswasion of *Themistocles*, built those Ships which they used in that War; and these also, not all had Decks.

Such were then the Navies of the *Greeks*, both ancient and modern. Nevertheless, such as applied themselves to naval business, gained by them no small power, both in revenue of money, and in dominion over other people. For with their Navies (especially those men that had not sufficient Land where they inhabited, to maintain themselves) they subdued the *Islands*. But as for War by Land, such as any State might acquire power by, there was none at all. And such as were, were onely between Borderer and Borderer. For the *Grecians* had never yet gone out with any Army to conquer any Nation far from home; because the lesser Cities, neither brought in their Forces to the great ones, as Subjects, nor concurred as Equals, in any common Enterprize; but such as were neighbours, warred against each other, hand to hand. For the War of old, between the *Chalcideans* and the *Eretrians*, was it, wherein the rest of *Greece* was most divided, and in league with either party.

As others by other means were kept back from growing great, so also the *Ionians* by this, That the *Persian* affairs prospering, *Cyrus* and the *Persian* Kingdom, after the defeat of *Cræsus*, made War upon all that lieth from the River *Halys* to the Sea side, and so subdued all the Cities which they possessed in the Continent, and *Darius* afterward, when he had overcome the *Phœnician* Fleet, did the like unto them in the *Islands*.

And as for the Tyrants that were in the *Grecian* Cities, who forecaſted onely for themselves, how, with as much safety as was possible, to look to their own persons, and their own Families, they resided for the most part in the Cities, and did no Action worthy of memory, unless it were against their neighbours: for, as for the Tyrants of *Sicily*, they were already arrived at greater power. Thus was *Greece* for a long time hindred, that neither jointly it could do any thing remarkable, nor the Cities singly be adventurous.

But after that the * Tyrants both of *Athens*, and of the rest of *Greece*, where

The *Ionians* had a Navy in *Cyrus* his time.

Polycrates Tyrant of *Samos*, had a Navy in the time of *Cambyſes*.

* The *Phocæans* in the time of *Tarquinius*, came into the mouth of *Tyber*, entered into amity with the *Romans*, and thence went and built *Marseilles* amongst the *Salvage Nations*, of the *Ligurians* and *Gauls*, *Justin*. l. 42.

* *Medes* and *Persians* used here promiscuously the *Median* Monarchy, being translated to the *Persians*.

† Of the *Corinthians*, *Ionians*, and *Phocæans*.

Ægina.

The Shipping of *Greece* very mean before this War.

The causes why the *Grecians* never joined their forces in any great action.

The *Ionians* kept down by the *Persian*.

* *Pisistratus* and his sons.

The Lacedæmonians put down the Tyrants through all Greece.

* Xerxes.

a A Fleet of 1200 Gallies, and 2000 Hulks of the round manner of building. *Corn. Nepos in vita Themistoclis.*

b The Athenians being admonished by the Oracle, for their safety against the Medes, to put themselves within walls of wood: Themistocles interpreting the Oracle, they went into their Gallies.

All Greece divided into two Leagues, the Lacedæmonians and their League, and the Athenians and their League.

c This variance began upon this, That Simon having been sent for to aid the Lacedæmonians against the Helots, was sent back with his Athenians, out of distrust the Lacedæmonians had of their forward spirit: which the Athenians took for a disgrace.

The manner how the Lacedæmonians dealt with their Confederates.

* The government of the Few, that is to say, of the Nobility.

The manner how the Athenians handled their Confederates.

n Hence it is, that through all this History Subjects and Confederates are taken for the same thing, especially with the Athenians.

∴ Of the People of Athens it self, excluding their Confederates

Digression, to shew how negligently men receive the same of things past, by the example of their error touching the Story of Hipparchus the son of Pisistratus, which it seems he willingly mentions both here and hereafter, on light occasion.

where Tyrannies were, were the most, and last of them (excepting those of Sicily,) put down by the Lacedæmonians, (for Lacedæmon, after it was built by the Doreans that inhabited the same, though it hath been longer troubled with Seditions than any other City we know, yet hath it had for the longest time good Laws, and been also always free from Tyrants. For it is unto the end of this War 400 years and somewhat more, that the Lacedæmonians have used one and the same government: and thereby being of power themselves, they also ordered the Affairs in the other Cities) [I say] after the dissolution of Tyrannies in Greece, it was not long before the Battle was fought by the Medes against the Athenians in the Fields of Marathon. And in the tenth year again after that, came the * Barbarian, with the great Fleet into Greece to subdue it. And Greece being now in great danger, the leading of the Grecians that leagued in that War was given to the Lacedæmonians, as to the most potent State. And the Athenians, who had purposed so much before, and already stowed their necessaries, at the coming in of the Medes, went on Shipboard and became Sea-men. When they had jointly beaten back the Barbarian, then did the Grecians, both such as were revolted from the King, and such as had in common made War upon him, not long after, divide themselves into Leagues, one part with the Athenians, and the other with the Lacedæmonians; these two Cities appearing to be the mightiest, for this had the power by Land, and the other by Sea. But this Confederation lasted but a while; for afterwards, the Lacedæmonians and the Athenians, being at variance, warred each on other, together with their several Confederates. And the rest of Greece, where any discord chanced to arise, had recourse presently to one of these. Insomuch, that from the War of the Medes to this present War, being continually [exercised] sometimes in Peace, sometimes in War, either one against the other, or against revolted Confederates, they arrived at this War, both well furnished with Military Provisions, and also expert, because their practice was with danger.

The Lacedæmonians governed not their Confederates so, as to make them Tributaries, but onely drew them by fair means to embrace the * Oligarchy, convenient to their own Policy. But the Athenians, having with time, taken into their hands the Gallies of all those that stood out, (except the Chians and Lesbians) || reigned over them, and ordained every of them to pay a certain tribute of money. By which means their ∴ own particular provision was greater in the beginning of this War, then when in their flourishing time, the League between them and the rest of Greece remaining whole, it was at the most.

Such then I find to have been the state of things past, hard to be believed, though one produce proof for every particular thereof. For Men receive the report of things, though of their own Country, if done before their own time, all alike, from one as from another, without examination.

For the vulgar sort of Athenians think, that Hipparchus was the Tyrant, and slain by Harmodius and Aristogeiton; and know not that Hipparchus had the government, as being the eldest son of Pisistratus, and

that

that *Hipparchus* and *Thessalus* were his brethren, and that *Harmodius* and *Aristogeiton* suspecting that some of their Complices had that day, and at that instant, discovered unto *Hippias*, somewhat of their Treason, did forbear *Hippias*, as a man forewarned, and desirous to effect somewhat, though with danger, before they should be apprehended, lighting on *Hipparchus*, slew him near the Temple called *Leocorium*, whilst he was setting forth the *Panathenaical* Show. And likewise divers other things now extant, and which Time hath not yet involved in oblivion, have been conceived amiss by other *Grecians*; as that the Kings of *Lacedæmon*, in giving their suffrages, had not ^b single but double Votes. And that ^c *Pitanate* was a Band of Souldiers, so called there, whereas there was never any such. So impatient of labour are the most men, in the search of truth, and embrace soonest the things that are next to hand.

Now he, that by the Arguments here adduced, shall frame a Judgment of the things past, and not believe rather, that they were such as the Poets have sung, or Prose-Writers have composed, more delightfully to the ear, then conformably to the truth, as being things not to be disproved, and by length of time, turned for the most part into the nature of Fables without credit; but shall think them here searched out, by the most evident signs that can be, and sufficiently too, considering their antiquity; he, I say, shall not err. And though men always judge the present War wherein they live, to be greatest; and when it is past, admire more those that were before it; yet if they consider of this War, by the Acts done in the same, it will manifest it self to be greater, then any of those before mentioned.

What particular persons have spoken, when they were about to enter into the War, or when they were in it, were hard for me to remember exactly, whether they were speeches which I have heard myself, or have received at the second hand. But as any man seemed, to me, that knew what was nearest to the ^{*} sum of the truth, of all that hath been uttered, to speak most agreeably to the matter still in hand, so have I made it spoken here. But of the Acts themselves done in the War, I thought not fit to write all that I heard from all Authors, nor such as I myself did but think to be true; but onely those whereat I was myself present, and those of which with all diligence I had made particular enquiry. And yet even of those things it was hard to know the certainty, because such as were present at every Action, spake not all after the same manner, but as they were affected to the Parts, or as they could remember.

To hear this History rehearsed, for that there be inserted in it no Fables, shall be perhaps not delightful: But he that desires to look into the truth of things done, and which (according to the condition of humanity) may be done again, or at least their like, he shall find enough herein to make him think it profitable: And it is compiled rather for an *Everlasting Possession*, then to be ^b rehearsed for a Prize.

The greatest Action before this, was that against the *Medes*, and yet that, by ^{*} two Battels by Sea, and as many by Land, was soon decided. But as for this War, it both lasted long, and the harm it did to *Greece* was such, as the like, in the like space, had never been seen before. For neither had there ever been so many Cities expugned, and made desolate, what by the *Barbarians*, and what by the *Greeks* warring on one another, (and some Cities there were, that when they were

^a *Panathenaica*, were Solemnities instituted by Theseus in memory of that he had drawn together all the Athenians that lived dispersed in Attica, into the City of Athens, Paul in Arcad.

^b Lucan seemeth to retain the same error, in Harmodias.

^c A Tribe of the Lacedæmonians.

The diligence of the Author in the enquiry of the truth of what he wrote: both touching the Orations, and the Actions.

^{*} To the Analogie and fitness of what was to be said: so that though he used not their words, yet he used the arguments that best might serve to the purpose, which at any time was in hand.

The use of this History.

^a *Κρήνη ἐς αἶν.*

^b Both Poets and Historiographers of old, recited their Histories to captate glory. This emulation of glory in their writings, he calleth *ἀγώνισμα*.

The greatness of the present War.

^a when Xerxes invaded them.

^b Two battels by Sea, viz. one at Salamis, and the other at Mycale in Ionia. And two by Land, one at Thermopylæ, and the other at Platea.

Earthquakes, Eclipses, Famine, Pestilence, concomitants of this War,

Negroponte.

* By the Athenians.

The causes of the War.
Fear necessitates the War in the Lacedæmonians.

The first pretext.
Dyrrhachium.
Durazzo.

Now the Gulf of Venice, called so from its an Illyrian.
Illyrii, now Slavonia and Dalmatia.

* Inhabitants of Corcyra, now Corfu.

* Corcyra was a Colony of Corinth, and Epidamnus of Corcyra

* Corfu.

* Either the Epidamnians had offended the Corcyraeans, or the manner was in those times to take Sanctuary, not onely for crimes, but for obtaining aid in extremities, tacitely disclaiming all other help save that of the Gods, and those to whom they made supplication.

The Epidamnians neglected by their Mother City Corcyra, procure the protection of the Corinthians.

taken changed their inhabitants,) nor so much banishing and slaughter, some by the War, some by Sedition, as was in this. And those things which concerning former time there went a fame of, but in fact rarely confirmed, were now made credible: As Earthquakes, general to the greatest part of the World, and most violent withal; Eclipses of the Sun, oftner then is reported of any former time; great Droughts in some places, and thereby Famine; and that which did none of the least hurt, but destroyed also its part, the Plague. All these Evils entered together with this War, which began from the time that the *Athenians* and *Peloponnesians* brake the League, which immediately after the Conquest of * *Eubœa*, had been concluded between them for thirty years. The causes why they brake the same, and their Quarrels, I have therefore set down first, because no man should be to seek from what ground so great a War amongst the *Grecians* could arise. And the truest Quarrel, though least in speech, I conceive to be the growth of the *Athenian* power, which putting the *Lacedæmonians* into fear, necessitated the War. But the Causes of the breach of the League, publicly voiced, were these.

EPIDAMNUS is a City situate on the right hand to such as enter into the *Ionian* Gulf; bordering upon it, are the *Taulantii*, *Barbarians*, a people of *Illyris*. This was planted by the * *Corcyraeans*, but Captain of the Colony was one *Phalios*, the son of *Heratoclidus* a *Corinthian* of the lineage of *Hercules*, and according to an ancient Custom, called to this charge out of the * *Metropolitan* City; besides that, the Colony it self consisted in part of *Corinthians*, and others of the *Dorique* Nation. In process of time, the City of *Epidamnus* became great and populous; and having for many years together been annoyed with Sedition, was by a War, as is reported, made upon them by the confining *Barbarians*, brought low, and deprived of the greatest part of their power. But that which was the last accident before this War, was, that the Nobility, forced by the Commons to fly the City, went and joined with the *Barbarians*, and both by Land and Sea robbed those that remained within. The *Epidamnians* that were in the Town, oppressed in this manner, sent their Ambassadors to * *Corcyra*, as being their Mother-City, praying the *Corcyraeans* not to see them perish, but to reconcile unto them those whom they had driven forth, and to put an end to the *Barbarian* War. And this they intreated in the form of * *Suppliants*, sitting down in the Temple of *Juno*. But the *Corcyraeans*, not admitting their supplication, sent them away again without effect. The *Epidamnians* now despairing of relief from the *Corcyraeans*, and at a stand how to proceed in their present affairs, sending to *Delphi*, enquired at the Oracle, whether it were not best to deliver up their City into the hands of the *Corinthians*, as of their Founders, and make trial what aid they should obtain from thence. And when the Oracle had answered, *That they should deliver it, and take the Corinthians for their Leaders*, they went to *Corinth*, and according to the advice of the Oracle, gave their City to them, and declared how the first Founder of it was a *Corinthian*, and what answer the Oracle had given them, intreating their help, and that they would not stand by, beholding their destruction. And the *Corinthians* undertook their defence, not onely for the equity of the cause, (as thinking them no less their own, then the *Corcyraeans* Colony) but also for hatred of the *Corcyraeans*, who being their Colony, yet

yet contemned them, and allowed them not their due honour in public meetings, nor in the distribution of the Sacrifice, began at a *Corinthian*, as was the custom of other Colonies; but being equal to the richest *Grecians* of their time, for store of money, and strongly furnished with Ammunition of War, had them in contempt. Also they sticked not sometimes to boast how much they excelled in Shiping; and that *Corcyra* had been once inhabited by the **Phaeaces*, who flourished in glory of Naval affairs; which was also the cause, why they the rather provided themselves of a Navy; and they were indeed not without power that way, for when they began this War, they had 120 Gallies. The *Corinthians* therefore having all these criminations against them; relieved *Epidamnus* willingly, not only giving leave to whosoever would, to go and dwell there, but also sent thither a Garrison of *Ambraciotes*, *Leucadians*, and of their own Citizens; which succours, for fear the *Corcyraeans* should have hindred their passage by Sea, marched by Land to *Apollonia*. The *Corcyraeans* understanding that new inhabitants, and a Garrison were gone to *Epidamnus*, and that the Colony was delivered to the *Corinthians*, were vexed extreemly at the same; and sailing presently thither with 25 Gallies, and afterwards with another Fleet in an insolent manner commanded them both to recal those whom they had banished, (for these *banished men of *Epidamnus* had been now at *Corcyra*, and pointing to the Sepulchres of their Ancestors, and claiming kindred, had intreated the *Corcyraeans* to restore them) and to send away the Garrison and Inhabitants sent thither by the *Corinthians*. But the *Epidamnians* gave no ear to their commandments. Whereupon the *Corcyraeans* with forty Gallies, together with the banished men, (whom they pretended to reduce) and with the *Illyrians*, whom they had joyned to their part, warred upon them; and having laid Siege to the City, made Proclamation, that such of the *Epidamnians* as would, and all strangers might depart safely, or otherwise were to be proceeded against as Enemies. But when this prevailed not, the place being an *Isthmus*, they enclosed the City in on every side. The *Corinthians*, when news was brought from *Epidamnus* how it was besieged, presently made ready their Army, and at the same time caused a Proclamation to be made, for the sending thither of a Colony, and that such as would go, should have equal and like priviledges, with those that were there before: and that such as desired to be sharers in the same, and yet were unwilling to go along in person at that present, if they would contribute 50 *Corinthian* Drachmaes, might stay behind. And they were very many both that went, and that laid down their silver. Moreover, they sent to the *Megaraeans*, for fear of being stopped in their passage by the *Corcyraeans*, to aid them with some Gallies, who accordingly furnished out 8, the Citizens of *Pale* in *Cephalonia* 4. They also required Gallies of the *Epidaurians*, who sent them 5. the Citizens of *Hermione* 1, the *Trazenians* 2, the *Leucadians* 10, the *Ambraciotes* 8. Of the *Thebans* and *Phliasians* they required money; of the *Elcans*, both money and empty Gallies; and of the *Corinthians* themselves, there were ready 30 Gallies and 3000 *men of Arms. The *Corcyraeans*, advertised of this preparation, went to *Corinth* in company of the Ambassadors of the *Lacedaemonians*, and of the *Sycionians*, whom they took with them, and required the *Corinthians* to recall the Garrison and Inhabitants which they had sent to *Epidamnus*, as being a City they said wherewith they had nothing to do; or if they had any thing to alledge, they were content to have the cause judicially tried

* By Homer this Isle is called Phaeacia.

The *Corinthians* send Inhabitants to *Epidamnus*.

The *Corcyraeans* angry at the aids sent by the *Corinthians*, make War on *Epidamnus*.

* *Exiles*. Divers occasions force men from their Country. Sentence of Law which is commonly called Banishment. Proscription, when the Sentence is death, for which cause they fly into banishment: But those that are here meant, are such as in Seditions being the weaker Faction, fly for fear of being murdered, which I call here banished men; or might call them perhaps better Outlaws or Fugitives, but neither of them properly. The *Florentines*, and other places of Italy, that were or are Democratical, wherein such banishment can only happen, call them properly *Fuorusciti*. The *Corcyraeans* besiege *Epidamnus*. The *Corinthians* send an Army to relieve it.

Cephalonia.

* *Οπλίται*, Men in armour.

The *Corcyraeans* offer to stand to Arbitrement.

* Meaning the Athenians.

The *Corinthians* unwilling to accept it, and not without cause.

The *Corinthian* Fleet.

* Either here or before, it is likely the number hath been miswritten: for a little before he says they had made ready 3000.

* A Haven famous afterward for the Battel between Augustus Cæsar and Marcus Antonius.

The *Corcyraean* Fleet

It is said before that the *Corcyraeans* had in all 120 Gallies, which number agreeth with this 80 that fought, and the 40 that maintained the Siege.

The *Corcyraeans* have the Victory at Sea, and on the same day take the City.

Ἐστὴν Turning, particularly turning the back. Trophies, Monuments in remembrance of having made the Enemy turn their backs. These were usual in those times, now out of date.

Santa Maura, now an Island, then a Peninsula.

The *Corcyraeans* Masters of the Sea.

The *spotis* part of *Albania*.

in such Cities of *Peloponnesus* as they should both agree on, and they then should hold the Colony to whom the same should be adjudged. They said also, That they were content to refer their cause to the Oracle at *Delphi*: that War they would make none, but if they must needs have it, they should by the violence of them, be forced in their own defence, to seek out *better friends than those whom they already had. To this the *Corinthians* answered, that if they would put off with their Fleet, and dismiss the *Barbarians* from before *Epidamnus*, they would then consult of the matter; for before they could not honestly do it: because whilst they should be pleading the case, the *Epidamnians* should be suffering the misery of a Siege. The *Corcyraeans* replied to this, that if they would call back those men of theirs already in *Epidamnus*, that then they also would do as the *Corinthians* had required them; or otherwise they were content to let the men on both sides stay where they were, and to suspend the War till the cause should be decided. The *Corinthians* not assenting to any of these Propositions since their Gallies were manned, and their Confederates present, having defied them first by a Herald, put to Sea with 75 Gallies and * 2000 men of Arms, and set sail for *Epidamnus* against the *Corcyraeans*. Their Fleet was commanded by *Aristæus* the son of *Pellicæus*, *Callicrates* the son of *Callias*, and *Timanor* the son of *Timanthes*: and the Land Forces by *Archetimus* the son of *Eurytimus*, and *Isarchidas* the son of *Isarchus*. After they were come as far as * *Adium*, in the Territory of *Anactorium*, (which is a Temple of *Apollo*, and ground consecrated unto him in the mouth of the Gulf of *Ambracia*) the *Corcyraeans* sent a Herald to them at *Adium* to forbid their coming on, and in the mean time manned out their Fleet; and having repaired and made fit for service their old Gallies, and furnished the rest with things necessary, shipped their Munition, and went aboard. The Herald was no sooner returned from the *Corinthians* with an answer not inclining to Peace, but having their Gallies already manned and furnished, to the number of 80 Sail, (for forty attended always the Siege of *Epidamnus*) they put to Sea, and arranging themselves, came to a Battel, in which the *Corcyraeans* were clearly Victors, and on the part of the *Corinthians* there perished 15 Gallies. And the same day it happened likewise, that they that besieged *Epidamnus*, had the same rendred unto them, with Conditions, That the Strangers therein found should be ransomed, and the *Corinthians* kept in bonds till such time as they should otherwise be disposed of. The Battel being ended, the *Corcyraeans*, after they had set up their * Trophy in *Leucimna*, a Promontory of *Corcyra*, slew their other Prisoners, but kept the *Corinthians* still in bonds. After this, when the *Corinthians* with their vanquished Fleet were gone home to *Corinth*, the *Corcyraeans*, Masters now of the whole Sea in those parts, went first, and wasted the Territory of *Leucas*, a *Corinthian* Colony, and then sailed to *Cyllene*, which is the Arsenal of the *Eleans*, and burnt it, because they had, both with money and shipping, given aid to the *Corinthians*.

And they were Masters of those Seas, and infested the Confederates of *Corinth*, for the most part of that year; till such time as in the beginning of the Summer following, the *Corinthians* sent a Fleet and Souldiers unto *Adium*, the which for the more safe keeping of *Leucas*, and of other Cities their friends, encamped about *Chimerium* in *Thesprotis*: and the *Corcyraeans*, both with their Fleet and Land Souldiers, lay over against them in *Leucimna*. But neither part stirred against the other, but

but after they had laid quietly opposite all the Sommer, they retired in Winter, both the one side and the other to their Cities.

All this year, as well before as after the Battel, the *Corinthians* being vexed at the War with the *Corcyraeans*, applied themselves to the building of Gallies, and to the preparing of a Fleet, the strongest they were able to make, and to procure Mariners out of *Peloponnesus*, and all other parts of Greece. The *Corcyraeans* having intelligence of their preparations, began to tear, and (because they had never been in League with any Grecian City, nor were in the Roll of the Confederates, either of the *Athenians*, or *Lacedaemonians*) thought it best now, to send to *Athens*, to see if they could procure any aid from thence. This being perceived by the *Corinthians*, they also sent their Ambassadors to *Athens*, lest the addition of the *Athenian* Navy, to that of the *Corcyraeans*, might hinder them from carrying the War as they desired. And the Assembly at *Athens* being met, they came to plead against each other; and the *Corcyraeans* spake to this effect.

The *Corinthians* prepare a greater Navy.

Both *Corcyraeans* and *Corinthians* send their Ambassadors to *Athens*.

The Oration of the Ambassadors of C O R C Y R A.

MEN of Athens, it is but Justice, that such as come to implore the aid of their neighbours, (as now do we) and cannot pretend by any great benefit or League, some precedent merit, should before they go any farther, make it appear principally, that what they seek conferreth profit, or if not so, yet is not prejudicial at least, to those that are to grant it: and next, that they will be constantly thankful for the same. And if they cannot do this, then not to take it ill, though their suit be rejected. And the *Corcyraeans* being fully persuaded that they can make all this appear on their own parts, have therefore sent us hither, desiring you to ascribe them to the number of your Confederates. Now so it is, that we have had a Custom, both unreasonable in respect of our Suit to you, and also for the present unprofitable to our own estate. For, having ever till now, been unwilling to admit others into League with us, we are now not onely suiters for League to others, but also left destitute by that means, of friends in this our War with the *Corinthians*. And that which before we thought wisdom, namely, not to enter with others into League, because we would not at the discretion of others enter into danger, we now find to have been our weakness and imprudence. Wherefore, though alone we repulsed the *Corinthians*, in the late Battel by Sea, yet since they are set to invade us with greater preparation, out of *Peloponnesus*, and the rest of Greece; and seeing with our own single power we are not able to go through; and since also the danger, in case they subdue us, would be very great to all Greece, it is both necessary that we seek the succours both of you and whomsoever else we can; and we are also to be pardoned, though we make bold to cross our former custom of not having to do with other men, proceeding not from malice but error of judgment. Now if you yield unto us in what we request, this coincidence (on our part) of need, will on your part be honourable, for many reasons. First in this respect, that you lend your help to such as have suffered, and not to such as have committed the injustice. And next, considering that you receive into League such as have at stake their whole fortune, you shall so place your benefit, as to have a testimony of it, if ever any can be so indeleble. Besides this, the greatest Navy but your own, is ours: Consider then, what rarer hap, and of greater grief to your enemies can befall you, then that that power which you would have prized above any money,

money or other requital, should come voluntarily, and without all danger or cost present it self to your hands; bringing with it reputation amongst most men, a grateful mind from those you defend, and strength to your selves. All which have not happened at once to many. And few there be of those that sue for League, that come not rather to receive strength and reputation, then to confer it. If any here think that the War wherein we may do you service will not at all be, he is in an errour, and seeth not how the Lacedæmonians through fear of you, are already in labour of the War; and that the Corinthians, gracious with them, and enemies to you, making way for their Enterprize, assault us now, in the way to the invasion of you hereafter, that we may not stand amongst the rest of their common Enemies, but that they may be sure before-hand, either to weaken us, or to strengthen their own estate. It must therefore be your part, we offering, and you accepting the League, to begin with them, and to anticipate plotting, rather then to counterplot against them. If they object injustice, in that you receive their Colony, henceforth let them learn, that all Colonies, so long as they receive no wrong from their Mother City, so long they honour her; but when they suffer injury from her, they then become alienate; for they are not sent out to be the Slaves of them that stay, but to be their equals. That they have done us the injury, is manifest; for when we offered them a judicial trial of the Controversie touching Epidamnus, they chose to prosecute their quarrel rather by Arms then Judgment. Now let that which they have done unto us who are their kindred, serve you for some Argument, not to be seduced by their demands, and made their instruments before you be aware. For he lives most secure that hath fewest benefits bestowed by him upon his Enemies, to repent of. As for the Articles between you and the Lacedæmonians, they are not broken by receiving us into your League, because we are in League with neither party. For there, it is said, That whosoever is Confederate of neither party, may have access lawfully to either. And sure it were very unreasonable, that the Corinthians should have the liberty to man their Fleet out of the Cities comprised in the League, and out of any other parts of Greece, and not the least out of* places in your Dominion; and we be denied both the League now propounded, and also all other help from whencesoever. And if they impute it to you as a fault that you grant our request, we shall take it for a greater that you grant it not. For therein you shall reject us that are invaded, and be none of your enemies; and them who are your enemies and make the invasion, you shall not onely not oppose, but also suffer to raise unlawful Forces in your Dominions; whereas you ought in truth, either not to suffer them to take up Mercenaries in your States, or else to send us succours also, in such manner as you shall think good your selves; but especially by taking us into your League, and so aiding us. Many commodities, as we said in the beginning, we shew unto you, but this for the greatest, that whereas they are your Enemies, (which is manifest enough) and not weak ones, but able to hurt those that stand up against them, we offer you a Naval, not a Terrestrial League; and the want of one of these, is not as the want of the other: Nay, rather your principal aim, if it could be done, should be, to let none at all have shipping but your selves; or at least, if that cannot be, to make such your friends, as are best furnished therewith. If any man now think thus, that what we have spoken is indeed profitable, but fears if it were admitted, the League were thereby broken; let that man consider, that his fear joined with strength, will make his enemies fear; and his confidence, having (if he rejects us) so much the less strength, will so much the less be feared. Let him also remember, that he is now in consultation, no less concerning Athens then Corcyra; wherein he forecasteth

* As Cephalonia.

none

none of the best, (considering the present estate of affairs) that makes a question, whether against a War at hand, and onely not already on foot, he should join unto it, or not, that City which with most important advantages, or disadvantages, will be friend or enemy. For it lieth so conveniently for sailing into Italy and Sicily, that it can both prohibit any Fleet to come to Peloponnesus from thence, and convoy any coming from Peloponnesus thither : and is also for divers other uses most commodious. And to comprehend all in brief, consider whether we be to be abandoned or not by this. For Greece having but three Navies of any account, yours, ours, and that of Corinth, if you suffer the other two to join in one, by letting the Corinthians first seize us, you shall have to fight by Sea at one time, both against the Corcyraëans and the Peloponnesians ; whereas by making League with us, you shall with your Fleet augmented, have to deal against the Peloponnesians alone.

Thus spake the CORCYRÆANS ; and after them the CORINTHIANS thus.

The Oration of the Ambassadors of C O R I N T H.

THe Corcyraëans in their Oration having made mention not onely of your taking them into League, but also, that they are wronged, and unjustly warred on ; it is also necessary for us first to answer concerning both those points, and then afterwards to proceed to the rest of what we have to say, to the end you may foreknow that ours are the safest demands for you to embrace, and that you may upon reason reject the needy estate of those others. Whereas they alledge in defence of their refusing to enter League with other Cities, that the same hath proceeded from modesty, the truth is, that they took up that Custom, not from any Vertue, but meer Wickedness ; as being unwilling to call any Confederate for a witness of their evil actions, and to be put to blush by calling them. Besides, their City being by the situation sufficient within it self, giveth them this point, that when they do any man a wrong, they themselves are the Judges of the same, and not men appointed by consent. For going seldom forth against other Nations, they intercept such, as by necessity are driven into their Harbour. And in this consisteth their goodly pretext, for not admitting Confederates, not because they would not be content to accompany others in doing evil, but because they had rather do it alone ; that where they were too strong, they might oppress ; and when there should be none to observe them, the less of the profit might be shared from them, and that they might escape the shame when they took any thing. But if they had been honest men, (as they themselves say they are) by how much the less they are obnoxious to accusation, so much the more means they have, by giving and taking what is due, to make their honesty appear. But they are not such, neither towards others, nor towards us. For being our Colony, they have not onely been ever in revolt, but now they also make war upon us, and say they were not sent out to be injured by us ; but we say again, that we did not send them forth to be scorned by them, but to have the leading of them, and to be regarded by them, as is fit. For our other Colonies both honour and love us much, which is an argument, seeing the rest are pleased with our actions, that these have no just cause to be offended alone ; and that without some manifest wrong, we should not have had colour to war against them. But say we had been in an error, it
had

had been well done in them, to have given way to our passion, as it had been also dishonourable in us to have insulted over their modesty. But through pride and wealth they have done us wrong, both in many other things, and also in this, that Epidamnus being ours, which whilst it was vexed with Wars, they never claimed; as soon as we came to relieve it, was forcibly seized by them, and so holden. They say now, that before they took it, they offered to put the cause to trial of judgment: But you are not to think that such a one will stand to judgment as hath advantage, and is sure already of what he offereth to plead for; but rather he that before the Trial will admit equality in the matter it self, as well as in the pleading: whereas contrarily these men offered not this specious pretence of a Judicial Trial, before they had besieged the City, but after, when they saw we meant not to put it up. And now hither they be come, not content to have been faulty in that business themselves, but to get in you into their confederacy; no, but into their conspiracy; and to receive them in this name, that they are enemies to us. But they should have come to you then, when they were most in safety; not now, when we have the wrong, and they the danger; and when you, that never partaked of their power, must impart unto them of your aid; and having been free from their faults, must have an equal share from us of the blame. They should communicate their power before-hand, that mean to make common the issue of the same; and they that share not in the crimes, ought also to have no part in the sequel of them. Thus it appears that we come for our parts with arguments of equity and right; whereas the proceedings of these other are nothing else but violence and rapine. And now we shall shew you likewise, that you cannot receive them in point of justice. For although it be in the Articles, that the Cities written with neither of the parties, may come in to whether of them they please; yet it holds not for such as do so, to the detriment of either; but onely for those that having revolted from neither part, want protection, and bring not a War with them in stead of Peace to those (if they be wise) that receive them. For you shall not onely be Auxiliaries unto these; but to us, in stead of Confederates, Enemies. For if you go with them, it follows, they must defend themselves, not without you. You should do most uprightly, to stand out of both our ways; and if not that, then to take our parts against the Corcyraens, (for between the Corinthians and you there are Articles of Peace, but with the Corcyraens you never had so much as a Truce) and not to constitute a new Law of receiving one anothers Rebels. For neither did we give our votes against you, when the Samians revolted, though the rest of Peloponnesus was divided in opinion: but plainly alledged, That it was reason that every one should have liberty to proceed against their own revolting Confederates. And if you shall once receive and aid the doers of wrong, it will be seen, that they will come over as fast from you to us; and you shall set up a Law, not so much against us as against your selves. These are the points of Justice we had to shew you, conformable to the Law of the Grecians. And now we come to matter of advice, and claim of favour; which (being not so much your enemies as to hurt you, nor such friends as to surcharge you) we say, ought in the present occasion, to be granted us by way of requital: For when you had want of Long Barques against the Æginetæ, a little before the Medan War, you had 20 lent unto you by the Corinthians; which benefit of ours, and that other against the Samians, when by us it was that the Peloponnesians did not aid them, was the cause both of your victory against the Æginetæ, and of the punishment of the Samians. And these things were done for you in a season, when men going to fight against their enemies, neglect all respects but of victory. For

even

even a mans Domestick affairs are ordered the worse through eagerness of present contention. Which benefits considering, and the younger sort taking notice of them from the elder, be you pleased now to defend us in the like manner. And have not this thought, that though in what we have spoken there be equity, yet if the War should arise, the profit would be found in the contrary. For utility followeth those actions most, wherein we do the least wrong; besides that, the likelihood of the War, wherewith the Corcyraeans frightening you, go about to draw you to injustice; is yet obscure, and not worthy to move you to a manifest and present hostility with the Corinthians; but it were rather fit for you indeed to take away our former jealousies concerning the * Megareans. For the last good turn done in season, though but small, is able to cancel an accusation of much greater moment. Neither suffer your selves to be drawn on, by the greatness of the Navy which now shall be at your service by this League; for to do no injury to our equals, is a firmer power then that addition of strength, which (pust up with present shews) men are to acquire with danger. And since we be come to this, which once before we said at Lacedaemon, that every one ought to proceed, as he shall think good, against his own Confederates, we claim that liberty now of you; and that you that have been helped by our Votes, will not hurt us now by yours, but render like for like; remembring that ~~now~~ is that occasion, wherein he that aideth us, is our greatest friend; and he that opposeth us, our greatest enemy. And that you will not receive these Corcyraeans into League against our wills, nor defend them in their injuries. These things if you grant us, you shall both do us is fit, and also advise the best for the good of your own affairs.

* This which was done against the Corinthians by the Athenians that aided Megara, is related afterwards in this first Book.

This was the effect of what was spoken by the Corinthians.

Both sides having been heard, and the Athenian people twice assembled; in the former Assembly they approved no less of the reasons of the Corinthians then of the Corcyraeans; but in the latter, they changed their minds; not so, as to make a League with the Corcyraeans both offensive and defensive, that the Friends and Enemies of the one, should be so of the other, (for then if the Corcyraeans should have required them to go against Corinth, the Peace had been broken with the Peloponnesians) but made it onely defensive, that if any one should invade Corcyra or Athens, or any of their Confederates, they were then mutually to assist one another. For they expected, that even thus they should grow to War with the Peloponnesians, and were therefore unwilling to let Corcyra, that had so great a Navy, fall into the hands of the Corinthians; but rather, as much as in them lay, desired to break them one against another; that if need required, they might have to do with the Corinthians and others that had Shipping, when they should be weakned to their hands. And the Island seemed also to lie conveniently for passing into Italy and Sicily. With this mind the people of Athens received the Corcyraeans into League; and when the Corinthians were gone, sent ten Gallies not long after to their aid. The Commanders of them were Lacedaemonius the son of Cimon, Diotimus the son of Strombichus, and Proteas the son of Epicles; and had order not to fight with the Corinthians unless they invaded Corcyra, or offered to land there, or in some other place of theirs. Which if they did, then with all their might to oppose them. This they forbade because they would not break the Peace concluded with the Peloponnesians. So these Gallies arrived at Corcyra.

A League defensive made between the Athenians and Corcyraeans.

They aid Corcyra with ten Gallies.

The Corinthian
Fleet.

* Ceftrine the Terri-
tory of Ceftria, part
of Chæonia.
The Corcyrean Fleet.

The Corinthians set
forward.

* *Kēgē*, The Gallies
stood one by one in
a row, and the right
wing were those that
were on the right hand
from the middle; and
the left wing, those on
the left hand.

Megara.

* *Σημῶνα*, A Picture
or Image held up, as
the Eagle amongst the
Romans.
The Battel.

The Corinthians, when they were ready, made towards Corcyra with 150 Sail, viz. of the Eleans 10, of the Magareans 12, of the Lencadians 10, of the Ambraciotes 27, of the Anactorians 1, and 90 of their own. The Commanders of these were men chosen out of the said several Cities, for the several parts of the Fleet which they sent in; and over those of Corinth, was Xenocleides the son of Euthicles, with 4 others. After they were all come together, upon the Coast of the Continent over against Corcyra, they sailed from Leucas and came to Cheimerium, in the Countrey of Thesprotis. In this place is a Haven, and above it, farther from the Sea, the City of Ephyre, in that part of Thesprotis, which is called Eleatis; and near unto it, disbogueth into the Sea the Lake Acherusia, and into that (having first passed through Thesprotis) the River Acheron, from which it taketh the name. Also the River Thyamis runneth here, which divideth Thesprotis from *Ceftrine, betwixt which two Rivers, setteth this Promontory of Cheimerium. To this part of the Continent came the Corinthians and encamped. The Corcyreans understanding that they made against them, having ready 110 Gallies under the conduct of Micciades, Hæsimides, and Eurybatus, came and incamped in one of the Islands called Sybota. And the ten Gallies of Athens were also with them. But their Land Forces staid in the Promontory of Lencimna, and with them 1000 men of Arms of the Zacynthians that came to aid them. The Corinthians also had in the Continent the aids of many Barbarians, which in those quarters have been evermore their friends. The Corinthians, after they were ready, and had taken aboard three days provision of Victual, put off by night from Cheimerium with purpose to fight; and about break of day, as they were sailing, descried the Gallies of the Corcyreans, which were also put off from Sybota, and coming on to fight with the Corinthians. As soon as they had sight one of another, they put themselves into order of Battel. In the right *Wing of the Corcyreans were placed the Gallies of Athens; and the rest being their own, were divided into three Commands under the three Commanders, one under one. This was the order of the Corcyreans. The Corinthians had in their right Wing the Gallies of Megara, and of Ambracia; in the middle, their Confederates in order; and opposite to the Athenians, and right Wing of the Corcyreans, they were themselves placed with such Gallies as were best of Sail, in the left. The *Standard being on either side lift up, they joined Battel, having on both parts both many men of Arms, and many Archers and Slingers, but after the old fashion, as yet somewhat unskilfully appointed. The Battel was not so artificially as cruelly fought, near unto the manner of a fight at Land. For after they had once run their Gallies up close aboard one of another, they could not for the number and throng be easily gotten asunder again, but relied for the Victory, especially upon their men of Arms, who fought where they stood, whilst the Gallies remained altogether without motion. Passages through each other they made none, but fought it out with courage and strength rather than with skill: insomuch as the Battel was in every part not without much tumult and disorder. In which the Athenian Gallies being always where the Corcyreans were oppressed at hand, kept the enemies in fear, but yet began no assault, because their Commanders stood in awe of the prohibition of the Athenian people. The right Wing of the Corinthians was in the greatest distress, for the Corcyreans with twenty Gallies had made them turn their backs, and chased them dispersed to the Continent; and sailing to their very Camp, went on

on

on Land, burnt their abandoned Tents, and took away their Baggage; so that in this part the *Corinthians* and their Confederates were vanquished, and the *Corcyraeans* had the Victory. But in the left Wing, where the *Corinthians* were themselves, they were far superiour; because the *Corcyraeans* had twenty Gallies of their number, which was at first less than that of the *Corinthians*, absent in the chase of the Enemy. And the *Athenians*, when they saw the *Corcyraeans* were in distress, now aided them manifestly, whereas before they had abstained from making assault upon any. But when once they fled out-right, and that the *Corinthians* lay sore upon them, then every one fell to the business, without making difference any longer: and it came at last to this necessity, that they undertook one another, *Corinthians* and *Athenians*.

The *Corinthians* have the better.

The *Athenians* and *Corinthians* fight.

The *Corinthians* when their Enemies fled, staid not to fasten the Hulls of the Gallies they had sunk unto their own Gallies, that so they might tow them after; but made after the men, rowing up and down to kill rather than to take alive; and through ignorance (not knowing that their right Wing had been discomfited) slew also some of their own friends. For the Gallies of either side being many, and taking up a large space of Sea, after they were once in the Medly they could not easily discern who were of the Victors, and who of the vanquished party. For this was the greatest Naval Battel, for number of Ships, that ever had been before, of *Grecians* against *Grecians*. When the *Corinthians* had chased the *Corcyraeans* to the Shore, they returned to take up the broken Gallies and bodies of their dead, which for the greatest part they recovered and brought to *Sybota*, where also lay the Land Forces of the *Barbarians* that were come to aid them. This *Sybota* is a Defart Haven of *Thesprotis*. When they had done, they re-united themselves and made again to the *Corcyraeans*; and they likewise with such Gallies as they had fit for the Sea, remaining of the former Battel, together with those of *Athens*, put forth to meet them, fearing lest they should attempt to land upon their Territory. By this time the day was far spent, and the * Song which they used to sing when they came to charge, was ended, when suddenly the *Corinthians* began to row a Stern: for they had descried twenty *Athenian* Gallies sent from *Athens* to second the former ten, for fear lest the *Corcyraeans* (as it also fell out) should be overcome, and those ten Gallies of theirs be too few to defend them. When the *Corinthians* therefore had sight of these Gallies, suspecting that they were of *Athens*, and more in number than they were, by little and little they fell off. But the *Corcyraeans* (because the course of these Gallies was unto them more * out of sight) descried them not, but wondred why the *Corinthians* rowed a Stern, till at last some that saw them said they were Enemies, and then retired also the *Corcyraeans*. For by this time it was dark, and the *Corinthians* had turned about the heads of their Gallies, and dissolved themselves. And thus were they parted, and the Battel ended in night.

Sybota of the Continent, a Haven.

* *Pæan*, a Hymn to Mars in the beginning of fight: to Apollo after the Victory. A supply of 20 Sail from *Athens*.

The *Corinthians* fall off.

* (viz.) More behind their backs.

The *Corcyraeans* lying at *Leucimna*, these twenty *Athenian* Gallies, under the command of *Glaucôn* the son of *Leagrus*, and *Androcides* the son of *Leogorus*, passing through the midst of the floating Carkasses and Wreck, soon after they were descried, arrived at the Camp of the *Corcyraeans* in *Leucimna*. The *Corcyraeans* at first, (being night) were afraid they had been Enemies, but knew them afterwards; so they anchored there.

The next day, both the thirty Gallies of *Athens*, and as many of *Corcyra*

The *Corcyraeans* offer Battel again.

Corcyra as were fit for service, went to the Haven in *Sybota*, where the *Corinthians* lay at Anchor, to see if they would fight. But the *Corinthians*, when they had put off from the Land, and arranged themselves in the wide Sea, stood quiet, not meaning of their own accord to begin the Battel; both for that they saw the supply of fresh Gallies from *Athens*, and for many difficulties that happened to them, both about the safe custody of their Prisoners aboard, and also for that being in a desert place, their Gallies were not yet repaired; but took thought rather how to go home, for fear lest the *Athenians*, having the Peace already broken, in that they had fought against each other, should not suffer them to depart. They therefore thought good to send before unto the *Athenians*, certain men, without privilege of Heralds, for to sound them, and to say in this manner:

The *Corinthians* expostulate with the *Athenians*, to sound their purpose.

Men of Athens, You do unjustly to begin the War, and violate the Articles: For whereas we go about to right us on our Enemies, you stand in our way, and bear Arms against us. If therefore you be resolved to hinder our going against Corcyra, or whatsoever place else we please, dissolve the Peace, and laying hands first upon us that are here, use us as Enemies.

Thus said they: and the *Corcyreans*, as many of the Army as heard them, cried out immediately to take and kill them. But the *Athenians* made answer thus:

The Answer of the *Athenians*.

Men of Peloponnesus, Neither do we begin the War, nor break the Peace; but we bring aid to these our Confederates, the Corcyreans; if you please therefore to go any whither else, we hinder you not; but if against Corcyra, or any place belonging unto it, we will not suffer you.

The *Corinthians* go home.

Both the *Corcyreans* and *Corinthians* challenge the Victory, and both set up Trophies.

When the *Athenians* had given them this answer, the *Corinthians* made ready to go home, and set up a Trophy in *Sybota* of the Continent. And the *Corcyreans* also, both took up the wreck, and bodies of the dead, which carried every way by the Waves and the Wind that arose the night before, came driving to their hands; and, as if they had had the Victory, set up a Trophy likewise in *Sybota* the Islands. The Victory was thus challenged on both sides, upon these grounds: The *Corinthians* did set up a Trophy, because in the Battel they had the better all day, having gotten more of the wreck and dead bodies than the other, and taken no less than 1000 Prisoners, and sunk about 70 of the Enemies Gallies. And the *Corcyreans* set up a Trophy, because they had sunk 30 Gallies of the *Corinthians*, and had, after the arrival of the *Athenians*, recovered the wreck and dead bodies that drove to them by reason of the Wind; and because the day before, upon sight of the *Athenians*, the *Corinthians* had rowed a Stern, and went away from them: and lastly, for that when they went to *Sybota* the *Corinthians* came not out to encounter them. Thus each side claimed Victory.

The *Corinthians* in their way home, take *Anactorium*, and keep 250 of the best men prisoners, being *Corcyreans*, and use them well.

The *Corinthians* in their way homeward, took in *Anactorium*, a Town seated in the mouth of the Gulf of *Ambracia*, by deceit; (this Town was common to them, and to the *Corcyreans*) and having put into it *Corinthians* onely, departed, and went home. Of the *Corcyreans* 800 that were servants were sold, and kept prisoners 250, whom they used with very much favour, that they might be a means, at their return, to bring

bring *Corcyra* into the power of the *Corinthians*, the greatest part of these being principal men of the City. And thus was *Corcyra* delivered of the War of *Corinth*, and the *Athenian* Gallies went from them. This was the first cause that the *Corinthians* had of War against the *Athenians*; namely, because they had taken part with the *Corcyreans* in a Battel by Sea, against the *Corinthians*, with whom they were comprized in the same Articles of Peace.

Presently after this, it came to pass, that other differences arose between the *Peloponnesians* and the *Athenians* to induce the War. For whilst the *Corinthians* studied to be revenged, the *Athenians*, who had their hatred in jealousy, commanded the Citizens of *Potidea*, a City seated in the *Isthmus* of *Pallene*, a Colony of the *Corinthians*, but confederate and tributary to the *Athenians*, to pull down that part of the Wall of their City that stood towards *Pallene*, and to give them Hostages, and also to send away, and no more receive the *Epidemiurgi*, (Magistrates so called) which were sent unto them year by year from *Corinth*; fearing lest through the perswasion of * *Perdiccas* and of the *Corinthians*, they should revolt, and draw to revolt with them their other Confederates in *Thrace*. These things against the *Potideans* the *Athenians* had precontrived, presently after the Naval Battel fought at *Corcyra*. For the *Corinthians* and they were now manifestly at difference; and *Perdiccas*, who before had been their Confederate and Friend, now warred upon them. And the cause why he did so, was, that when his Brother *Philip* and *Derdas* joyned in Arms against him, the *Athenians* had made a League with them. And therefore being afraid, he both sent to *Lacedæmon* to negotiate the *Peloponnesian* War, and also reconciled himself to the *Corinthians*, the better to procure the revolt of *Potidea*; and likewise he practised with the *Chalcideans* of *Thrace*, and with the *Botticeans*, to revolt with them. For if he could make these confining Cities his Confederates with the help of them, he thought his War would be the easier. Which the *Athenians* perceiving, and intending to prevent the revolt of these Cities, gave order to the Commanders of the Fleet, (for they were now sending thirty Gallies, with a thousand men of Arms under the command of *Archestratus* the son of *Lycomedes*, and ten others, into the Territories of *Perdiccas*) both to receive Hostages of the *Potideans*, and to demolish their Walls; and also to have an eye to the neighbouring Cities, that they revolted not. The *Potideans* having sent Ambassadors to *Athens*, to try if they could perswade the people not to make any alteration amongst them; by other Ambassadors, whom they sent along with the Ambassadors of *Corinth* to *Lacedæmon*, dealt with the *Lacedæmonians* at the same time, if need required, to be ready to revenge their quarrel. When after long sollicitation at *Athens*, and no good done, the Fleet was sent away against them, no less then against *Macedonia*; and when the Magistrates of *Lacedæmon* had promised them, if the *Athenians* went to *Potidea* to invade *Attica*, then at last they revolted, and together with them the *Chalcideans* and *Botticeans*, all mutually sworn in the same Conspiracy. For *Perdiccas* had also perswaded the *Chalcideans* to abandon and pull down their Maritime Towns, and to go up and dwell at *Olynthus*, and that one City to make strong: and to those that removed, gave part of his own, and part of the Territory of *Maydonia*, about the Lake *Bolbe*, to live on, so long as the War against the *Athenians* should continue.

The second pretext of the War.

Potidea suspected.

Potidea commanded to give Hostages, and to pull down part of their Wall

* King of Macedonia.

The *Athenians* give order to the Generals they were sending against *Perdiccas*, to secure their Cities in those parts.

The *Potideans* seek the protection of the *Lacedæmonians*.

The revolt of *Potidea*, *Botticea*, and *Chalcidica*, from the *Athenians*.

tinue. So when they had demolished their Cities and were gone up higher into the Countrey, they prepared themselves to the War.

The Athenian Fleet, finding *Potidæa* and other Cities already lost, go into *Macedonia*.

The Athenian Gallies, when they arrived in *Thrace*, found *Potidæa* and the other Cities already revolted. And the Commanders of the Fleet conceiving it to be impossible with their present Forces to make War both against *Perdiccas* and the Towns revolted, set sail again for *Macedonia*, against which they had been at first sent out, and there staying, joined with *Philip* and the brothers of *Derdas*, that had invaded the Countrey from above.

The Corinthians send their Forces to *Potidæa* to defend it.

In the mean time, after *Potidæa* was revolted, and whilst the Athenian Fleet lay on the Coast of *Macedonia*, the Corinthians, fearing what might become of the City, and making the danger their own, sent unto it, both of their own City and of other *Peloponnesians*, which they hired, to the number of 1600 men of Arms, and 400 * light armed. The charge of these was given to *Aristæus* the son of *Adimantus*, for whose sake most of the Voluntaries of *Corinth* went the Voyage: for he had been ever a great Favourer of the *Potidæans*,) and they arrived in *Thrace* after the revolt in *Potidæa* forty days.

* Archers, Darters, and the like, that wore not Armour on their bodies, and were called *ψιλοι*, naked.

The Athenians send Forces against *Potidæa*.

The news of the revolt of these Cities, was likewise quickly brought to the Athenian people; who hearing withal of the Forces sent unto them under *Aristæus*, sent forth against the places revolted 2000 men of Arms and 40 Gallies, under the Conduct of *Callias* the son of *Calliades*. These coming first into *Macedonia*, found there the former thousand, (who by this time had taken *Therme*, and were now besieging the City of *Pydna*,) and staying, helped for a while to besiege it with the rest. But shortly after they took composition, and having made a * necessary League with *Perdiccas*, (urged thereto by the affairs of *Potidæa*, and the arrival there of *Aristæus*) departed from *Macedonia*. Thence coming to *Berrhæa*, they attempted to take it; but when they could not do it, they turned back, and marched towards *Potidæa* by Land. They were of their own number 3000 men of Arms, besides many of their Confederates; and of *Macedonians* that had served with *Philip* and *Pausanias* 600 Horsemen. And their Gallies 70 in number, sailing by them along the Coast, by moderate Journies came in three days to *Gigonus*, and there encamped.

Therme, after called *Thessalonica*, now *Salonichi*.

* Or scarce honourable.

Veria.

The Athenians and those with *Aristæus*, prepare themselves for Battel.

The *Potidæans* and the *Peloponnesians* under *Aristæus*, in expectation of the coming of the Athenians, lay now encamped in the *Isthmus*, near unto *Olynthus*, and had the Market kept for them without the City; and the leading of the Foot the Confederates had assigned to *Aristæus*, and of the Horse to *Perdiccas*; (for he fell off again presently from the Athenians, and having left *Iölaus* Governour in his place, took part with the *Potidæans*.) The purpose of *Aristæus* was to have the body of the Army with himself within the * *Isthmus*, and therewith to attend the coming on of the Athenians, and to have the *Chalcideans* and their Confederates without the *Isthmus*, and also the 200 Horse under *Perdiccas*, to stay in *Olynthus*, and when the Athenians were past by, to come on their backs and to enclose the Enemy betwixt them. But *Callias* the Athenian General, and the rest that were in Commission with him, sent out before them their *Macedonian* Horsemen, and some few of their Confederates to *Olynthus*, to stop those within from making any sally from the Town, and then dislodging, marched on towards *Potidæa*. When they were come on as far as the *Isthmus*, and saw the Enemy make ready to fight, they also did the like, and not long after they joined

* The *Isthmus* of *Palene*, where they were.

joined Battel. That Wing wherein was *Aristaus* himself, with the chosen men of the *Corinthians* and others, put to flight that part of their Enemies that stood opposite unto them, and followed execution a great way. But the rest of the Army of the *Potidaens* and *Peloponnesians* were by the *Athenians* defeated, and fled into the City. And *Aristaus* when he came back from the Execution, was in doubt what way to take, to *Olynthus*, or to *Potidaea*. In the end, he resolved of the shortest way, and with his Souldiers about him, ran as hard as he was able into *Potidaea*, and with much ado got in at the Peer through the Sea, cruelly shot at, and with the loss of a few, but safety of the greatest part of his company. As soon as the Battel began, they that should have seconded the *Potidaens* from *Olynthus*, (for it is at most but 60 Furlongs off, and in sight) advanced a little way to have aided them; and the *Macedonian* Horse opposed themselves likewise in order of Battel, to keep them back. But the *Athenians* having quickly gotten the Victory and the Standards being taken down, they retired again, they of *Olynthus* into that City, and the *Macedonian* Horsemen into the Army of the *Athenians*. So that neither side had their Cavalry at the Battel. After the Battel the *Athenians* erected a Trophy, and gave truce to the *Potidaens* for the taking up of the bodies of their dead. Of the *Potidaens* and their friends there died somewhat less then 300, and of the *Athenians* themselves 150, with *Callias*, one of their Commanders.

The Victory falleth to the *Athenians*.

Presently upon this the *Athenians* raised a Wall before the City, on the part towards the *Isthmus*, which they kept with a Garrison, but the part toward *Pallene* they left unwallled. For they thought themselves too small a number both to keep a guard in the *Isthmus*, and withal to go over and fortifie in *Pallene*, fearing lest the *Potidaens* and their Confederates should assault them when they were divided. When the people of *Athens* understood that *Potidaea* was unwallled on the part toward *Pallene*, not long after they sent thither 1600 men of Arms, under the Conduct of *Phormio* the son of *Asopius*, who arriving in *Pallene*, left his Gallies at *Aphytis*, and marching easily to *Potidaea*, wasted the Territory as he passed through. And when none came out to bid him Battel, he raised a Wall before the City, on that part also that looketh towards *Pallene*. Thus was *Potidaea* on both sides strongly besieged; and also from the Sea, by the *Athenian* Gallies that came up and rode before it.

The *Athenians* begin to besiege *Potidaea*.

Aristaus seeing the City enclosed on every side, and without hope of safety, save what might come from *Peloponnesus*, or some other unexpected way, gave advice to all but 500, taking the opportunity of a Wind, to go out by Sea, that the provision might the longer hold out for the rest; and of them that should remain within, offered himself to be one. But when his counsel took not place, being desirous to settle their business, and make the best of their affairs abroad, he got out by Sea, unseen of the *Athenian* Guard, and staying amongst the *Chalcideans*, amongst other actions of the War, laid an ambush before *Sermyla*, and slew many of that City, and solicited the sending of aid from *Peloponnesus*. And *Phormio* after the Siege laid to *Potidaea*, having with him his 1600 men of Arms, wasted the Territories of the *Chalcideans* and *Botticeans*, and some small Towns he took in.

The *Athenians* send *Phormio* with 1600 men of Arms to *Potidaea*.

Potidaea straightly besieged on all sides

These were the Quarrels between the *Peloponnesians* and the *Athenians*. The *Corinthians* quarrelled the *Athenians* for besieging *Potidaea*, and in it the men of *Corinth* and *Peloponnesus*. The *Athenians* quarrelled the

The advice of *Aristaus* to carry all the people but 500 men out of the City, that their Victual might the better hold out, refused.

Aristaus getteth out of the City unseen of the *Athenians*. And staying in *Chalcidica*, slew certain of the City of *Sermyla* by ambushment. *Phormio* wasteth the Territories of the *Chalcideans* and *Botticeans*.

the *Peloponnesians*, for causing their Confederate and Tributary City to revolt; and for that they had come thither, and openly fought against them in the behalf of *Potidæa*. Nevertheless the War brake not openly forth as yet, and they yet abstained from Arms; for this was but a particular action of the *Corinthians*.

The solicitation of the War by the *Corinthians*, and other Confederates of the *Lacedæmonians*.

Complaints exhibited against the *Athenians* in the Council of Sparta.

* Of the *Ephori*, and those that had the Sovereignty, that is to say, before the Aristocratie.

BUT when *Potidæa* was once besieged, both for their mens sakes that were within, and also for fear to lose the place, they could no longer hold; but out of hand, they procured of their Confederates to go to *Lacedæmon*; and thither also they went themselves with clamours and accusations against the *Athenians*, that they had broken the League, and wronged the *Peloponnesians*. The *Æginetæ*, though not openly by Ambassadors, for fear of the *Athenians*, yet privily instigated them to the War as much as any; alledging that they were not permitted to govern themselves according to their own Laws, as by the Articles they ought to have been. So the *Lacedæmonians* having called together the Confederates, and whosoever else had any injustice to lay to the charge of the *Athenians* in the ordinary * Council of their own State commanded them to speak. Then presented every one his accusation, and amongst the rest the *Megareans*, besides many other their great differences, laid open this especially, That contrary to the Articles, they were forbidden the *Athenian* Markets and Havens. Last of all, the *Corinthians*, when they had suffered the *Lacedæmonians* to be incensed first by the rest, came in, and said as followeth.

The Oration of the Ambassadors of CORINTH.

MEN of *Lacedæmon*, your ~~own~~ fidelity, both in matter of estate and conversation, maketh you the less apt to believe us, when we accuse others of the contrary. And hereby you gain indeed a reputation of equity, but you have less experience in the affairs of Foreign States. For although we have oftentimes foretold you, that the *Athenians* would do us a mischief, yet from time to time when we told it you, you never would take information of it; but have suspected rather, that what we spake hath proceeded from our own private differences. And you have therefore called hither these Confederates, not before we had suffered, but now, when the evil is already upon us. Before whom, our speech must be so much the longer, by how much our objections are the greater, in that we have both by the *Athenians* been injured, and by you neglected. If the *Athenians* lurking in some obscure place, had done these wrongs unto the *Grecians*, we should then have needed to prove the same before you, as to ~~men~~ that knew it not. But now what cause have we to use long discourse, when you see already that some are brought into servitude, and that they are contriving the like against others, and especially against our Confederates, and are themselves, in case War should be made against them, long since prepared for it? For else they would never have taken *Corcyra*, and holden it from us by force, nor have besieged *Potidæa*, whereof the one was most commodious for any action against *Thrace*, and the other had brought unto the *Peloponnesians* a most fair Navy. And of all this, you are yourselves the Authors, in that you suffered them, upon the end of the *Persian* War, to fortifie their City, and again afterwards to raise their long Walls, whereby you have hitherto deprived of their liberty, not onely the States by them already subdued, but also your ~~own~~ Confederates. For not he that
bringeth

bringeth into slavery, but he that being able to hinder it, neglects the same, is most truly said to do it; especially if they assume the honour to be the esteemed Deliverers of Greece, [as you do.] And for all that, we are hardly yet come together, and indeed not yet, with any certain resolution what to do. For the question should not have been put, Whether or not we have received injury, but rather, in what manner we are to repair it. For they that do the wrong, having consulted upon it before hand, use no delay at all, but come upon them whom they mean to oppress, whilst they be yet irresolute. And we know, not onely that the Athenians have incroached upon their neighbours, but also by what ways they have done it. And as long as they think they carry it closely, through your blindness, they are the less bold. But when they shall perceive that you see and will not see, they will then press us strongly indeed. For (Lacedæmonians) you are the onely men of all Greece, that siting still defend others, not with your Forces, but with promises; and you are also the onely men that love to pull down the power of the Enemy, not when it beginneth but when it is doubled. You have indeed a report to be sure, but yet it is more in fame, then in fact. For we our selves know, that the Persian came against Peloponnesus from the utmost parts of the Earth before you encountred him, as became your State. And also now you connive at the Athenians, who are not as the Medes, far off, but hard at hand; chusing rather to defend your selves from their invasion then to invade them; and by having to do with them when their strength is greater, to put your selves upon the chance of Fortune. And yet we know that the Barbarians own error, and (in our War against the Athenians) their own oversights, more then your assistance, was the thing that gave us victory. For the hope of your aid hath been the destruction of some, that relying on you, made no preparation for themselves by other means. Yet let not any man think that we speak this out of malice, but onely by way of expostulation: for expostulation is with friends that err, but accusation against enemies that have done an injury. Besides, if there be any that may challenge to exprobrate his neighbour, we think our selves may best do it, especially on so great quarrels as these, whereof you neither seem to have any feeling, nor to consider what manner of men, and how different from you in every kind the Athenians be that you are to contend withall. For they love innovation, and are swift to devise, and also to execute what they resolve on: but you on the contrary are onely apt to save your own; not devise any thing new, nor scarce to attain what is necessary. They again are bold beyond their strength, adventurous above their own reason, and in danger hope still the best: whereas your actions are ever beneath your power, and you distrust even what your judgment assures, and being in a danger, never think to be delivered. They are stirrers, you studiers: they love to be abroad, and you at home the most of any. For they make account by being abroad to add to their Estate; you, if you should go forth against the State of another, would think to impair your own. They, when they overcome their enemies, advance the farthest, and when they are overcome by their enemies fall off the least; and as for their Bodies, they use them in the service of the Commonwealth, as if they were none of their own; but their minds, when they would serve the State, are right their own. Unless they take in hand what they have once advised on, they account so much lost of their own. And when they take it in hand, if they obtain any thing, they think lightly of it, in respect of what they look to win by their prosecution. If they fail in any attempt, they do what is necessary for the present, and enter presently into other hopes. For they alone, both have and hope for at once, whatsoever they conceive, through their celerity in execution

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of what they once resolve on. And in this manner they labour and toil all the days of their lives: what they have, they have no leisure to enjoy, for continual getting of more. Nor Holyday esteem they any, but whereon they effect some matter profitable; nor think they ease with nothing to do, a less torment then laborious business. So that in a word, to say they are men born neither to rest themselves nor suffer others, is to say the truth. Now notwithstanding (men of Lacedæmon) that this City, your Adversary, be such as we have said, yet you still delay time, not knowing that those onely are they, to whom it may suffice for the most part of their time to sit still, who (though they use not their power to do injustice) yet bewray a mind unlikely to swallow injuries; but playing equity belike in this, that you neither do any harm to others, nor receive it in defending of your selves. But this is a thing you hardly could attain, though the States about you were of the same condition. But (as we have before declared) your Customs are in respect of theirs antiquated, and of necessity (as it happeneth in Arts) the new ones will prevail. True it is, that for a City living for the most part in peace, unchanged Customs are the best; but for such as be constrained to undergo many matters, many devices will be needful. Which is also the reason why the Athenian Customs through much experience, are more new to you then yours are to them. Here therefore give a period to your slackness, and by a speedy invasion of Attica, as you promised, relieve both Potidæa and the rest, lest otherwise you betray your friends and kindred to their cruellest enemies, and lest we and others be driven through despair to seek out some other League. Which to do were no injustice, neither against the Gods, Judges of mens Oaths, nor against Men; the hearers of them: for not they break the League, who being abandoned, have recourse to others; but they that yield not their assistance to whom they have sworn it. But if you mean to follow the business seriously, we will stay; for else we should do irreligiously, neither should we find any other more conformable to our manners then your selves. Therefore deliberate well of these points, and take such a course, that Peloponnesus may not by your leading fall into worse estate then it was left unto you by your Progenitors.

Thus spake the CORINTHIANS.

The Athenian Ambassadors residing in Lacedæmon upon their business, desire to make answer to the Oration of the Corinthians.

The Athenian Ambassadors (who chanced to be residing in Lacedæmon, upon their business) when they heard of this Oration, thought it fit to present themselves before the Lacedæmonians, not to make Apology for what they were charged with by the other Cities, but to shew in general, that it was not fit for them in this case to take any sudden resolution, but further time to consider. Also they desired to lay open the power of their City; to the elder sort, for a remembrance of what they knew already; and to the younger, for an information of what they knew not: supposing that when they should have spoken, they would encline to quietness, rather then to War. And therefore they presented themselves before the Lacedæmonians, saying, that they also, if they might have leave, desired to speak in the Assembly, who willed them to come in. And the Athenians went into the Assembly, and spake to this effect.

The Oration of the Ambassadors of A T H E N S.

THough our Ambassage was not to this end, that we should argue against our Confederates, but about such other Affairs as the City was pleased to imploy us in; yet having heard of the great exclamation against us, we came into the Court, not to make answer to the criminations of the Cities (for to plead before you here, were not to plead before the Judges either of them or us) but to the end you may not be drawn away, to take the worst resolution, at the perswasion of the Confederates, in matters of so great importance. And withal, touching the sum of the Oration made against us, to inform you, that what we possess we have it justly, and that our City deserveth reputation. But what need we now to speak of matters long past, confirmed more by hear-say, then by the eyes of those that are to hear us relate them? But our actions against the Persian, and such as you your selves know as well as we, those, though it be tedious to hear them ever objected, we must of necessity recite. For when we did them, we hazarded our selves for some benefit, of which, as you had your parts in the substance, so must we have ours (if that be any benefit) in the commemoration; and we shall make recital of them, not by way of deprecation, but of protestation, and declaration of what a City (in case you take ill advice) you have to enter the list withal. We therefore say, that we not onely first and alone hazarded battel against the Barbarian in the Fields of Maratho, but also afterwards when he came again, being unable to resist him by Land, imbarqued our selves, every man that was able to bear Arms, and gave him Battel amongst the rest, by Sea at Salamis, which was the cause that kept him back from sailing to Peloponnesus, and laying it waste City after City: for against so many Gallies you were not able to give each other mutual succour. And the greatest proof of this is the Persian himself, who when his Fleet was overcome, and that he had no more such Forces, went away in haste with the greatest part of his Army. Which being so, and evident that the whole State of the Grecians was imbarqued in their Fleet, we conferred to the same the three things of most advantage; namely, the greatest number of Gallies, the most prudent Commander, and the most lively courage. (For of 400 Gallies in the whole, our own were few less then two thirds) and for Commander, Themistocles, who was the principal cause that the Battel was fought in the * Streight, whereby he clearly saved the whole business; and whom, though a Stranger, you your selves have honoured for it, more then any man that came unto you; and a forwardness we shewed, more adventurous then any other in this, that when none of them had aided us by Land before, and the rest of the Cities, as far as to our own, were brought into servitude, we were nevertheless content both to quit our City, and lose our goods, and even in that estate not to betray the common Cause of the Confederates, or divided from them, to be unuseful; but to put our selves into our Navy, and undergo the danger with them, and that without passion against you for not having formerly defended us in the like manner. So that we may say that we have no less conferred a benefit upon you, then we received it from you. You came indeed to aid us, but it was from Cities inhabited, and to the end you might still keep them so, and when you were afraid, not of our danger, but your own: whereas we coming from a City no more in * being, and putting our selves into danger, for a City hopeless ever to be again, saved both you (in part) and our selves. But if we had

* Of Salamis.

* The Athenians, at the coming of the Persian, when they put themselves into their Gallies, left their City to the Army of the Persians by Land, and sent their wives and children into Ægina, Salamis, and Træzena.

joined with the Persian, fearing (as others did) to have our Territories wasted; or afterwards, as men lost, durst not have put our selves into our Gallies, you must not have fought with him by Sea, because your Fleet had been too small; but his affairs had succeeded as he would himself. Therefore (men of Lacedæmon) we deserve not so great envy of the Grecians for our courage at that time, and for our prudence, and for the dominion we hold, as we now undergo. Which dominion we obtained not by violence, but because the Confederates, when your selves would not stay out the reliques of the War against the Barbarian, came in, and intreated us to take the command, of their own accord. So that at first we were forced to advance our Dominion to what it is, out of the nature of the thing it self, as chiefly for fear, next for honour, and lastly for profit. For when we had the envy of many, and had reconquered some that had already revolted, and seeing you were no more our friends as you had been, but suspected and quarrelled us, we held it no longer a safe course, laying by our power, to put our selves into your danger; for the revolts from us would all have been made to you. Now it is no fault for men in danger, to order their affairs to the best; for you also (men of Lacedæmon) have command over the Cities of Peloponnesus, and order them to your best advantage: and had you, *when the time was, by staying it out, been envied in your Command, as we know well you would have been no less heavy to the Confederates then we, you must have been constrained to rule imperiously, or to have fallen into danger. So that, though overcome by three the greatest things, honour, fear, and profit, we have both accepted the dominion delivered us, and refuse again to surrender it, we have therein done nothing to be wondered at, nor beside the manner of men. Nor have we been the first in this kind, but it hath been ever a thing fixed, for the weaker to be kept under by the stronger. Besides, we took the government upon us, as esteeming our selves worthy of the same; and of you also so esteemed, till having computed the commodity, you now fall to allegation of equity; a thing which no man that had the occasion to atchieve any thing by strength, ever so far preferred, as to divert him from his profit. Those men are worthy of commendation, who following the natural inclination of man, in desiring rule over others, are juster, then for their power they need. And therefore if another had our power, we think it would best make appear our own moderation; and yet our moderation hath undeservedly incurred contempt, rather then commendation. For though in Pleas of Covenants with our Confederates, when in our own City we have allowed them trial by Laws, equal both to them and us, the Judgment hath been given against us, we have then nevertheless been reputed contentions. None of them considering that others, who in other places have dominion, and are toward their Subject-States less moderate then we, yet are never upbraided for it; for they that have the power to compell, need not at all go to Law. And yet these men having been used to converse with us upon equal terms, if they lose any thing which they think they should not, either by sentence, or by the power of our government, they are not thankful for the much they retain, but take in worse part the little they forgoe, then if at first, laying Law aside, we had openly taken their goods by violence; for in that kind also they themselves cannot deny, but the weaker must give way to the stronger. And men it seems are more passionate for injustice then for violence; for that coming as from an equal, seemeth rapine; and the other, because from one stronger, but necessity: Therefore when they suffered worse things under the Medes dominion, they bore it, but think ours to be rigorous; and good reason, for to men in subjection, the present is ever the worst estate. Inasmuch as you also, if you should

* That is, when Pausanias King of Lacedæmon pursuing the Reliques of the Persian war, through his pride and insolent Command, procured the hatred of the Confederates so far, as the Lacedæmonian State calling him home, they put themselves under the leading of the Athenians.

should put us down and reign your selves, you would soon find a change of the love, which they bear you now for fear of us, if you should do again as you * did for a while, when you were their Commanders against the Medes. For not only your own institutions are different from those of others, but also when any one of you comes abroad [with charge,] he neither useth those of yours, nor yet those of the rest of Greece. Deliberate therefore of this a great while, as of a matter of great importance; and do not upon the opinions and criminations of others, procure your own trouble. Consider before you enter, how unexpected the chances of War be: for a long War, for the most part, endeth in calamity, from which we are equally far off, and whether part it will light on, is to be tried with uncertainty. And men when they go to War, use many times to fall first to action, the which ought to come behind; and when they have already taken harm, then they fall to reasoning. But since we are neither in such error our selves, nor do find that you are, we advise you, whilest good counsel is in both our elections, not to break the peace, nor violate your Oaths; but according to the Articles, let the controversie be decided by judgment; or else we call the Gods you have sworn by, to witness that if you begin the War, we will endeavour to revenge our selves the same way that you shall walk in before us.

* Meaning the Impetuous and tyrannical command of Pausanias

Thus spake the A T H E N I A N S.

After the *Lacedæmonians* had heard both the complaints of the Confederates against the *Athenians*, and the *Athenians* answer, they put them every one out of the Court, and consulted of the business amongst themselves. And the opinions of the greatest part concurred in this, That the *Athenians* had done unjustly, and ought speedily to be Warred on: But *Archidamus* their King, a man reputed both wise and temperate, spake as followeth.

The *Lacedæmonians* amongst themselves take counsel how to proceed.

The Oration of A R C H I D A M U S.

MEN of Lacedæmon, both I myself have the experience of many Wars, and I see you of the same age with me, to have the like; inasmuch as you cannot desire this War, either through inexperience (as many do) nor yet as apprehending it to be profitable or safe. And whosoever shall temperately consider the War we now deliberate of, will find it to be no small one. For though in respect of the Peloponnesians, and our neighbour States, we have equal strength, and can quickly be upon them; yet against men, whose Territory is remote, and are also expert Seamen, and with all other things excellently furnished, as Money, both private and publick, Shipping, Horses, Arms, and number, more then any one part of Greece besides, and that have many Confederates paying them Tribute; against such, I say, why should we lightly undertake the War? And since we are unfurnished, whereon relying, should we make such haste to it? On our Navy? But therein we are too weak. And if we will provide and prepare against them, it will require time. On our Money? But therein also we are more too weak; for neither hath the State any, nor will private men readily contribute. But it may be some rely on this, that we exceed them in Arms, and multitude of Souldiers, so that we may waste their Territories with incursions. But there is much other Land under their Dominion, and by Sea they are able to bring in whatsoever they shall stand in need of. Again, If we assay to alienate their Confederates, we must

and

aid them with Shipping, because the most of them are Islanders. What a War then will this of ours be? For unless we have the better of them in Shipping, or take from them their revenue whereby their Navy is maintained, we shall do the most hurt to our selves. And in this case to let fall the War again, will be no honour for us, when we are chiefly thought to have begun it. As for the hope, that if we waste their Countrey the War will soon be at an end, let that never lift us up, for I fear we shall transmit it rather to our children. For it is likely the Athenians have the spirit not to be slaves to their earth, nor as men without experience, to be astonished at the War. And yet I do not advise that we should stupidly suffer our Confederates to be wronged, and not apprehend the Athenians in their plots against them; but only not yet to take up Arms, but to send and expostulate with them, making no great shew neither of War nor of Sufferance: and in the mean time to make our provision, and make friends both of Greeks and Barbarians, such as in any place we can get, of power either in Shipping or Money (nor are they to be blamed, that being laid in wait for, as we are by the Athenians, take unto them not Grecians onely, but also Barbarians for their safety) and withall to set forth our own. If they listen to our Ambassadors, best of all; if not, then two or three years passing over our heads, being better appointed, we may war upon them if we will. And when they see our preparation, and hear words that import no less, they will perhaps relent the sooner, especially having their grounds unhurt, and consulting upon commodities extant, and not yet spoiled. For we must think their Territory to be nothing but an Hostage, and so much the more, by how much the better husbanded. The which we ought therefore to spare as long as we may, lest making them desperate, we make them also the harder to expugne. For if unfurnished as we be, at the instigation of the Confederates, we waste their Territory, consider if in so doing we do not make the War both more dishonourable to the Peloponnesians, and also more difficult. For though accusations, as well against Cities as private men may be cleared again, a War for the pleasure of some, taken up by all, the success whereof cannot be foreseen, can hardly with honour be let fall again. Now let no man think it cowardice that being many Cities, we go not presently and invade that one City; for of Confederates that bring them in money they have more then we; and War is not so much War of Arms, as War of Money, by means whereof Arms are useful, especially when it is a War of Land-men against Sea-men. And therefore let us first provide our selves of money, and not first raise the War upon the perswasion of the Confederates. For we that must be thought the causes of all events, good or bad, have also reason to take some leasure in part to foresee them. As for the slackness and procrastination, wherewith we are reproached by the Confederates, be never ashamed of it; for the more haste you make to the War, you will be the longer before you end it, for that you go to it unprovided. Besides, our City hath been ever free, and well thought of. And this which they object, is rather to be called a Modesty proceeding upon judgment: for by that it is that we alone, are neither arrogant upon good success, nor shrink so much as others in adversity. Nor are we, when men provoke us to it with praise, through the delight thereof, moved to undergo danger, more then we think fit our selves; nor when they sharpen us with reprehension, doth the smart thereof a jot the more prevail upon us. And this modesty of ours, maketh us both good Souldiers and good Counsellors: good Souldiers, because shame begetteth modesty, and valour is most sensible of shame; good Counsellors, in this, that we are brought up more simply then to disesteem the Laws, and by severity, more modestly then to disobey them. And also in that,

that

that we do not, like men exceeding wise in things needless, find fault bravely with the preparation of the Enemy, and in effect not assault him accordingly; but do think our neighbours cogitations like our own, and that the events of Fortune cannot be discerned by a Speech; and do therefore always so furnish our selves really against the Enemy, as against men well advised. For we are not to build our hopes upon the oversights of them, but upon the safe foresight of our selves. Nor must we think that there is much difference between man and man, but him onely to be the best that hath been brought up amongst the most difficulties. Let us not therefore cast aside the institutions of our Ancestors, which we have so long retained to our profit; nor let us, of many mens lives, of much Money, of many Cities, and much Honour, hastily resolve in so small a part of one day, but at leisure, the which we have better commodity than any other to do, by reason of our power. Send to the Athenians about the matter of Potidæa, send about that wherein the Confederates say they are injured; and the rather, because they be content to refer the cause to judgment: And one that offereth himself to judgment may not lawfully be invaded as a doer of injury, before the judgment be given, and prepare withall for the War, so shall you take the most profitable counsel for your selves, and the most formidable to the Enemy.

Thus spake ARCHIDAMUS.

But Sthenelaidas, then one of the Ephori, stood up last of all, and spake to the Lacedæmonians in this manner:

The Oration of STHENELAIDAS.

FOR my part, I understand not the many words used by the Athenians; for though they have been much in their own praises, yet they have said nothing to the contrary but that they have done injury to our Confederates, and to Peloponnesus. And if they carried themselves well against the Medes when time was, and now ill against us, they deserve a double punishment, because they are not good as they were, and because they are evil, as they were not. Now are we the same we were, and mean not (if we be wise) either to connive at the wrongs done to our Confederates, or defer to repair them, for the harm they suffer is not deferred. Others have much Money, many Gallies, and many Horses; and we have good Confederates, not to be betrayed to the Athenians, nor to be defended with words, (for they are not hurt in words) but to be aided with all our power, and with speed. Let no man tell me, that after we have once received the injury, we ought to deliberate. No, it belongs rather to the doers of injury to spend time in consultation. Wherefore (men of Lacedæmon) decree the War, as becometh the dignity of Sparta; and let not the Athenians grow yet greater, nor let us betray our Confederates, but in the name of the gods, proceed against the doers of injustice.

Having thus spoken, being himself Ephore, he put it to the question in the Assembly of the Lacedæmonians; and saying afterwards, that he could not discern whether was the greater cry (for they used there to give their Votes *viva voce*, and not with * Balls) and desiring that it might

* *Ἰσφ.* Properly lapillus, calculus. A little stone or ball, which he that gave his Vote put into a Box, either 'on the affirmative or negative part, as he pleased. The Athenians used Beans white and black. The Venetians now use Balls, and the distinction is made by the Box inscribed with Yea and No.

The Lacedæmonians by question conclude that the Athenians had broken the Peace.

be evident that their minds were inclined most to the War, he put it unto them again, and said, *To whomsoever of you it seemeth that the Peace is broken, and that the Athenians have done unjustly, let him arise and go yonder*: and withall he shewed them a certain place: *And to whomsoever it seemeth otherwise, let him go to the other side*. So they arose, and the Room was divided, wherein far the greater number were those that held the Peace to be broken.

Then calling in the Confederates, they told them, *That for their own parts their sentence was, that the Athenians had done them wrong*. But yet they desired to have all their Confederates called together, and then to put it to the question again, that if they would, the War might be decreed by common consent. This done, their Confederates went home, and so did also afterwards the Athenians, when they had dispatched the business they came about. This Decree of the Assembly, that the Peace was broken, was made in the fourteenth year of those thirty years for which a peace had been formerly concluded, after the actions past in Eubœa.

Negroponte.

The true cause of this War being the fear the Lacedæmonians had of the power of Athens, the Author digresseth, to shew how that power grew first up.

The means by which the Athenians came to have the command of the common Forces of Greece against the Persian by which they raised their Empire.

^a A Promontory in Asia the less, where the remnant of Xerxes Fleet was defeated, the same day that his Land Forces were also defeated by Pausanias at Platea, with the slaughter of Mar-donius their General, and almost their whole Army of 300000 men.

^b Of Persia.

The Athenians returned to their City.

^c Τὸ κοινόν, the State.

That is, they made Athens again the Seat of their Government, whereas before it was in the Fleet and Camp still removing.

They repair their City and Wall it.

^{*} The Lacedæmonians advise them to the contrary for their own ends, pretending the common good.

Themistocles adviseth them to build on.

THE Lacedæmonians gave Sentence that the Peace was broken, and that War was to be made, not so much for the words of the Confederates, as for fear the Athenian greatness should still increase: For they saw that a great part of Greece was fallen already into their hands. Now the manner how the Athenians came to the administration of those affairs by which they so raised themselves, was this:

After that the Medes, overcome by Sea and Land, were departed, and such of them as had escaped by Sea to Mycale, were there also utterly overthrown, Leotychides King of the Lacedæmonians, then Commander of the Græcians at Mycale, with their Confederates of Peloponnesus, went home: But the Athenians with their Confederates of Ionia and the Hellespont, as many as were already revolted from the King, staid behind and besieged Sestos, holden then by the Medes, and when they had lain before it all the Winter, they took it, abandoned by the Barbarians; and after this they set sail from the Hellespont, every one to his own City. And the body of the Athenians, as soon as their Territory was clear of the Barbarians, went home also, and fetcht thither their Wives and Children, and such goods as they had, from the places where they had been put out to keep, and went about the reparation of their City and Walls. For there were yet standing some pieces of the circuit of their Wall, and likewise a few houses (though the most were down) which the principal of the Persians had reserved for their own lodgings. The Lacedæmonians hearing what they went about, sent thither their Ambassadors, partly because they would themselves have been glad that neither the Athenians nor any other had had Walls; but principally, as incited thereto by their Confederates, (who feared not only the greatness of their Navy, which they had not before, but also their courage shewed against the Persians) and intreated them not to build their Walls, but rather to join with them in pulling down the Walls of what Cities soever without Peloponnesus had them yet standing: Not discovering their meaning, and the jealousy they had of the Athenians; but pretending this, that if the Barbarian returned, he might find no fortified City to make the Seat of his War, as he did of Thebes: and that Peloponnesus was sufficient for them all whereinto to retire, and from whence to withstand the War. But the Athenians, by the advice of Themistocles, when the Lacedæmonian Ambassadors had so said, dismissed them

them presently with this Answer, That they would presently send Ambassadors about the business they spake of, to *Lacedæmon*. Now *Themistocles* willed them to send himself to *Lacedæmon* for one, and that as speedily as they could; but such as were chosen Ambassadors with him, not to send away presently, but to stay them till the Walls were so raised as to fight upon them from a sufficient height; and that all the men in the City in the mean time, both they and their Wives and Children, sparing neither private nor publick edifice, that might advance the Work, but pulling all down whatsoever should help to raise it. When he had thus instructed them, adding, that he would himself do the rest at *Lacedæmon*, he took his Journey. And when he came to *Lacedæmon*, he went not to the State, but delaying the time, excused himself; and when any of those that were in Office asked him why he did not present himself to the State, answered, *That he staid for his fellow-Ambassadors, who upon some business that fell out, were left behind, but he expected them very shortly, and wondred they were not come already.* Hearing this, they gave credit to *Themistocles*, for the love they bore him; but when others coming thence averred plainly that the Wall went up, and that it was come to good height already, they could not then chuse but believe it. *Themistocles*, when he saw this, wished them not to be led by reports, but rather to send thither some of their own, such as were honest men, and having informed themselves, would relate the truth. Which they also did. And *Themistocles* sendeth privily to the *Athenians* about the same men, to take order for their stay, with as little appearance of it as they could, and not to dismiss them till their own Ambassadors were returned. (For by this time were arrived those that were joined with him, namely, *Abronychus* the son of *Lyficles* and *Aristides* the son of *Lyfimachus*, and brought him word that the Wall was of a sufficient height.) For he feared lest the *Lacedæmonians*, when they knew the truth would refuse to let them go. The *Athenians* therefore kept there those Ambassadors, according as it was written to them to do. *Themistocles* coming now to his audience before the *Lacedæmonians*, said plainly, *That the City of Athens was already walled, and that sufficiently, for the defence of those within: And that if it shall please the Lacedæmonians, upon any occasion to send Ambassadors unto them, they were to send thenceforward, as to men that understood what conduced both to their own, and also to the common good of all Greece. For when they thought it best to quit their City, and put themselves into their Gallies, he said they were bold to do it, without asking the advice of them. And in Common-Council, the advice of the Athenians was as good as the advice of them: And now at this time their opinion is, that it will be best, both for themselves in particular, and for all the Confederates in common, that their City should be walled. For that in strength unequal, men cannot alike and equally advise for the common benefit of Greece. Therefore (said he) either must all the Confederate Cities be unwalled, or you must not think amiss of what is done by us.* The *Lacedæmonians* when they heard him, though they made no shew of being angry with the *Athenians*, (for they had not sent their Ambassadors to forbid them, but by way of advice, to admonish them not to build the Wall; besides they bare them affection then, for their courage shewn against the *Medes*) yet they were inwardly offended, because they missed of their will. And the Ambassadors returned home of either side, without complaint. Thus the *Athenians* quickly raised their Walls, the structure

His subtilty in deluding the *Lacedæmonians*.

The building hastened.

Themistocles goeth to *Lacedæmon* Ambassador.

He adviseth the *Lacedæmonians* to send Ambassadors to see if the Wall went up or nor.

He sendeth Letters to *Athens* secretly, to have those Ambassadors staid till the return of himself and his fellows from *Lacedæmon*.

And hearing that the Walls were finished, he justifieth it.

The *Lacedæmonians* dissemble their dislike.

The Walls of Athens built in haste.

* The Walls of Athens made of Chappels and Tombs. Cor. Nepos in vita Themist.

* This was before a Village, and now made the Athenian Arsenal.

* The Governour of the City for that year. Themistocles Author to the Athenians of assuming the dominion of the Sea, and of fortifying Peiræus.

The reason why Themistocles was most addicted to affairs by Sea.

Pausanias sent General of the Greeks to pursue the reliques of the Persian War.

* Constantinople.

Pausanias growing insolent, the Ionians offended, desire the protection of the Athenians.

* The Ionians were all Colonies of the people of Athens.

Pausanias sent for home, to answer to certain accusations.

In his absence the Grecians give the Athenians the leading of them.

it self making manifest the haste used in the building. For the Foundation consisteth of stones of all sorts; and those in some places unwrought, and as they were brought to the place. Many Pillars also taken from * Sepulchres, and polished Stones were piled together amongst the rest. For the circuit of the City was set every way farther out, and therefore hastening, they took alike whatsoever came next to hand. Themistocles likewise perswaded them to build up the rest of * Peiræus, (for it was begun in the year that himself was * Archon of Athens) as conceiving the place both beautiful, in that it had threenatural Havens, and that being now Sea-men, it would very much conduce to the enlargement of their power. For he was indeed the first man that durst tell them that they ought to take upon them the Command of the Sea, and withall presently helped them in the obtaining it. By his counsel also it was, that they built the Wall of that breadth about Peiræus, which is now to be seen: for two Carts carrying stones, met, and passed upon it one by another. And yet within it, there was neither Rubbish nor Morter [to fill it up,] but it was made all of great Stones, cut square and bound together with Iron and Lead. But for height, it was raised but to the half at the most of what he had intended. For he would have had it able to hold out the Enemy both by the height and breadth; and that a few, and the less serviceable men might have sufficed to defend it, and the rest have served in the Navy. For principally he was addicted to the Sea, because (as I think) he had observed, that the Forces of the King had easier access to invade them by Sea then by Land; and thought that Peiræus was more profitable then the City above. And oftentimes he would exhort the Athenians, that in case they were oppressed by Land, they should go down thither, and with their Gallies make resistance against what Enemy soever. Thus the Athenians built their Walls, and fitted themselves in other kinds, immediately upon the departure of the Persians.

In the mean time was Pausanias the son of Cleombrotus, sent from Lacedæmon Commander of the Grecians, with twenty Gallies out of Peloponnesus. With which went also thirty Sail of Athens, besides a multitude of other Confederates, and making War on Cyprus, subdued the greatest part of the same: and afterwards, under the same Commander, came before * Byzantium, which they besieged and won.

But Pausanias being now grown insolent, both the rest of the Grecians, and especially the Ionians, who had newly recovered their liberty from the King, offended with him, came unto the Athenians, and requested them for * consanguinities sake to become their Leaders, and to protect them from the violence of Pausanias. The Athenians accepting the motion, applied themselves both to the defence of these, and also to the ordering of the rest of the affairs there, in such sort as it should seem best unto themselves. In the mean time the Lacedæmonians sent for Pausanias home, to examine him of such things as they had heard against him. For great crimes had been laid to his charge by the Grecians that came from thence; and his Government was rather an imitation of Tyranny then a Command in War. And it was his hap to be called home at the same time that the Confederates, all but the Souldiers of Peloponnesus, out of hatred to him, had turned to the Athenians. When he came to Lacedæmon, though he were censured for some wrongs done

done to private men, yet of the greatest matters he was acquit, especially of Medizing, the which seemed to be the most evident of all. Him therefore they sent General no more, but *Dorcis*, and some others with him, with no great Army; whose Command the Confederates refused, and they finding that, went their ways likewise. And after that, the *Lacedæmonians* sent no more, because they feared lest such as went out would prove the worse for the State, (as they had seen by *Pausanias*,) and also because they desired to be rid of the *Persian* War, conceiving the *Athenians* to be sufficient Leaders, and at that time their friends.

When the *Athenians* had thus gotten the Command by the Confederates own accord, for the hatred they bare to *Pausanias*, they then set down an Order which Cities should contribute money for this War against the *Barbarians*, and which Gallies. For they pretended to repair the injuries they had suffered, by laying waste the Territories of the King. And then first came up among the *Athenians* the Office of **Treasurers of Greece*, who were receivers of the **Tribute*, (for so they called this money contributed.) And the first Tribute that was taxed, came to ^b460 Talents. The Treasury was at ^c*Delos*, and their Meetings were kept there in the ^d*Temple*.

Now using their authority at first in such manner, as that the Confederates lived under their own Laws, and were admitted to Common Council; by the War, and administration of the common affairs of Greece from the *Persian* War to this, what against the *Barbarians*, what against their own innovating Confederates, and what against such of the *Peloponnesians* as chanced always in every War to fall in, they effected those great matters following; which also I have therefore written, both because this place hath been pretermitted by all that have written before me. (For they have either compiled the *Grecian* Acts before the Invasion of the *Persians*, or that Invasion onely. Of which number is *Hellanicus*, who hath also touched them in his *Attique History*, but briefly, and without exact mention of the Times,) and also because they carry with them a demonstration of how the *Athenian* Empire grew up.

And first, under the Conduct of *Cimon* the son of *Miltiades*, they took *Eion* upon the River *Strymon*, from the *Medes* by siege, and carried away the Inhabitants captives. Then the Isle *Scyros* in the *Ægean* Sea, inhabited by the *Delopes*, the Inhabitants whereof they also carried away captives, and planted therein a Colony of their own. Likewise they made War on the *Caristians*, (alone, without the rest of the *Æolians*) and those also after a time, came in by composition. After this they Warred on the revolted *Naxians*, and brought them in by Siege. And this was the first Confederate City, which contrary to the Ordinance, they deprived of their Free Estate; though afterwards, as it came to any of their turns, they did the like by the rest.

Amongst other causes of Revolts, the principal was their failing to bring in their Tribute and Gallies, and their refusing (when they did so) to follow the Wars. For the *Athenians* exacted strictly, and were grievous to them, by imposing a necessity of toil, which they were neither accustomed nor willing to undergo. They were also otherwise not so gentle in their Government as they had been, nor followed the War upon equal terms, and could easily bring back to their subjection, such as should revolt. And of this the Confederates themselves were the causes: for through this refusal to accompany the Army,

Pausanias acquit, but sent General no more.

The *Grecians* refuse the Command of *Dorcis* sent from *Sparta* to be their General.

The *Athenians* assist their Confederates, for the sustaining of the War.

* *ἑκκλησιάρχαι*.

^a *Φέρε*.

The original of the Tribute paid to the *Athenians*.

^b 86250 l. sterling.

^c Not at *Athenis*, because they would not seem to challenge a propriety in that money.

^d Of *Apollō*.

The History of the Time between the *Persian* and *Peloponnesian* War, pretermitted by other Writers, briefly delivered by *Thucydides*.

The steps of the *Athenians* toward their great Dominion.

The *Athenians* take *Eion*.

And *Scyros*.

And *Carystus*.

And *Naxos*, their Confederate, now *Nicæa*.

The cause of revolts, from the *Athenians*.

the most of them, to the end they might stay at home, were ordered to excuse their Gallies with money, as much as it came to. By which means the Navy of the *Athenians* was increased at the cost of their Confederates, and themselves unprovided, and without means to make War in case they should revolt.

The *Athenians* defeat the *Persian* upon the River of *Eurymedon*.

They War on *Thasus*.

They take *Amphipolis*, and afterwards receive a great overthrow at *Drabescus* in *Thrace*.

The *Lacedæmonians* intending to invade *Attica*, are hindred by an Earthquake.

The *Lacedæmonians* employed the *Captives* taken in war, and their posterity, in husbandry and other servile works, which was all done by this kind of men, and they were called by them *Helotes*, because the first of them so employed, were *Captives* of the Town of *Helos* in *Laconia*.

Thasus rendred to the *Athenians*.

The *Lacedæmonians* send for aid to the *Athenians* in their War against *Ithome*.

The first dissention between the *Lacedæmonians* and the *Athenians*.

The *Lacedæmonians* were *Doreans*, the *Athenians* *Ionians*.

The *Athenians* being had in suspicion by the *Lacedæmonians*, join with the *Argives*.

After this it came to pass that the *Athenians* and their Confederates fought against the *Medes* both by Land and by Water, upon the River of *Eurymedon* in *Pamphilia*; and in one and the same day the *Athenians* had Victory in both, and took or sunk all the *Phœnician* Fleet, to the number of 200 Gallies. After this again happened the revolt of *Thasus*, upon a difference about the places of Trade, and about the Mines they possessed in the opposite parts of *Thrace*. And the *Athenians* going thither with their Fleet, overthrew them in a Battel at Sea, and landed in the Island. But having about the same time sent 10000 of their own and of their Confederates people into the River of *Strymon*, for a Colony to be planted in a place called then the *Nine-ways*, now *Amphipolis*. They won the said *Nine-ways*, which was held by the *Eidonians*; but advancing farther, towards the heart of the Countrey of *Thrace*, they were defeated at *Drabescus*, a City of the *Eidonians*, by the whole power of the *Thracians*, that were Enemies to this new-built Town of the *Nine-ways*. The *Thasians* in the mean time, being overcome in divers Battels, and besieged, sought aid of the *Lacedæmonians*, and entreated them to divert the Enemy by an Invasion of *Attica*: which, unknown to the *Athenians*, they promised to do, and also had done it, but by an Earthquake that then happened, they were hindred. In which Earthquake, their * *Helotes*, and of neighbouring Towns the *Thuriatæ* and *Ætheans* revolted, and seized on *Ithome*. Most of these *Helotes* were the posterity of the ancient *Messenians*, brought into servitude in former times; whereby also it came to pass, that they were called all *Messenians*. Against these had the *Lacedæmonians* a War now at *Ithome*. The *Thasians* in the third year of the Siege, rendred themselves to the *Athenians*, upon condition to raze their Walls, to deliver up their Gallies, to pay both the money behind, and for the future as much as they were wont; and to quit both the Mines and the Continent. The *Lacedæmonians*, when the War against those in *Ithome* grew long, amongst other their Confederates, sent for aid to the *Athenians*; who also came with no small Forces under the command of *Cimon*. They were sent for principally for their reputation in mural assaults, the long continuance of the Siege, seeming to require men of ability in that kind, whereby they might perhaps have gotten the place by force. And upon this Journey grew the first manifest dissention between the *Lacedæmonians* and the *Athenians*: for the *Lacedæmonians*, when they could not take the place by assault, fearing lest the audacious and innovating humour of the *Athenians*, whom withall they esteemed of a * contrary Race, might at the perswasion of those in *Ithome*, cause some alteration, if they staid; dismissed them alone of all the Confederates, not discovering their jealousy, but alledging that they had no farther need of their service. But the *Athenians* perceiving that they were not sent away upon good cause, but onely as men suspected, made it a heinous matter; and conceiving that they had better deserved at the *Lacedæmonians* hands, as soon as they were gone, left the League which they had made with the *Lacedæmonians* against the *Persian*, and became Confederates with their Enemies the *Argives*; and then both *Argives* and *Athenians*

nians took the same Oath, and made the same League with the *Theſſalians*.

Thoſe in *Ithome*, when they could no longer hold out, in the 10 year of the Siege, rendred the place to the *Lacedæmonians*, upon condition of ſecurity to depart out of *Peloponneſus*, and that they ſhould no more return; and whoſoever ſhould be taken returning, to be the Slave of him that ſhould take him. For the *Lacedæmonians* had before been warned by a certain answer of the *Pythian Oracle*, to let go the Suppliant of *Jupiter Ithometes*. So they came forth, they, and their Wives, and their Children. And the *Athenians*, for hatred they bore to the *Lacedæmonians*, received them, and put them into * *Naupaſſus*, which City they had lately taken from the *Locrians* of *Ozolæ*. The *Megareans* alſo revolted from the *Lacedæmonians*, and came to the League of the *Athenians*, becauſe they were holden down by the *Corinthians* with a War about the limits of their Territories. Whereupon *Megara* and *Pegæ* were put into the hands of the *Athenians*, who built for the *Megareans* the long Walls from the City to * *Niſſea*, and maintained them with a Garrifon of their own. And from hence it was chiefly that the vehement hatred grew of the *Corinthians* againſt the *Athenians*. Moreover, *Inarus* the ſon of *Pſammetticus* an *African*, King of the *Africans* that confine on *Ægypt*, making War from *Marea* above *Pharus*, cauſed the greateſt part of *Ægypt* to rebel againſt the King *Artaxerxes*; and when he had taken the government of them upon himſelf, he brought in the *Athenians* to aſſiſt him; who chancing to be then Warring on *Cyrus* with 200 Gallies, part their own and part their Confederates, left *Cyrus* and went to him. And going from the Sea up the River of *Nilus*, after they had made themſelves Maſters of the River, and of two parts of the City of * *Memphis*, aſſaulted the third part, called the *White Wall*. Within were of the *Medes* and *Persians*, ſuch as had eſcaped, and of the *Ægyptians*, ſuch as had not revolted amongſt the reſt. The *Athenians* came alſo with a Fleet to *Halias*, and landing their Souldiers, fought by Land with the *Corinthians* and *Epidaurians*, and the *Corinthians* had the Victory. After this, the *Athenians* fought by Sea againſt the Fleet of the *Peloponneſians* at * *Cecryphalea*, and the *Athenians* had the Victory. After this again, the War being on foot of the *Athenians*, againſt the *Æginetæ*, a great Battel was fought between them by Sea, upon the Coaſt of *Ægina*, the Confederates of both ſides being at the ſame; in which the *Athenians* had the Victory; and having taken 70 Gallies, landed their Army and beſieged the City under the Conduct of *Leocrates* the ſon of *Stræbus*. After this, the *Peloponneſians* deſiring to aid the *Æginetæ*, ſent over into *Ægina* it ſelf three hundred men of Arms, of the ſame that had before aided the *Corinthians* and *Epidaurians*, and with other Forces ſeized on the top of * *Geranea*. And the *Corinthians* and their Confederates, came down from thence into the Territory of *Megara*, ſuppoſing that the *Athenians* having much of their Army abſent in *Ægina* and in *Ægypt*, would be unable to aid the *Megareans*, or if they did, would be forced to riſe from before *Ægina*. But the *Athenians* ſtirred not from *Ægina*, but thoſe that remained at *Athens*, both young and old, under the Conduct of *Myronides*, went to *Megara*; and after they had fought with doubtful Victory, they parted aſunder again with an opinion in both ſides, not to have had the worſe in the Action. And the *Athenians* (who notwithstanding had rather the better) when the *Corinthians* were gone away, erected a Trophy. But the *Corinthians* having been reviled

The *Helots* in *Ithome* after ten years ſiege, compound, and quit *Peloponneſus*.

The *Athenians* receive them, and place them in *Naupaſſus*.

* *Lepanto*.

Megara revolteth from the *Lacedæmonians* to the *Athenians*.

* The Haven and Arsenal of *Megara*.

The *Athenians* ſend an Army into *Egypt*, to aid the Rebels againſt the King of *Persia*.

* *Cairo*.

The *Athenians* fight by Sea againſt the *Corinthians* and *Epidaurians*.

After that, againſt the *Peloponneſians*.

* Some *Iſland* about *Peloponneſus*, whoſe ſituation is not now known.

Then againſt the *Æginetæ*.

The *Corinthians* aid *Ægina*.

* A ridge of a Hill, lying before the entrance into the *Isthmus*.

The Corinthians receive a great loss in Megara.

The Athenians build their Long Walls from both sides of the City to the Sea. * The Doreans the Mother Nation of the Lacedæmonians, inhabited a little Country on the North side of Phocis, called Doris, and Tetrapolis, from the four Cities it contained; of which those here mentioned were three, and the fourth was Pindus. * Gulf of Corinth.

The Lacedæmonians fight with the Athenians at Tanagra.

The Athenians overthrow the Bœotians at Oenophyta, [that is to say, the Vineyards] and subdue Bœotia and Phocis. Ægina yielded to the Athenians. The Athenians sail round Peloponnesus, and waste it. * A City of Corinthians, near the River Tuenas.

reviled at their return by the ancient men of the City, about 12 days after came again prepared, and set up their Trophy likewise, as if the Victory had been theirs. Hereupon the Athenians sallying out of Megara with a huge shout, both slew those that were setting up the Trophy, and charging the rest, got the Victory. The Corinthians being overcome, went their way; but a good part of them being hard followed, and missing their way, lighted into the enclosed ground of a private man, which fenced with a great Ditch, had no passage through; which the Athenians perceiving, opposed them at the place by which they entered, with their men of Arms, and encompassing the ground with their light-armed Souldiers, killed those that were entered with stones. This was a great loss to the Corinthians, but the rest of their Army got home again. About this time the Athenians began the building of their Long Walls, from the City down to the Sea, the one reaching to the Haven called Phaleron, the other to Peiræus. The Phœceans also making War upon Boeum, Cytinium, and Erineus, Towns that belonged to the * Doreans, of whom the Lacedæmonians are descended, and having taken one of them, the Lacedæmonians under the Conduct of Nicomedes the son of Cleombrotus, in the place of Pleistoanactes son of King Pausanias, who was yet in minority, sent unto the aid of the Doreans, 1500 men of Arms of their own, and of their Confederates ten thousand. And when they had forced the Phœceans upon Composition to surrender the Town they had taken, they went their ways again. Now, if they would go home by Sea through the * Crissæan Gulf, the Athenians going about with their Fleet, would be ready to stop them; and to pass over Geranea, they thought unsafe, because the Athenians had in their hands Megara and Pegæ; for Geranea was not onely a difficult passage of it self, but was also always guarded by the Athenians. They thought good therefore to stay amongst the Bœotians, and to consider which way they might most safely go through. Whilest they were there, there wanted not some Athenians that privily solicited them to come to the City, hoping to have put the people out of government, and to have demolished the Long Walls, then in building. But the Athenians with the whole power of their City, and 1000 Argives and other Confederates, as they could be gotten together, in all 14000 men, went out to meet them, for there was suspicion that they came thither to depose the Democracie. There also came to the Athenians certain Horsemen out of Thessaly, which in the Battel turned to the Lacedæmonians.

They fought at Tanagra of Bœotia, and the Lacedæmonians had the Victory, but the slaughter was great on both sides. Then the Lacedæmonians entring into the Territories of Megara, and cutting down the Woods before them, returned home by the way of Geranea and the Isthmus. Upon the two and sixtieth day after this Battel, the Athenians under the Conduct of Myronides, made a Journey against the Bœotians, and overthrew them at Oenophyta, and brought the Territories of Bœotia and Phocis under their obedience; and withall razed the Walls of Tanagra, and took of the wealthiest of the Locrians of Opus 100 Hostages; and finished also at the same time their Long Walls at home. After this, Ægina also yielded to the Athenians on these conditions, That they should have their Walls pulled down, and should deliver up their Gallies, and pay their taxed tribute for the time to come. Also the Athenians made a Voyage about Peloponnesus, wherein they burnt the Arsenal of the Lacedæmonians Navy, took * Chalcis, a City of the Corinthians;

thians; and landing their Forces in *Sycionia*, overcame in fight those that made head against them. All this while the *Athenians* staid still in *Ægypt*, and saw much variety of War. First the *Athenians* were Masters of *Ægypt*. And the King of *Persia* sent one *Megabazus* a *Persian* with money to *Lacedæmon*, to procure the *Peloponnesians* to invade *Attica*, and by that means to draw the *Athenians* out of *Ægypt*. But when this took no effect, and money was spent to no purpose, *Megabazus* returned with the money he had left into *Asia*. And then was *Megabazus* the son of *Zopirus* a *Persian*, sent into *Ægypt* with great Forces, and coming in by Land, overthrew the *Ægyptians* and their Confederates in a Battel, drove the *Grecians* out of *Memphis*, and finally enclosed them in the Isle of *Prosopis*. There he besieged them a year and a half, till such time as having dreined the Channel, and turned the Water another way, he made their Gallies lie aground, and the Island for the most part Continent, and so came over, and won the Island with Land Souldiers. Thus was the Army of the *Grecians* lost, after six years War; and few of many passing through *Africa*, saved themselves in *Cyrene*, but the most perished. So *Ægypt* returned to the obedience of the King, except onely *Amyrtæus* that reigned in the *Fens*, for him they could not bring in, both because the *Fens* are great, and the people of the *Fens*, of all the *Ægyptians* the most Warlike. But *Inarus* King of the *Africans*, and Author of all this stir in *Ægypt*, was taken by Treason, and crucified. The *Athenians* moreover had sent fifty Gallies more into *Ægypt*, for a supply of those that were there already; which putting in at *Mendesium*, one of the mouths of *Nilus*, knew nothing of what had happened to the rest: and being assaulted from the Land by the Army, and from the Sea by the *Phœnician* Fleet, lost the greatest part of their Gallies, and escaped home again with the lesser part. Thus ended the great expedition of the *Athenians* and their Confederates into *Ægypt*.

The end of the *Athenians* Forces in *Ægypt*.

A supply of *Athenians* going to *Ægypt*, defeated by the Forces of the King.

Also *Orestes* the son of *Echekratidas* King of the *Thessalians*, driven out of *Thessaly*, perswaded the *Athenians* to restore him. And the *Athenians* taking with them the *Bœotians* and *Phœceans*, their Confederates, made War against * *Pharsalus* a City of *Thessaly*; and were Masters of the Field as far as they strayed not from the Army, (for the *Thessalian* Horsemen kept them from stragling) but could not win the City, nor yet perform any thing else of what they came for, but came back again without effect, and brought *Orestes* with them. Not long after this, a thousand *Athenians* went aboard the Gallies that lay at *Pegæ*, (for *Pegæ* was in the hands of the *Athenians*) under the Command of *Pericles* the son of *Xantippus*, and sailed into *Sicyonia*, and landing, put to flight such of the *Sicyonians* as made head; and then presently took up Forces in *Achæa*, and putting over, made War on *Oenias* a City of *Acarmania*, which they besieged; nevertheless they took it not, but returned home.

The *Athenians* invade *Thessaly*.

* Famous for the battle between *Jul. Cæsar*, and *Cn. Pompeius*.

The *Athenians* under *Pericles* besiege *Oeniades*.

Three years after this was a Truce made between the *Peloponnesians* and *Athenians* for five years; and the *Athenians* gave over the *Grecian* War, and with 200 Gallies, part their own, and part their Confederates, under the Conduct of *Cimon*, made War on *Cyprus*. Of these, there went 60 Sail into *Ægypt*, sent for by *Amyrtæus* that reigned in the *Fens*, and the rest lay at the Siege of *Citium*. But *Cimon* there dying, and a Famine arising in the Armie, they left *Citium*, and when they had passed *Salamine* in *Cyprus*, fought at once both by Sea and Land, against the *Phœnicians*, *Cyprians*, and *Cilicians*, and having gotten Victory in both, returned home, and with them the rest of their Fleet now come back from

Truce for 5 years between the *Athenians* and *Peloponnesians*.

The *Athenians* War on *Cyprus*.

Cimon dieth.

The Holy War.

The Athenians recover *Cheronea*, taken by the *Bæotian* Out-laws.

The Athenians defeated at *Coronea* by the Out-laws, lose *Bæotia*.

Eubœa revolteth from the Athenians.

Megara revolteth.

Eubœa subdued by the Athenians.

Peace for 30 years between the Athenians and Peloponnesians.

The Athenians are upon *Samos*.

Stalimene.

from *Ægypt*. After this, the *Lacedæmonians* took in hand the War, called the *Holy War*; and having won the Temple at *Delphi*, delivered the possession thereof to the *Delphians*. But the *Athenians* afterward, when the *Lacedæmonians* were gone, came with their Army, and regaining it, delivered the possession to the *Phocæans*. Some space of time after this, the Out-laws of *Bæotia* being seized of *Orchomenus* and *Cheronea*, and certain other places of *Bæotia*, the *Athenians* made War upon those places, being their Enemies, with a thousand men of Arms of their own, and as many of their Confederates as severally came in, under the Conduct of *Tolmidas* the son of *Tolmaus*. And when they had taken *Cheronea*, they carried away the Inhabitants Captives, and leaving a Garrison in the City, departed. In their return, those Out-laws that were in *Orchomenus*, together with the *Locrians* of *Opus*, and the *Eubœan* Out-laws, and others of the same Faction, set upon them at *Coronea*, and overcoming the *Athenians* in Battel, some they slew, and some they took alive. Whereupon the *Athenians* relinquished all *Bæotia*, and made peace with condition to have their Prisoners released. So the Out-laws and the rest returned, and lived again under their own Laws. Not long after revolted *Eubœa* from the *Athenians*, and when *Pericles* had already passed over into it with the *Athenian* Army, there was brought him news that *Megara* was likewise revolted, and that the *Peloponnesians* were about to invade *Attica*, and that the *Megareans* had slain the *Athenian* Garrison, except onely such as fled into *Nisæa*. Now the *Megareans*, when they revolted, had gotten to their aid the *Corinthians*, *Epidaureans*, and *Sicyonians*. Wherefore *Pericles* forthwith withdrew his Army from *Eubœa*; and the *Lacedæmonians* afterward brake into *Attica*, and wasted the Countrey about *Eleusine* and *Thriasium*, under the Conduct of *Pleistoonax* the son of *Pausanias* King of *Lacedæmon*, and came no further on, but so went away. After which the *Athenians* passed again into *Eubœa*, and totally subdued it; the *Hestians* they put quite out, taking their Territory into their own hands; but ordered the rest of *Eubœa*, according to composition made. Being returned from *Eubœa*, within a while after they made a Peace with the *Lacedæmonians* and their Confederates for thirty years, and rendred *Nisæa*, *Achaia*, *Pega*, and *Træzene*, (for these places the *Athenians* held of theirs) to the *Peloponnesians*. In the sixth year of this Peace, fell out the War between the *Samians* and *Milesians* concerning *Priene*; and the *Milesians* being put to the worse, came to *Athens* and exclaimed against the *Samians*; wherein also certain private men of *Samos* it self took part with the *Milesians*, out of desire to alter the form of Government. Whereupon the *Athenians* went to *Samos* with a Fleet of forty Gallies, and set up the *Democratie* there, and took of the *Samians* 50 Boys and as many men for Hostages; which when they had put into *Lemnos* and set a Guard upon them, they came home. But certain of the *Samians* (for some of them, not enduring the popular Government, were fled into the Continent) entering into a League with the mightiest of them in *Samos*, and with *Pissuthnes* the son of *Hystaspes* who then was Governour of *Sardis*, and levying about 700 Auxiliary Souldiers, passed over into *Samos* in the Evening, and first set upon the popular Faction, and brought most of them into their power; and then stealing their Hostages out of *Lemnos*, they revolted, and delivered the *Athenian* Guard and such Captains as were there, into the hands of *Pissuthnes*, and withall prepared to make War against *Miletus*. With these also

also revolted the *Byzantines*. The *Athenians*, when they heard of these things, sent to *Samos* 60 Gallies, 16 whereof they did not use, (for some of them went into *Caria*, to observe the Fleet of the *Phœnicians*, and some to fetch in succours from *Chios* and *Lesbos*,) but with the 44 that remained under the Command of *Pericles* and 9 others, fought with 70 Gallies of the *Samians*, (whereof twenty were such as served for transport of Souldiers,) as they were coming all together from *Miletus*; and the *Athenians* had the Victory. After this came a supply of forty Gallies more from *Athens*, and from *Chios* and *Lesbos* 25. With these having landed their men, they overthrew the *Samians* in Battel, and besieged the City, which they enclosed with a triple Wall, and shut it up by Sea with their Gallies. But *Pericles* taking with him 60 Gallies out of the Road, made haste towards *Caunus* and *Caria*, upon intelligence of the coming against them of the *Phœnician Fleet*. For *Stesagoras* with five Gallies was already gone out of *Samos*, and others out of other places, to meet the *Phœnicians*. In the mean time the *Samians* coming suddenly forth with their Fleet, and falling upon the Harbour of the *Athenians*, which was unfortified, sunk the Gallies that kept watch before it, and overcame the rest in fight; insomuch as they became Masters of the Sea near their Coast for about fourteen days together, importing and exporting what they pleased. But *Pericles* returning, shut them up again with his Gallies; and after this, there came to him from *Athens* a supply of forty Sail, with * *Thucydides*, *Agnon*, and *Phormio*, and twenty with *Tlepolemus* and *Anticles*; and from *Chios* and *Lesbos*, forty more. And though the *Samians* fought against these a small battel at Sea, yet unable to hold out any longer, in the ninth moneth of the Siege, they rendred the City upon Composition: namely, To demolish their Walls, to give Hostages, to deliver up their Navy, and to repay the money spent by the *Athenians* in the War, at days appointed. And the *Byzantines* also yielded, with condition to remain subject to them, in the same manner as they had been before their revolt.

Now not many years after this, happened the matters before related of the *Corcyreans* and the *Potidaens*, and whatsoever other intervenient prætext of this War. These things done by the *Grecians* one against another, or against the *Barbarians*, came to pass all within the compass of fifty years at most, from the time of the departure of *Xerxes* to the beginning of this present War: In which time the *Athenians* both assured their Government over the Confederates, and also much enlarged their own particular wealth. This the *Lacedæmonians* saw, and opposed not, save now and then a little, but (as men that had ever before been slow to War without necessity, and also for that they were hindred sometimes with domestick War) for the most part of the time stirred not against them, till now at last when the power of the *Athenians* was advanced manifestly indeed, and that they had done injury to their Confederates, they could forbear no longer, but thought it necessary to go in hand with the War with all diligence, and to pull down, if they could, the *Athenian* greatness. For which purpose, it was by the *Lacedæmonians* themselves decreed, That the Peace was broken, and that the *Athenians* had done unjustly. And also having sent to *Delphi*, and enquired of *Apollo*, whether they should have the better in the War or not; they received (as it is reported) this Answer; That if they warred with their whole power, they should have victory, and that himself would be on their side, both called and uncalled.

Sio. Mitilene.

* Not the Writer of the History.

Samos yielded to the *Athenians*.

The business about *Corcyra* and *Potidaea*, before related.

Between the *Persian* and *Peloponnesian* War, fifty years.

The Oracle consulted by the *Lacedæmonians*, encourageth them to the War.

Consultation of the Peloponnesians in general, whether they should enter into War, or not.

Now when they had assembled their Confederates again, they were to put it to the question amongst them, *Whether they should make War or not.* And the Ambassadors of the several Confederates coming in, and the Council set, as well the rest spake what they thought fit, most of them accusing the *Athenians* of injury, and desiring the War; as also the *Corinthians*, who had before intreated the Cities every one severally to give their Vote for the War, fearing lest *Potidaea* should be lost before help came, being then present, spake last of all to this effect.

The Oration of the Ambassadors of CORINTH.

CONFEDERATES, we can no longer accuse the Lacedæmonians, they having both decreed the War themselves, and also assembled us to do the same. For it is fit for them who have the command in a common League, as they are honoured of all before the rest, so also (administring their private affairs equally with others) to consider before the rest, of the common business. And though as many of us as have already had our turns with the Athenians, need not be taught to beware of them; yet it were good for those that dwell up in the Land; and not as we, in places of traffique on the Sea side, to know, that unless they defend those below, they shall with a great deal the more difficulty both carry to the Sea the commodities of the Seasons, and again more hardly receive the benefits afforded to the Inland Countries from the Sea; and also not to mistake what is now spoken, as if it concerned them not; but to make account, that if they neglect those that dwell by the Sea, the calamity will also reach unto themselves; and that this consultation concerneth them no less than us, and therefore not to be afraid to change their Peace for War. For though it be the part of discreet men to be quiet, unless they have wrong, yet it is the part of valiant men when they receive injury, to pass from Peace into War, and after success, from War to come again to Composition: and neither to swell with the good success of War, nor to suffer injury, through pleasure taken in the ease of Peace. For he whom pleasure makes a Coward, if he sit still, shall quickly lose the sweetness of the ease that made him so. And he that in War is made proud by success, observeth not that his pride is grounded upon unfaithful confidence. For though many things ill advised, come to good effect, against Enemies worse advised; yet more, thought well advised, have fallen but badly out, against well advised enemies. For no man comes to execute a thing, with the same confidence he premeditates it, for we deliver opinions in safety, whereas in the Action it self we fail through fear. As for the War at this time we raise it, both upon injuries done us, and upon other sufficient allegations; and when we have repaired our wrongs upon the Athenians, we will also in due time lay it down. And it is for many reasons probable that we shall have the Victory: First, because we exceed them in number: and next, because when we go to any action intimated, we shall be all of one * fashion. And as for a Navy, wherein consisteth the strength of the Athenians, we shall provide it, both out of every ones particular wealth, and with the money at Delphi and Olympia. For taking this at interest, we shall be able to draw from them their foreign Mariners, by offer of greater wages: for the Forces of the Athenians, are rather mercenary then domestick. Whereas our own power is less obnoxious to such accidents, consisting more in the persons of men then in money. And if we overcome them but in one Battel by Sea, in all probability they are totally vanquished. And if they hold out, we also shall

with

* All Land Souldiers, all of one manner of Arming and Discipline.

with longer time apply our selves to Naval affairs. And when we shall once have made our skill equal to theirs, we shall surely overmatch them in courage. For the valour that we have by Nature, they shall never come unto by Teaching; but the experience which they exceed us in, that must we attain unto by industry. And the money wherewith to bring this to pass, it must be all our parts to contribute. For else it were a hard case, that the Confederates of the Athenians should not stick to contribute to their own servitude; and we should refuse to lay out our money to be revenged of our enemies, and for our own preservation, and that the Athenians take not our money from us, and even with that do us mischief. We have also many other ways of War; as the revolt of their Confederates, which is the principal means of lessening their revenue; * the building of Forts in their Territory, and many other things which one cannot now foresee. For the course of War is guided by nothing less then by the points of our account, but of it self contriveth most things upon the occasion. Wherein, he that complies with it, with most temper, standeth the firmest; and he that is most passionate, ofteneft miscarries. Imagine we had differences each of us about the limits of our Territory, with an equal Adversary; we must undergo them. But now the Athenians are a match for us all at once, and one City after another too strong for us. Insomuch that unless we oppose them jointly, and every Nation and City set to it unanimously, they will overcome us asunder without labour. And know that to be vanquished (though it trouble you to hear it) brings with it no less then manifest servitude: which, but to mention as a doubt, as if so many Cities could suffer under one, were very dishonourable to Peloponnesus. For it must then be thought that we are either punished upon merit, or else that we endure it out of fear, and so appear degenerate from our Ancestors; for by them the liberty of all Greece hath been restored; whereas we for our parts assure not so much as our own; but claiming the reputation of having deposed Tyrants in the several Cities, suffer a Tyrant City to be established amongst us. Wherein we know not how we can avoid one of these three great faults, Foolishness, Cowardize, or Negligence. For certainly you avoid them not, by imputing it to that which hath done most men hurt, Contempt of the Enemy: for Contempt, because it hath made too many men miscarry, hath gotten the name of Foolishness. But to what end should we object matters past, more then is necessary to the business in hand? we must now by helping the present, labour for the future. For it is peculiar to our Country to attain honour by labour; and though you be now somewhat advanced in honour and power, you must not therefore change the custom; for there is no reason that what was gotten in want, should be lost by wealth. But we should confidently go in hand with the War, as for many other causes, so also for this, that both the God hath by his Oracle advised us thereto, and promised to be with us himself: and also for that the rest of Greece, some for fear, some for profit, are ready to take our parts. Nor are you they that first break the Peace, (which the God, in as much as he doth encourage us to the War, judgeth violated by them) but you fight rather in defence of the same. For not he breaketh the Peace that taketh revenge, but he that is the first invader. So that seeing it will be every way good to make the War, and since in common we perswade the same, and seeing also that both to the Cities, and to private men, it will be the most profitable course, put off no longer neither the defence of the Potideans, who are Doreans, and besieged (which was wont to be contrary) by Ionians, nor the recovery of the liberty of the rest of the Grecians. For it is a case that admitteth not delay, when they are some of them already oppressed: and others (after it shall be

* Though this be here said in the person of a Corinthian, yet it was never thought on by any of that side, till Alcibiades put it into their heads, when he revolted from his Country.

known we met, and durst not right our selves) shall shortly after undergo the like. But think (Confederates) you are now at a necessity, and that this is the best advice. And therefore give your Votes for the War, not fearing the present danger, but coveting the long Peace proceeding from it. (For though by War groweth the confirmation of Peace, yet for love of ease to refuse the War, doth not likewise avoid the danger. But making account that a Tyrant City set up in Greece, is set up alike over all, and reigneth over some already, and the rest in intention, we shall bring it again into order by the War; and not only live for the time to come out of danger our selves, but also deliver the already enthralled Grecians out of servitude.

Thus said the CORINTHIANS.

The War decreed by all the Confederates.

* *ἕρπον ἐταμίον.*

The fashion it seemeth, as now in some places, to present a Box or Urn, and a little Ball, or Stone or Bean, to him that gave his Vote, to the end he might put his Ball into the part of the Urn that was for affirmation or negation, as he saw cause.

The Lacedemonians send Ambassages to the Athenians, about expiation of Sacrileges, onely to pick better quarrels for the War.

* Excommunication extending also to posterity.

The Lacedemonians, when they had heard the opinion of them all, brought the * Balls to all the Confederates present in order, from the greatest State to the least; and the greatest part gave their Votes for the War. Now after the War was decreed, though it were impossible for them to go in hand with it presently, because they were unprovided, and every State thought good without delay severally to furnish themselves of what was necessary, yet there passed not fully a year in this preparation, before Attica was invaded, and the War openly on foot.

IN the mean time they sent Ambassadors to the Athenians, with certain Criminations, to the end that if they would give ear to nothing, they might have all the pretext that could be, for raising of the War. And first the Lacedemonians, by their Ambassadors to the Athenians, required them to * banish such as were under curse of the Goddess Minerva, for Pollution of Sanctuary. Which Pollution was thus. There had been one Cylon an Athenian, a man that had been Victor in the Olympian Exercises, of much Nobility and power amongst those of old time, and that had married the Daughter of Theagenes a Megarean, in those days Tirant of Megara. To this Cylon, asking counsel at Delphi, the God answered, That on the greatest Festival day, he should seize the Cittadel of Athens. He therefore having gotten Forces of Theagenes, and perswaded his Friends to the Enterprize, seized on the Cittadel at the time of the Olympick Holidays in Peloponnesus, with intention to take upon him the Tyranny: esteeming the Feast of Jupiter to be the greatest, and to touch withall on his particular, in that he had been Victor in the Olympian Exercises. But whether the Feast spoken of, were * meant to be the greatest in Attica, or in some other place, neither did he himself consider, nor the Oracle make manifest. For there is also amongst the Athenians the Diasia, which is called the greatest Feast of Jupiter Meilichius, and is celebrated without the City; wherein, in the confluence of the whole people, many men offered Sacrifices, not of living Creatures, but * such as was the fashion of the Natives of the place. But he, supposing he had rightly understood the Oracle, laid hand to the enterprize; and when the Athenians heard of it, they came with all their Forces out of the Fields, and lying before the Cittadel, besieged it. But the time growing long, the Athenians wearied with the Siege, went most of them away, and left both the Guard of the Cittadel, and the whole business to the nine Archontes, with absolute Authority to order the same as to them it should seem good. For at that time, most of the affairs

* The Oracles were always obscure, that evasion might be found to save their credit; and whether they were the imposture of the Devil, or of Men, which is the more likely, they had no pretension, nor secure wise conjecture of the future.

* Images of living creatures made of Paste.

The Governors or Rulers of the City.

affairs of the Common-weal were administred by those nine *Archontes*. Now those that were besieged with *Cylon*, were for want both of Vi-ctual and Water, in very ill estate; and therefore *Cylon* and a Brother of his fled privily out; but the rest, when they were pressed, and some of them dead with famine, fate down as *Suppliants* by the * Altar that is in the Cittadel: And the *Athenians*, to whose charge was committed the Guard of the place, raising them, upon promise to do them no harm; put them all to the Sword. † Also they had put to death some of those that had taken Sanctuary at the Altars of the ‡ severe Goddeffes, as they were going away. And from this the *Athenians*, both themselves and their posterity, were called † Accursed and Sacrilegious persons. Hereupon the *Athenians* banished those that were under the Curse: and *Cleomenes* a *Lacedæmonian*, together with the *Athenians*, in a Sedition banished them afterwards again: and not onely so, but disinterred and cast forth the bodies of such of them as were dead. Nevertheless there returned of them afterwards again, and there are of their race in the City unto this day. This Pollution therefore the *Lacedæmonians* required them to purge their City of. Principally forsooth, as taking part with the Gods; but knowing withall that *Pericles* the son of *Xantippus*, was by the Mothers side one of that Race. For they thought, if *Pericles* were banished, the *Athenians* would the more easily be brought to yield to their desire. Nevertheless, they hoped not so much that he should be banished, as to bring him into the envy of the City, as if the misfortune of him; were in part the cause of the War. For being the most powerful of his time, and having the sway of the State, he was in all things opposite to the *Lacedæmonians*, not suffering the *Athenians* to give them the least way, but inticing them to the War.

Contrariwise, the *Athenians* required the *Lacedæmonians* to banish such as were guilty of breach of Sanctuary at *Tænarus*. For the *Lacedæmonians*, when they had caused their *Helots*, *Suppliants* in the Temple of *Neptune* at *Tænarus*, to forsake Sanctuary, slew them. For which cause they themselves think it was that the great Earthquake happened afterwards at *Sparta*.

Also they required them to purge their City of the Pollution of Sanctuary in the Temple of *Pallas Chalcidæa*, which was thus: After that *Pausanias* the *Lacedæmonian* was recalled by the *Spartans* from his charge in *Hellefpont*, and having been called in question by them, was absolved, though he was no more sent abroad by the State, yet he went again into *Hellefpont* in a Gally of *Hermione*, as a private man, without leave of the *Lacedæmonians*, to the Grecian War, as he gave out, but in truth to negotiate with the King, as he had before begun, aspiring to the principality of *Greece*. Now the benefit that he had laid up with the King, and the beginning of the whole business was at first from this: When after his return from *Cyprus* he had taken *Byzantium*, when he was there the first time, (which being holden by the *Medes*, there were taken in it some near to the King, and of his kindred) unknown to the rest of the Confederates, he sent unto the King those near ones of his which he had taken, and gave out they were run away. This he practised with one *Gongylus* and *Eretrian* to whose charge he had committed both the Town of *Byzantium* and the Prisoners. Also he sent Letters unto him, which *Gongylus* carried, wherein, as was afterwards known, was thus written:

* Of Minerva.

† The *Lacedæmonians* that in the reign of *Codrus* invaded Athens, and were defeated, some of them being entered the City could not get away, but fate at those Altars, and were dismissed safe, but some of them slain as they went home.

‡ *Σέβαρα Θεα. Εν-μενίδες.*

† *Ἐναιγίς, ἡ ἀναιγία.*

Pericles always adverse to the *Lacedæmonians*.

The *Athenians* require the *Lacedæmonians* to expiate the violation of Sanctuary also on their parts.

The occasion and manner of the death of *Pausanias* in the Temple of *Jupiter Chalcidæa*.

Pausanias practiseth with the King of *Persia*, against the State of *Greece*.

The Letter of PAUSANIAS to the KING.

PAusanius, General of the Spartans, being desirous to do thee a courtesie, sendeth back unto thee these men, whom he hath by Arms taken Prisoners : And I have a purpose, if the same seem also good unto thee, to take thy Daughter in marriage, and to bring Sparta and the rest of Greece, into thy subjection. These things I account my self able to bring to pass, if I may communicate my counsels with thee. If therefore any of these things do like thee, send some trusty man to the Sea side, by whose mediation we may confer together.

These were the Contents of the Writing. Xerxes being pleased with the Letter, sends away Artabazus the son of Pharnaces to the Sea side, with commandment to take the Government of the Province of *Dascyliis*, and to dismiss *Megabates* that was Governour there before : and withall, gives him a Letter to *Pausanias*, which he commanded him to send over to him with speed to *Byzantium*, and to shew him the Seal, and well and faithfully to perform, whatsoever in his Affairs he should by *Pausanias* be appointed to do. *Artabazus*, after he arrived, having in other things done as he was commanded, sent over the Letter, wherein was written this Answer.

The Letter of XERXES to PAUSANIAS.

THus saith King Xerxes to *Pausanias* : For the men which thou hast saved and sent over the Sea unto me from *Byzantium*, thy benefit is laid up in our House, indeleibly registred for ever : And I like also of what thou hast propounded. And let neither night nor day make thee remiss in the performance of what thou hast promised unto me. Neither be thou hindred by the expence of Gold and Silver, or multitude of Souldiers requisite, whithersoever it be needful to have them come : But with *Artabazus*, a good man, whom I have sent unto thee, do boldly both mine and thine own business, as shall be most fit for the dignity and honour of us both.

Pausanias groweth proud upon the receipt of these Letters.

Pausanias having received these Letters, whereas he was before in great authority for his Conduct at *Platea*, became now many degrees more elevated ; and endured no more to live after the accustomed manner of his Countrey, but went apparalled at *Byzantium* after the fashion of *Persia* ; and when he went through *Thrace*, had a Guard of *Medes* and *Ægyptians*, and his Table likewise after the *Persian* manner. Nor was he able to conceal his purpose, but in trifles made apparent before-hand, the greater matters he had conceived of the future. He became moreover difficult of access, and would be in such cholerick passions toward all men indifferently, that no man might indure to approach him ; which was also none of the least causes why the Confederates turned from him to the *Athenians*. When the *Lacedæmonians* heard of it, they called him home the first time. And when being gone out the second time without their Command in a Gally of *Hermione*, it appeared that he continued still in the same practices ; and after he was forced out of *Byzantium* by Siege of the *Athenians*, returned not to *Sparta*,

Sparta, but news came, that he had seated himself at *Colona*, in the Countrey of *Troy*, practising still with the *Barbarians*, and making his abode there for no good purpose: Then the *Ephori* forbore no longer, but sent unto him a publique Officer with the * *Scytale*, commanding him not to depart from the Officer; and in case he refused, denounced war against him. But he desiring as much as he could to decline suspicion, and believing that with money he should be able to discharge himself of his accusations, returned unto *Sparta* the second time. And first he was by the *Ephori* committed to ward; (for the *Ephori* have power to do this to their King,) but afterwards procuring his enlargement, he came forth and exhibited himself to Justice, against such as had any thing to alledge against him. And though the *Spartans* had against him no manifest proof, neither his Enemies, nor the whole City, whereupon to proceed to the punishment of a man both of the Race of their Kings, and at that present in great Authority: for *Phistarchus* the Son of *Leonidas* being King, and as yet in minority, *Pausanias* who was his Cousin German, had the tuition of him: yet by his licentious behaviour, and affectation of the *Barbarian* Customs, he gave much cause of suspicion that he meant not to live in the equality of the present State. They considered also that he differed in manner of life, from the discipline established: amongst other things, by this, that upon the *Tripode* at *Delphi*, which the *Grecians* had dedicated, as the best of the spoil of the *Medes*, he had caused to be inscribed of himself in particular, this Elegiacque Verse:

PAUSANIAS, Greek General,
Having the *Medes* defeated,
To *Phœbus* in record thereof,
This gift hath consecrated.

But the *Lacedæmonians* then presently defaced that inscription of the *Tripode*, and engraved thereon by name all the Cities that had joined in the overthrow of the *Medes*, and dedicated it so. This therefore was numbred amongst the offences of *Pausanias*, and was thought to agree with his present design, so much the rather, for the condition he was now in. They had information further, that he had in hand some practice with the *Helots*; and so he had: for he promised them not onely manumission, but also freedom of the City, if they would rise with him, and cooperate in the whole business. But neither thus, upon some appeachment of the *Helots*, would they proceed against him, but kept the custom which they have in their own cases, not hastily to give a peremptory Sentence against a *Spartan* without unquestionable proof. Till at length (as it is reported) purposing to send over to *Artabazus* his last Letters to the King, he was bewrayed unto them by a man of *Argilus*, in time past his * *Minion*, and most faithful to him: who being terrified with the cogitation, that not any of those which had been formerly sent, had ever returned, got him a Seal like to the Seal of *Pausanias*, (to the end that if his jealousy were false, or that he should need to altar any thing in the Letter, it might not be discovered) and opened the Letter, wherein (as he had suspected the addition of some such clause) he found himself also written down to be murdered. The *Ephori*, when these Letters were by him shewn unto them, though they believed the matter much more then they

* *Scytale*, properly a Staff; here, a form of Letter, used by the *Lacedæmonians*, in this manner; They had two round staves of one bigness, whereof the State kept one, and the man whom they employed abroad, kept the other; and when they would write, they wrapped about it a small thong of Parchment; and having thereon written, took it off again, and sent onely that thong, which wrapped likewise about the other staff, the letters joined again, and might be read. This served in stead of Cylindre. It seems *Pausanias* retained his Staff, from the time he had charge at *Byzantium*. *Pausanias* his ambition, in dedication of the *Tripode* at *Delphi*.

Pausanias accused of practice with the *Helots*.

* *Παισιμαχός*, taken both in good and bad sense, for a man with whom another man is in love.

He sends Letters to the King, which are opened by the way.

Pausanias by the art of the *Ephori* made to betray himself.

He flieth into Sanctuary.

* *Ἰέγγ*. Both the Temple and the ground consecrated, wherein standeth the Temple, Altar, and Edifices for the use of their Religion.

† *Τεῖον*. The Temple or Church of the Goddess.

* *Καάδα*, a Pit near Lacedæmon.

Themistocles in the same Treason.

* A kind of banishment wherein the Athenians wrote upon the shell of an Oyster the name of him they would banish: used principally against great men, whose Power or Faction they feared might breed alteration in the State: and was but for certain years. *Themistocles*, pursued by the Athenians and Peloponnesians, flieth to *Corcyra*.

they did before, yet desirous to hear somewhat themselves from *Pausanias* his own mouth; (the man being upon design gone to *Tenarus* into Sanctuary, and having there built him a little Room with a Partition, in which he hid the *Ephori*; and *Pausanias* coming to him, and asking the cause of his taking Sanctuary,) they plainly heard the whole matter. For the man both expostulated with him, for what he had written about him, and from point to point discovered all the practice: saying, that though he had never boasted unto him these and these services concerning the King, he must yet have the honour, as well as many other of his servants, to be slain. And *Pausanias* himself both confessed the same things, and also bade the man not to be troubled at what was past, and gave him assurance to leave Sanctuary, intreating him to go on in his Journey with all speed, and not to frustrate the business in hand.

Now the *Ephori*, when they had distinctly heard him, for that time went their way, and knowing now the certain truth, intended to apprehend him in the City. It is said, that when he was to be apprehended in the Street, he perceived by the countenance of one of the *Ephori* coming towards him, what they came for: and when another of them had by a secret beck signified the matter for good will, he ran into the * Close of the Temple of *Pallas Chalciæa*, and got in before they overtook him. Now the † Temple it self was hard by, and entering into a House belonging to the Temple, to avoid the injury of the open Air, there staid. They that pursued him could not then overtake him, but afterwards they took off the Roof and the Doors of the House, and watching a time when he was within, beset the House, and mured him up, and leaving a Guard there, famished him. When they perceived him about to give up the Ghost, they carried him as he was, out of the House, yet breasting, and being out, he died immediately. After he was dead, they were about to throw him into the * *Caada*, where they use to cast in Malefactors, yet afterwards they thought good to bury him in some place thereabout: But the Oracle of *Delphi* commanded the *Lacedæmonians* afterward, both to remove the Sepulchre from the place where he died, (so that he lies now in the entry of the Temple, as is evident by the Inscription of the Pillar) and also (as having been a Pollution of the Sanctuary) to render two bodies to the Goddess of *Chalciæa* for that one. Whereupon they set up two brazen Statues, and dedicated the same unto her for *Pausanias*. Now the *Athenians* (the God himself having judged this a Pollution of Sanctuary) required the *Lacedæmonians* to banish out of their City such as were touched with the same.

At the same time that *Pausanias* came to his end, the *Lacedæmonians* by their Ambassadors to the *Athenians*, accused *Themistocles*, for that he also had medized together with *Pausanias*, having discovered it by proofs against *Pausanias*, and desired that the same punishment might be likewise inflicted upon him. Whereunto consenting, (for he was at this time in banishment by * *Ostracism*, and though his ordinary residence was at *Argos*, he travelled to and fro in other places of *Peloponnesus*;) they sent certain men in company of the *Lacedæmonians*, who were willing to pursue him, with command to bring him in wheresoever they could find him. But *Themistocles* having had notice of it before-hand, flieth out of *Peloponnesus* into *Corcyra*, to the people of which City he had formerly been beneficial. But the *Corcyreans* alledging that they durst not keep him there, for fear of displeasing both the *Lacedæmonians* and the *Athenians*, convey him into the opposite Continent: and being pursued by the men thereto

thereto appointed, asking continually which way he went, he was compelled at a streight, to turn in unto *Admetus* King of the *Molossians* his Enemy. The King himself being then from home, he became a *Suppliant* to his Wife, and by her was instructed to take their *Son with him, and sit down at the Altar of the House. When *Admetus* not long after returned, he made himself known to him, and desired him, that though he had opposed him in some suite at *Athens*, not to revenge it on him now in the time of his flight: saying, that being now the weaker, he must needs suffer under the stronger; whereas noble revenge is of Equals upon equal terms: and that he had been his Adversary but in matter of profit, not of life; whereas, if he delivered him up, (telling him withall, for what, and by whom he was followed) he deprived him of all means of saving his life. *Admetus* having heard him, bade him arise, together with his Son, whom he held as he fate: which is the most submissive supplication that is.

Not long after came the *Lacedemonians* and the *Athenians*, and though they alledged much to have him, yet he delivered him not, but sent him away by Land to *Pydna*, upon the *other Sea (a City belonging to ^b*Alexander*) because his purpose was to go to the ^cKing: where finding a Ship bound for *Ionia*, he embarked, and was carried by foul weather upon the Fleet of the *Athenians* that besieged *Naxus*. Being afraid, he discovered to the Master (for he was unknown) who he was, and for what he fled, and said, that unless he would save him, he meant to say, that he had hired him to carry him away for money. And that to save him, there needed no more but this, to let none go out of the Ship till the Weather served to be gone. To which if he consented, he would not forget to requite him according to his merit. The Master did so; and having lain a day and a night at Sea, upon the Fleet of the *Athenians*, he arrived afterward at *Ephesus*. And *Themistocles* having liberally rewarded him with Money, (for he received there, both what was sent him from his friends at *Athens*, and also what he had put out at *Argos*,) he took his journey upwards, in company of a certain *Persian* of the *Low-Countries, and sent Letters to the King *Artaxerxes* the Son of *Xerxes*, newly come to the Kingdom, wherein was written to this purpose:

Thence is put over to the main Land, and goeth to the King of the *Molossians*.

* Τὸν παῖδα. Cornelius Nepos in the life of Themistocles, saies it was their daughter.

Thence he is conveyed to *Pydna*.

^a The Ægean Sea.

^b King of Macedonia.

^c of Persia.

In danger to be cast upon the *Athenians* Fleet at *Naxus*, he maketh himself known to the master of the Ship.

He arriveth at *Ephesus*.

* The Low-countries of Asia lying to the Ægean Sea.

His Letter to ARTAXERXES.

I THEMISTOCLES am coming unto thee, who, of all the Grecians, as long as I was forced to resist thy Father that invaded me, have done your House the most damages; yet the benefits I did him, were more, after once I with safety, he with danger was to make retreat. And both a good turn is already due unto me, (writing here, how he had forewarned him of the Grecians departure out of *Salamis*, and ascribing the then not breaking of the Bridge, falsely unto himself,) and at this time to do thee many other good services, I present my self, persecuted by the Grecians for thy friendships sake. But I desire to have a years respite, that I may declare unto thee the cause of my coming my self.

The King, as is reported, wondred what his purpose might be, and commanded him to do as he had said. In this time of respite, he

H

learned

The praise of Themistocles.

His death.

* There is another City of that name in Greece.

* Cornelius Nepos in the life of Themistocles, says that the King gave him these Cities with these words, Magnesia to find him bread, Lampfacus wine, and Myus meat.

The Lacedæmonians by Ambassadors command the abrogation of the Act against the Megareans.

The last Ambassadors from Lacedæmon require the Athenians to lay down their dominion. The Athenians consult what to answer.

learned as much as he could of the Language and fashions of the place, and a year after coming to the Court, he was great with the King, more then ever had been any Grecian before; both for his former dignity, and the hope of Greece, which he promised to bring into his subjection; but especially for the trial he gave of his Wisdom. For Themistocles was a man in whom most truly was manifested the strength of natural judgment, wherein he had something worthy admiration, different from other men. For by his natural prudence, without the help of instruction before or after, he was both of extemporary matters upon short deliberation, the best discerner, and also of what for the most part would be their issue, the best conjecturer. What he was perfect in, he was able also to explicate: and what he was unpractised in, he was not to seek how to judge of conveniently. Also he foresaw, no man better, what was best or worst in any case that was doubtful. And (to say all in few words) this man, by the natural goodness of his Wit, and quickness of deliberation, was the ablest of all men, to tell what was fit to be done upon a sudden. But falling sick, he ended his life: some say he died voluntarily by poyson, because he thought himself unable to perform what he had promised to the King. His Monument is in * Magnesia in Asia, in the Market-place: for he had the Government of that Countrey, the King having bestowed upon him Magnesia, which yielded him fifty Talents by year for his * bread, and Lampfacus for his Wine, (for this City was in those days thought to have store of Wine,) and the City of Myus for his Meat. His bones are said by his Kindred to have been brought home by his own appointment, and buried in Attica, unknown to the Athenians: for it was not lawful to bury one there that had fled for Treason. These were the ends of Pausanias the Lacedæmonian, and Themistocles the Athenian, the most famous men of all the Grecians of their time. And this is that which the Lacedæmonians did command, and were commanded in their first Ambassage, touching the banishment of such as were under the Curse.

After this, they sent Ambassadors again to Athens, commanding them to levy the Siege from before Potidea, and to suffer Ægina to be free; but principally, and most plainly telling them, that the War should not be made, in case they would abrogate the Act concerning the Megareans. By which Act they were forbidden both the Fairs of Attica, and all Ports within the Athenian Dominion. But the Athenians would not obey them, neither in the rest of their Commands, nor in the abrogation of that Act; but recriminated the Megareans, for having tilled holy ground, and unset-out with bounds: and for receiving of their Slaves that revolted. But at length, when the last Ambassadors from Lacedæmon were arrived, namely, Rhamphias, Melesippus, and Agesander, and spake nothing of that which formerly they were wont, but only this, That the Lacedæmonians desire that there should be Peace, which may be had, if you will suffer the Grecians to be governed by their own Laws. The Athenians called an Assembly, and propounding their opinions amongst themselves; thought good, after they had debated the matter, to give them an Answer once for all. And many stood forth, and delivered their minds on either side, some for the War, and some, that this Act concerning the Megareans ought not to stand in their way to Peace, but to be abrogated. And Pericles the Son of Xantippus, the principal man at that time, of all

of all *Athens*, and most sufficient both for Speech and Action, gave his advice in such manner as followeth.

The Oration of PERICLES.

MEN of Athens, I am still not onely of the same opinion, not to give way to the Peloponnesians (notwithstanding, I know that men have not the same passions in the War it self, which they have when they are incited to it, but change their opinions with the events) but also I see that I must now advise the same things, or very near to what I have before delivered. And I require of you, with whom my counsel shall take place, that if we miscarry in ought, you will eyther make the best of it, as decreed by Common Consent, or if we prosper, not to attribute it to your own wisdom onely. For it falleth out with the events of Actions no less then with the purposes of man, to proceed with uncertainty: which is also the cause that when any thing happeneth contrary to our expectation, we use to lay the fault on FORTUNE. That the Lacedæmonians, both formerly, and especially now, take Counsel how to do us mischief, is a thing manifest. For whereas it is said, [in the Articles] that in our mutual Controversies, we shall give and receive trials of Judgment, and in the mean time, either side hold what they possess, they never yet sought any such trial themselves, nor will accept of the same offered by us. They will clear themselves of their accusations, by War rather then by Words: and come hither no more now to expostulate, but to command. For they command us to arise from before Potidæa, and to restore the Æginetæ to the liberty of their own Laws, and to abrogate the Act concerning the Megareans. And they that come last, command us to restore all the Grecians to their liberty. Now let none of you conceive that we shall go to War for a trifle, by not abrogating the Act concerning Megara, (yet this by them is pretended most, and that for the abrogation of it the War shall stay;) nor retain a scruple in your minds, as if a small matter moved you to the War: for even this small matter containeth the trial and constancy of your resolution; wherein if you give them way, you shall hereafter be commanded a greater matter, as men that for fear will obey them likewise in that. But by a stiff denial, you shall teach them plainly, to come to you hereafter on terms of more equality. Resolve therefore from this occasion, either to yield them obedience, before you receive damage; or if we must have War, (which for my part I think is best,) bethe pretence weighty or light, not to give way, nor keep what we possess in fear. For a great and a little claim, imposed by equals upon their neighbors, before Judgment, by way of command, hath one and the same virtue to make subject. As for the War, how both we and they be furnished, and why we are not like to have the worse, by hearing the particulars, you shall now understand. The Peloponnesians are * men that live by their labour, * *Ἀνδρες γὰρ.* without money, either in particular or in common stock. Besides, in long Wars, and by Sea, they are without experience; for that the Wars which they have had one against another, have been but short, through poverty; and * such men can neither man their Fleets, not yet send out their Armies by Land very often, because they must be far from their own wealth, and yet by that be maintained; and be besides barred the use of the Sea. It must be a * stock of money, not forced Contributions, that support the Wars, * *Πεσέωσιαι.* and such as live by their labour are more ready to serve the Wars with their bodies then with their money. For they make account that their bodies

* Of the Peloponnesians and their Confederates, some were Dorians, some Æolians, some Boeotians.

will out-live the danger, but their money they think is sure to be spent; especially if the War (as it is likely) should last. So that the Peloponnesians and their Confederates, though for one Battel they be able to stand out against all Greece besides, yet to maintain a War against such as have their preparations of another kind, they are not able; in as much as not having one and the same counsel, they can speedily perform nothing upon the occasion; and having equality of Vote, and being of several * races, every one will press his particular interest, whereby nothing is like to be fully executed. For some will desire most to take revenge on some Enemy, and others to have their Estates least wasted; and being long before they can assemble, they take the lesser part of their time to debate the Common business, and the greater to dispatch their own private affairs. And every one supposeth that his own neglect of the Common Estate, can do little hurt, and that it will be the care of some body else to look to that, for his own good: Not observing how by these thoughts of every one in several, the Common business is jointly ruined. But their greatest hindrance of all, will be their want of money, which being raised slowly, their actions must be full of delay, which the occasions of War will not endure. As for their fortifying here, and their Navy, they are matters not worthy fear. For it were a hard matter for a City equal to our own, in time of peace to fortify in that manner, much less in the Countrey of an Enemy, and we no less fortified against them. And if they had a Garrison here, though they might by excursions, and by the receiving of our Fugitives, annoy some part of our Territory; yet would not that be enough both to besiege us, and also to hinder us from sailing into their Territories, and from taking revenge with our Fleet, which is the thing wherein our strength lieth. For we have more experience in Land service by use of the Sea, then they have in Sea service by use of the Land. Nor shall they attain the knowledge of Naval affairs easily. For your selves, though falling to it immediately upon the Persian War, yet have not attained it fully. How then should Husbandmen, not Seamen, whom also we will not suffer to apply themselves to it, by lying continually upon them with so great Fleets, perform any matter of value? Indeed if they should be opposed but with a few Ships, they might adventure, encouraging their want of knowledge with store of men; but awed by many, they will not stir that way; and not applying themselves to it, will be yet more unskilful, and thereby more cowardly. For knowledge of Naval matters is an Art as well as any other, and not to be attended at idle times, and on the * by; but requiring rather, that whilst it is a learning, nothing else should be done on the by. But say they should take the money at Olympia and Delphi, and therewith, at greater wages, go about to draw from us the Strangers employed in our Fleet; this indeed, if going aboard both our selves, and those that dwell amongst us, we could not match them, were a dangerous matter. But now we can both do this, and (which is the principal thing) we have Steersmen, and other necessary men for the service of a Ship, both more and better of our own Citizens, then are in all the rest of Greece. Besides that, not any of these Strangers, upon trial, would be found content to flee his own Countrey, and withall upon less * hope of Victory, for a few days increase of wages, take part with the other side. In this manner, or like to this, seemeth unto me to stand the case of the Peloponnesians: Whereas ours is both free from what in theirs I have reprehended, and hath many great advantages besides. If they invade our Territory by Land, we shall invade theirs by Sea. And when we have wasted part of Peloponnesus, and they all Attica, yet shall theirs be the greater loss. For they, unless by the Sword, can get no other Territory instead of that we shall destroy: Whereas for us there is other Land, both in the Islands and Continent: For the dominion of the Sea is a great matter.

* Εν τῷ παύσει.

* That is, of Victory by Sea, where they were to be employed.

matter. Consider but this; If we dwell in the Islands, whether of us then were more inexpugnable? We must therefore now, drawing as near as can be to that imagination, lay aside the care of Fields and Villages, and not for the loss of them, out of passion give Battel to the Peloponnesians, far more in number than our selves; (for though we give them an overthrow, we must fight again with as many more: and if we be overthrown, we shall lose the help of our Confederates, which are our strength; for when we cannot war upon them, they will revolt) nor bewail ye the loss of Fields or Houses, but of mens bodies; for men may acquire these, but these cannot acquire men. And if I thought I should prevail, I would advise you to go out, and destroy them your selves, and slew the Peloponnesians that you will never the sooner obey them for such things as these. There be many other things that give hope of Victory, (*in case you do not, whilst you are in this War, strive to enlarge your Dominion, and undergo other voluntary dangers; for I am afraid of our own errors more then of their designs,) but they shall be spoken of at another time in prosecution of the War it self. For the present let us send away these men with this Answer: That the Megareans shall have the liberty of our Fairs and Ports, if the Lacedæmonians will also make no banishment of us, nor of our Confederates, as of Strangers. For neither our Act concerning Megara, nor their banishment of Strangers, is forbidden in the Articles. Also that we will let the Grecian Cities be free, if they were so when the Peace was made; and if the Lacedæmonians will also give leave to their Confederates to use their freedome, not as shall serve the turn of the Lacedæmonians, but as they themselves shall every one think good. Also, that we will stand to Judgment according to the Articles, and will not begin the War, but be revenged on those that shall. For this is both just, and for the dignity of the City to answer. Nevertheless, you must know, that of necessity War there will be; and the more willingly we embrace it, the less pressing we shall have our Enemies; and that out of greatest dangers, whether to Cities or private men, arise the greatest honours. For our Fathers, when they undertook the Medes, did from less beginnings, nay, abandoning the little they had, by Wisdom rather then Fortune, by courage rather then Strength, both repel the Barbarian, and advance this State to the height it is now at. Of whom we ought not now to come short, but rather to revenge us by all means upon our enemies, and do our best to deliver the State unimpaired by us, to posterity.

Thus spake PERICLES.

The Athenians liking best of his advice, decreed as he would have them, answering the Lacedæmonians according to his direction, both in particular as he had spoken, and generally; That they would do nothing on command, but were ready to answer their accusations upon equal terms, by way of arbitrement. So the Ambassadors went home, and after these there came no more.

These were the Quarrels and Differences on either side before the War: which Quarrels began presently upon the business of Epidamnus and Corcyra. Nevertheless, there was still commerce betwixt them, and they went to each other without any Herald, though not without jealousy. For the things that had passed, were but the confusion of the Articles, and matter of the War to follow,

* Thucydides hath his mind here, upon the Defeat in Sicily, which fell out many years after the death of Pericles. whereby it seems he frameth his speech more to what Pericles might have said, then to what he did say. which also he professeth in general of his course in setting down Speeches. Besides he maketh Pericles here to answer point by point to the Oration of the Corinthians at Lacedæmon, as if he had been by when it was delivered: and useth the same manner in all opposite Orations.

The Answer of the Athenians to the Ambassadors of Lacedæmon.

The End of the First Book.

THE HISTORY OF THUCYDIDES.

BOOK II.

THE PRINCIPAL CONTENTS.

The Entry of the Theban Souldiers into Plataea, by the Treason of some within. Their repulse and slaughter. The irruption of the Peloponnesians into Attica. The wasting of the Coast of Peloponnesus by the Athenian Fleet. The publick Funeral of the first slain. The second invasion of Attica. The Pestilence in the City of Athens. The Ambraciots war against the Amphilochi. Plataea assaulted. Besieged. The Peloponnesian Fleet beaten by Phormio, before the Streight of the Gulf of Crissa. The same Fleet repaired and re-inforced, and beaten again by Phormio, before Naupactus. The attempt of the Peloponnesians on Salamis. The fruitless Expedition of the Thracians against the Macedonians. This in the first three Years of the War.

THe War between the *Athenians* and the *Peloponnesians* beginneth now, from the time they had no longer Commerce one with another without a Herald, and that having once begun it, they Warred without intermission. And it is written in order by Summers and Winters, according as from time to time the several matters came to pass.

The Peace, which after the winning of *Eubæa*, was concluded for thirty years, lasted fourteen years; but in the fifteenth year, being the forty eighth of the Priest-hood of **Chrysis* in *Argos*: *Ænesias* being then *Ephore* at *Sparta*, and *Pythadorus* *Archon* of *Athens*, having then ^a two moneths of his Government to come, in the sixth moneth after the *Battel* at *Potidaea*, and in the beginning of the Spring three hundred and odd

Year. I.

* *Priestess of Juno. By whose Priesthood they reckoned their years*

^a *The Athenians began their years about the Summer Solstice. Plataea surprised by the Thebans by Treason.*

Thebans,

^b Βοιωτάρχῃσις. There were 11. of them in all, and had the absolute command of the Boeotians in their wars, in turns.

* Θέμβροι τὰ ὄπλα. The Thebans execute not the design of the Traitors.

But offer Composition.

The Plateans accept it.

The Plateans take heart.

And unite themselves by digging through the Common Walls of their Houses.

They assault the Thebans.

The Thebans fly, but cannot get out.

Thebans, led by *Pythangelus* the Son of *Philides*, and *Diemporus* the Son of *Oenotoridas*, ^b *Boeotian* Rulers, about the first Watch of the night entered with their Arms into *Platea* a City of *Boeotia*, and Confederate of the *Athenians*. They were brought in, and the Gates opened unto them by *Naclides* and his Complices, men of *Platea*, that for their own private ambition, intended both the destruction of such Citizens as were their Enemies, and the putting of the whole City under the subjection of the *Thebans*. This they negotiated with one *Eurymachus* the Son of *Leontiadas*, one of the most potent men of *Thebes*. For the *Thebans* foreseeing the War, desired to preoccupate *Platea*, (which was always at variance with them) whilst there was yet Peace, and the War not openly on foot. By which means, they more easily entered undiscovered, there being no order taken before for a Watch. And * making a stand in their Arms in the Market place, did not (as they that gave them entrance would have had them) fall presently to the business, and enter the Houses of their Adversaries, but resolved rather to make favourable Proclamation, and to induce the Cities to Composition and friendship. And the Herald proclaimed, *That if any man, according to the ancient Custom of all the Boeotians, would enter into the same league of War with them, he should come and bring his Arms to theirs*: supposing the City by this means would easily be drawn to their side. The *Plateans* when they perceived that the *Thebans* were already entered, and had surprised the City through fear and opinion that more were entered then indeed were, (for they could not see them in the night) came to Composition, and accepting the Condition, rested quiet; and the rather for that they had yet done no man harm. But whilst that these things were treating, they observed that the *Thebans* were not many, and thought that if they should set upon them, they might easily have the Victory. For the *Platean* Commons were not willing to have revolted from the *Athenians*. Wherefore it was thought fit to undertake the matter; and they united themselves, by digging through the Common Walls between house and house, that they might not be discovered as they passed the Streets. They also placed Carts in the Streets (without the Cattel that drew them) to serve them instead of a Wall; and every other thing they put in readiness, as they severally seemed necessary for the present enterprize. When all things according to their means, were ready, they marched from their Houses, towards their Enemies; taking their time whilst it was yet night, and a little before break of day; because they would not have to charge them, when they should be emboldened by the light, and on equal terms, but when they should by night be terrified, and inferiour to them in knowledge of the places of the City. So they forthwith set upon them, and came quickly up to hand-strokes. And the *Thebans* seeing this, and finding they were deceived, cast themselves into a round figure, and beat them back in that part where the assault was made; and twice or thrice they repulsed them. But at last, when both the *Plateans* themselves charged them with a great clamour, and their Wives also and Families shouted and screeched from the Houses, and withall threw Stones and Tiles amongst them; the night having been also very wet, they were afraid and turned their backs, and fled here and there about the City; ignorant for the most part, in the dark and dirt, of the ways out, by which they should have been saved (for this accident fell out upon the change of the Moon) and pursued by such as were well acquainted with the

ways

ways to keep them in, in so much as the greatest part of them perished. The Gate by which they entered, and which only was left open, a certain *Platean* shut up again with the head of a Javelin, which he thrust into the Staple in stead of a Bolt: so that this way also their passage was stopped. As they were chased up and down the City, some climbed the Walls and cast themselves out, and for the most part died; some came to a Defart Gate of the City, and with a Hatchet given them by a Woman, cut the Staple, and got forth unseen: but these were not many, for the thing was soon discovered: others again were slain, dispersed in several parts of the City. But the greatest part, and those especially who had cast themselves before into a Ring, happened into a great Edifice adjoyning to the Wall, the doors whereof being open, they thought had been the Gates of the City, and that there had been a direct way through to the other side. The *Plateans* seeing them now pend up, consulted whether they should burn them as they were, by firing of the House, or else resolve of some other punishment. At length, both these and all the rest of the *Thebans* that were straggling in the City, agreed to yield themselves and their Arms to the *Plateans*, at discretion. And this success had they that entered into *Platea*.

The *Thebans* penned up in a House which they entred into, by mistaking the door for the City Gate:

They yield to discretion.

But the rest of the *Thebans* that should with their whole power have been there before day, for fear the surprize should not succeed with those that were in, came so late with their aid, that they heard the news of what was done by the way. Now *Platea* is from *Thebes* 70 Furlongs, and they marched the slowlier for the rain which had fallen the same night. For the River *Asopus* was swoln so high, that it was not easily passable; so that what by the foulness of the way, and what by the difficulty of passing the River, they arrived not till their men were already some slain and some taken prisoners. When the *Thebans* understood how things had gone, they lay in wait for such of the *Plateans* as were without: (for there were abroad in the Villages both men and household-stuff, as was not unlikely, the evil happening unexpectedly, and in time of Peace;) desiring, if they could take any prisoners, to keep them for exchange for those of theirs within, which (if any were so) were saved alive. This was the *Thebans* purpose. But the *Plateans* whilst they were yet in Council, suspecting that some such thing would be done, and fearing their case without, sent a Herald unto the *Thebans*, whom they commanded to say, *That what they had already done, attempting to surprize their City in time of Peace, was done wickedly, and to forbid them to do any injury to those without, and that otherwise they would kill all those men of theirs that they had alive; which, if they would withdraw their Forces out of their Territory, they would again restore unto them.* Thus the *Thebans* say, and that the *Plateans* did swear it. But the *Plateans* confesse not that they promised to deliver them presently, but upon treaty, if they should agree, and deny that they swore it. Upon this the *Thebans* went out of their Territory, and the *Plateans*, when they had speedily taken in whatsoever they had in the Countrey, immediately slew their Prisoners. They that were taken were 180, and *Eurymachus*, with whom the Traitors had practised, was one. When they had done they sent a Messenger to *Athens*, and gave truce to the *Thebans* to fetch away the bodies of their dead, and ordered the City as was thought convenient for the present occasion.

The whole power of *Thebes* come to rescue their Fellows.

The *Thebans* seeke to intercept the *Plateans* in the Villages.

The *Plateans* send to the *Thebans*, to be gone, and promise to release their prisoners.

The *Thebans* go off, and the *Plateans* fetch in their men and goods, and kill their prisoners.

The news of what was done, coming straightway to *Athens*, they instantly laid hands on all the *Beotians* then in *Attica*, and sent an Officer to *Platea* to forbid their further proceeding with their *Theban* Pri-

soners,

The *Athenians* lay hands on such *Bæotians* as were in *Attica*.

They victual *Plataea*, and put a Garrison into it, and take out their unnecessary People.

Preparation of both sides for the War.

* of Persia.

* The *Lacedæmonian League*, or *Lacedæmonian party*, not particularly that State.

Prophecies and Oracles preceding the war.

* *Λόγια* Prophecies in Prose.

† *Ἡδὲν*, Sung. For those Prophecies which the Oracles delivered by their Priests, were in verse, and were not called *Λόγια*, but *Χεῖροι*.

The affections of the *Grecians* towards the combatant States.

The Confederates of the *Lacedæmonians*.

soners, till such time as they also should have advised of the matter: for they were not yet advertised of their putting to death. For the first Messenger was sent away when the *Thebans* first entered the Town; and the second when they were overcome and taken Prisoners. But of what followed after, they knew nothing. So that the *Athenians* when they sent, knew not what was done, and the Officer arriving, found that the men were already slain. After this, the *Athenians* sending an Army to *Plataea*, victualled it, and left a Garrison in it, and took thence both the Women and Children, and also such men as were unserviceable for the War.

This action falling out at *Plataea*, and the Peace now clearly dissolved, the *Athenians* prepared themselves for War; so also did the *Lacedæmonians* and their Confederates; intending on either part to send Ambassadors to the * King, and to other *Barbarians* wheresoever they had hope of succours, and contracting Leagues with such Cities as were not under their own command. The * *Lacedæmonians*, besides those Gallies which they had in *Italy* and *Sicily*, of the Cities that took part with them there, were ordered to furnish, proportionably to the greatness of their several Cities, so many more, as the whole number might amount to 500 Sail, and to provide a sum of money assessed, and in other things not to stir farther, but to receive the *Athenians*, coming but with one Gally at once, till such time as the same should be ready. The *Athenians* on the other side, surveyed their present Confederates, and sent Ambassadors to those places that lay about *Peloponnesus*, as *Corcyra*, *Cephalonia*, *Acarnania*, and *Zacynthus*, knowing that as long as these were their Friends they might with the more security make War round about upon the Coast of *Peloponnesus*.

Neither side conceived small matters, but put their whole strength to the War. And not without reason: For all men in the beginnings of enterprises, are the most eager. Besides, there were then in *Peloponnesus* many young men, and many in *Athens*, who for want of Experience, not unwillingly undertook the War. And not onely the rest of *Greece* stood at gaze, to behold the two principal States in Combate, but many * Prophecies were told, and many sung by the Priests of the Oracles, both in the Cities about to War, and in others.

There was also a little before this an Earthquake in *Delos*, which in the memory of the *Grecians* never shook before; and was interpreted for, and seemed to be a sign of what was to come afterwards to pass. And whatsoever thing then chanced of the same nature, it was all sure to be enquired after. But mens affections for the most part went with the *Lacedæmonians*; and the rather, for that they gave out, they would recover the *Grecians* liberty. And every man, both private and publick person, endeavoured as much as in them lay, both in word and deed to assist them, and thought the business so much hindred, as himself was not present at it. In such passion were most men against the *Athenians*, some for desire to be delivered from under their Government, and others for fear of falling into it. And these were the preparations and affections brought unto the War.

But the Confederates of either party, which they had when they began it, were these: The *Lacedæmonians* had all *Peloponnesus* within the *Isthmus*, except the *Argives* and *Acheans*; (for these were in amity with both, save that the *Pellenians* at first, only of all *Achaia*, took their part; but afterwards all the rest did so likewise) and without *Peloponnesus*, the *Megareans*, *Locrians*, *Bæotians*, *Phocæans*, *Ambraciots*, *Leucadians*, and *Anactorians*. Of which the *Corinthians*, *Megareans*, *Sicyonians*, *Pellenians*, *Eleans*, *Ambraciots*, and *Leucadians* found Shipping. The *Bæotians*, *Phocæans*, and

Locrians,

Locrians, Horsemen; and the rest of the Cities, Footmen. And these were the Confederates of the *Lacedæmonians*. The *Athenian* Confederates were these: The *Chians*, *Lesbians*, *Plateans*, the *Messenians* in *Naupactus*, most of the *Acarnanians*, the *Corcyræans*, *Zacynthians*, and other Cities their Tributaries amongst those Nations. Also that part of *Caria* which is on the Sea Coast, and the *Doreans* adjoyning to them, *Ionia*, *Hellepont*, the Cities bordering on *Thrace*, all the Islands from *Peloponnesus* to *Crete* on the East, and all the rest of the *Cyclades*, except *Melos* and *Thera*. Of these the *Chians*, *Lesbians*, and *Corcyræans* found Gallies, the rest Footmen and Money. These were their Confederates, and the preparation for the War on both sides.

The Confederates of the *Athenians*.

The *Lacedæmonians*, after the business of *Platea*, sent Messengers presently up and down *Peloponnesus*, and to their Confederates without, to have in readiness their Forces, and such things as should be necessary for a Foreign Expedition, as intending the Invasion of *Attica*. And when they were all ready, they came to the Rendezvouz in the *Isthmus*, at a day appointed, two thirds of the Forces of every City. When the whole Army was gotten together, *Archidamus* King of the *Lacedæmonians*, General of the Expedition, called together the Commanders of the several Cities, and such as were in Authority, and most worthy to be present, and spake unto them as followeth:

The *Lacedæmonians* league meet in the *Isthmus*, invade *Attica*.

The Oration of ARCHIDAMUS.

MEN of *Peloponnesus*, and Confederates, not onely our Fathers have had many Wars both within and without *Peloponnesus*, but we our selves also, such as are any thing in years, have been sufficiently acquainted therewith; yet did we never before set forth with so great a preparation as at this present. And now, not onely we are a numerous and puissant Army that invade, but the State also is puissant that is invaded by us. We have reason therefore to shew our selves, neither worse then our Fathers, nor short of the Opinion conceived of our selves. For all Greece is up at this Commotion observing us: and through their hatred to the *Athenians*, do wish that we may accomplish whatsoever we intend. And therefore though we seem to invade them with a great Army, and to have much assurance that they will not come out against us to Battel, yet we ought not for this, to march the less carefully prepared, but of every City, as well the Captain as the Souldier, to expect always some danger or other, in that part wherein he himself is placed. For the Accidents of War are uncertain; and for the most part the Onset begins from the lesser number, and upon Passion. And oftentimes the lesser number, being afraid, hath beaten back the greater with the more ease, for that through contempt they have gone unprepared. And in the Land of an Enemy, though the Souldiers ought always to have Bold Hearts, yet for Action they ought to make their Preparations, as if they were afraid. For that will give them both more courage to go upon the Enemy, and more safety in fighting with him. But we invade not now a City that cannot defend it self, but a City every way well appointed. So that we must by all means expect to be fought withall, though not now, because we be not yet there, yet hereafter, when they shall see us in their Countrey wasting and destroying their possessions: For all men when in their own sight, and on a sudden, they receive any extraordinary hurt, fall presently into choler; and the less

The Oration of *Archidamus* in the Council of War, in the Army of the League.

they consider, with the more stomach they assault. And this is likely to hold in the Athenians somewhat more then in others; for they think themselves worthy to have the command of others, and to invade and waste the Territory of their Neighbours, rather then to see their Neighbours waste theirs. Wherefore as being to War against a great City, and to procure both to your Ancestors and your selves, a great fame, either good or bad, as shall be the event; follow your Leaders in such sort, as above all things you esteem of order and watchfulness: for there is nothing in the World more comely nor more safe, then when many men are seen to observe one and the same order.

Archidamus sends before him an Ambassador to the Athenians. And tries all other means to right his Countrey, before War.

The Ambassadors from Archidamus convoyed back without Conference.

Archidamus marcheth forward.

Pericles imagining Archidamus might spare his grounds, promiseth, if he did, to give them to the State.

The speech of Pericles to the Assembly at Athens, touching the means of the War, &c.

The Treasure of the people of Athens.

^a 600. Talents, of our money about 112500. pounds.

^b 6000 Talents of our money about 1125000. pounds.

^c 9700. Talents, 1818750. pounds sterling.

Archidamus having thus spoken and dismissed the Council, first sent Melesippus the Son of Diacritus a man of Sparta, to Athens to trie if the Athenians, seeing them now on their journey, would yet in some degree remit of their obstinacy. But the Athenians neither received him into their City, nor presented him to the State: for the opinion of Pericles had already taken place, not to receive from the Lacedaemonians neither Herald nor Ambassador, as long as their Army was abroad. Therefore they sent him back without Audience, with commandment to be out of their Borders the self-same day; and that hereafter if they would any thing with them, they should return every one to his home, and send their Ambassadors from thence. They sent with him also certain persons to convoy him out of the Countrey, to the end that no man should confer with him: who when he came to the limits, and was to be dismissed, uttered these words; *This day is the beginning of much evil unto the Grecians*: and so departed.

When he returned to the Camp, Archidamus perceiving that they would not relent, dislodged, and marched on with his Army into their Territory. The Bæotians with their appointed part, and with Horsemen, aided the Peloponnesians; but with the rest of their Forces, went and wasted the Territory of Platea.

Whilest the Peloponnesians were coming together in the Isthmus, and when they were on their March, before they brake into Attica, Pericles the Son of Xantippus, (who with nine others was General of the Athenians) when he saw they were about to break in, suspecting that Archidamus, either of private curtesie, or by command of the Lacedaemonians, to bring him into jealousy (as they had before for his sake commanded the Excommunication) might oftentimes leave his Lands untouched, told the Athenians before-hand in an Assembly, *That though Archidamus had been his guest, it was for no ill to the State, and howsoever, if the Enemy did not waste his Lands and Houses, as well as the rest, that then he gave them to the Common-wealth.* And therefore desired, *That for this he might not be suspected.* Also he advised them concerning the business in hand, the same things he had done before, *That they should make preparation for the War, and receive their Goods into the City; that they should not go out to Battel, but come into the City, and guard it. That they should also furnish out their Navy, wherein consisted their power, and hold a careful hand over their Confederates, telling them, how that in the money that came from these, lay their strength, and that the Victory in War consisted wholly in Counsel and store of Money.* Further, he bade them be confident, in that there was yearly coming in to the State from the Confederates for Tribute, besides other revenue ^a 600 Talents, and remaining yet then in the Cittadel ^b 6000 Talents of silver coin; (for the greatest sum there had been, was ^c 10000 Talents, wanting 300, out of which was taken that which

which had been expended upon the Gate-houses of the Cittadel, and upon other buildings, and for the charges of *Potidæa*.) Besides the uncoined Gold and Silver of private and publick Offerings; and all the dedicated Vessels belonging to the Shews and Games, and the spoils of the Persian, and other things of that nature, which amounted to no less then * 500 Talents. He added further, That much money might be had out of other Temples without the City, which they might use. And if they were barred the use of all these, they might yet use the Ornaments of Gold about the † Goddess her self; and said that the Image had about it the weight of * 40 Talents of most pure Gold, and which might all be taken off; but having made use of it for their safety, he said, they were to make restitution of the like quantity again. Thus he encouraged them touching matter of money. Men of Arms he said they had 13000, besides the 16000 that were employed for the Guard of the City and upon the Walls; (for so many at the first kept Watch at the coming in of the Enemy, young and old together, and Strangers that dwelt amongst them, as many as could bear Arms.) For the length of the *Phalerian* Wall, to that part of the circumference of the Wall of the City where it joined, was 35 Furlongs; and that part of the circumference which was guarded (for some of it was not kept with a Watch, namely the part between the *Long Walls* and the *Phalerian*) was 43 Furlongs; and the length of the *Long Walls* down to *Piræus*, (of which there was a Watch onely on the outmost) was 40 Furlongs; and the whole compass of *Piræus*, together with *Munychia*, was 60 Furlongs, (whereof that part that was watched, was but half.) He said further, they had of Horsemen, accounting Archers on Horse-back, 1200, and 1600 Archers, and of Gallies fit for the Sea 300. All this and no less had the Athenians when the Invasion of the *Peloponnesians* was first in hand, and when the War began. These and other words spake *Pericles*, as he used to do, for demonstration that they were likely to outlast this War.

When the Athenians had heard him, they approved of his words, and fetcht into the City their Wives and Children, and the furniture of their houses, pulling down the very Timber of the houses themselves. Their Sheep and Oxen they sent over into *Eubæa*, and into the Islands over against them. Nevertheless this removal, in respect they had most of them been accustomed to the Countrey life, grieved them very much.

This Custom was from great antiquity, more familiar with the Athenians then any other of the rest of Greece. For in the time of *Cecrops*, and the first Kings down to *Theseus*, the Inhabitants of *Attica* had their several * Bourghs, and therein their † Common-Halls, and their Governours; and unless they were in fear of some danger, went not together to the King for advice, but every City administred their own affairs, and deliberated by themselves. And some of them had also their particular Wars, as the *Eleusnians*, who joined with *Eumolpus* against * *Erechtheus*. But after *Theseus* came to the Kingdom, one who besides his wisdom, was also a man of very great power; he not onely set good order in the Countrey in other respects, but also dissolved the Councils and Magistracies of the rest of the Towns; and assigning them all one Hall, and one Council-house, brought them all to co-habit in the City that now is, and constrained them, enjoying their own as before, to * use this

nians. *Theseus* first brought the Inhabitants of *Attica* to make *Athens* their Capital City. * Not that they must needs dwell in it; but make it the seat of the Government, and pay their duties to it. This caused the City to grow both populous and potent, because now the whole Nation united into one City, made use of the Sea, which divided, they could not have done.

* 500. Talents.
93750. pound.

† Minerva.

* The weight of 40 Talents in gold, at 3 pound an ounce, comes to 9000. pound.

The length of the walls to which the Watchmen were appointed.

Their Gallies.

The Athenians fetch in their Wives and Children and substance into the City.

The Athenians accustomed ever to live in the Countrey.

* Δῆμοι.

† Πρυτανεία. Guild-Halls, places where those that administred the State did meet: where also some, for honours cause and service, were allowed diet, and wherein *Vesta* was worshiped, and a light continually burned; so that some thence derive the name, making *πρυτανείον* quasi *πυρὸς τὰ μέγαν*.

* King of the Athenians.

* Minerva.

† Cohabitation.

* There were in Athens three Bacchanals, whereof this Bacchus in Limne [that is, in the Marshes] was principal; another were the rural Bacchanals, and the third the City Bacchanals.

* This Month fell about January, and was the second of their Winter quarter.

The Athenians remove out of the Burrough Towns into the City, unwillingly.

■ Altars, Chappels, Household-gods.

Athens thronged with the coming in of the Country.

⁂ Men supposed to be gotten between a Deity and a Mortal, or such as exceed the rest of men by many degrees in Magnanimity.

■ Eleusinium, a Temple in Athens, used with great Religion.

■ Pelasgicum, a place by the Cittadel where the Pelasgians once fortified themselves against the Athenians, and for that cause there was laid a curse upon the habitation of it. Pauf. in Atticis. An old Prophecie against dwelling in the Pelasgicum.

The Athenians make ready 100 Gallies to send about Peloponnesus.

The Peloponnesians Army assault Oenoe, a frontier Town of Attica, in vain.

one for their City, which (now, when they all paid their duties to it) grew great, and was by *Theseus* so delivered to posterity. And from that time to this day the *Athenians* keep a Holiday at the publick charge to the *Goddeſs, and call it † *Synacia*. That which is now the Cittadel, and the part which is to the South of the Cittadel, was before this time the City. An Argument whereof is this, That the Temples of the Gods are all set either in the Cittadel it self; or, if without, yet in that quarter. As that of *Jupiter Olympius*, and of *Apollo Pythius*, and of *Tellus*, and of *Bacchus* in *Limne*, (in honour of whom, the old * *Bacchanals* were celebrated on the twelfth day of the Month of * *Anthesterion*, according as the *Ionians*, who are derived from *Athens*, do still observe them) besides other ancient Temples situate in the same part. Moreover they served themselves with Water for the best uses, of the Fountain, which now the *Nine-Pipes*, built so by the Tyrants, was formerly, when the Springs were open, called *Callirœe*, and was near. And from the old Custom, before Marriages and other holy Rites, they ordain the use of the same Water to this day. And the Cittadel, from the ancient habitation of it, is also by the *Athenians* still called the City.

The *Athenians* therefore had lived a long time, governed by Laws of their own in the Countrey Towns; and after they were brought into one, were nevertheless (both for the Custom which most had, as well of the ancient Time, as since, till the *Persian War*, to live in the Countrey with their whole Families; and also especially, for that since the *Persian War*, they had already repaired their Houses and Furniture) unwilling to remove. It pressed them likewise, and was heavily taken, besides ther Houses, to leave the things that pertained to their Religion, (which since their old form of Government, were become Patrial,) and to change their manner of life, and to be no better then banished every man his City. After they came into *Athens*, there was habitation for a few, and place of retire, with some Friends or Kindred. But the greatest part seated themselves in the empty places of the City, and in Temples, and in all the Chappels of the Heroes, (saving in such as were in the Cittadel, and the *Eleusinium*, and other places strongly shut up.) The *Pelasgicum* also, under the Cittadel, though it were a thing accursed to dwell in it, and forbidden by the end of a Verse in a *Pythian Oracle*, in these words; — *Best is the Pelasgicon empty*; was nevertheless for the present necessity inhabited. And in my opinion this Prophecie now fell out contrary to what was lookt for; for the unlawful dwelling there, caused not the calamities that befel the City, but the War caused the necessity of dwelling there: which War the Oracle not naming, foretold onely, that it should one day be inhabited unfortunately. Many also furnished the Turrets of the Walls, and whatsoever other place they could any of them get. For when they were come in, the City had not place for them all: But afterwards they had the *Long Walls* divided amongst them, and inhabited there, and in most parts of *Piræus*. Withall they applied themselves to the business of the War, levying their Confederates, and making ready a hundred Gallies to send about *Peloponnesus*. Thus were the *Athenians* preparing.

The Army of the *Peloponnesians* marching forward, came first to *Oenoe* a Town of *Attica*, the place where they intended to break in; and encamping before it, prepared with Engines, and by other means, to assault the Wall. For *Oenoe* lying on the Confines between *Attica* and *Beotia*,

Beotia, was walled about, and the *Athenians* kept a Garrison in it for defence of the Countrey, when at any time there should be War. For which cause they made preparation for the assault of it, and also spent much time about it otherwise.

And *Archidamus* for this was not a little taxed, as thought to have been both slow in gathering together the Forces for the War, and also to have favoured the *Athenians*, in that he encouraged not the Army to a forwardness in it. And afterwards likewise, his stay in the *Isthmus*, and his slowness in the whole journey was laid to his charge, but especially his delay at *Oenoe*: For in this time the *Athenians* retired into the City, whereas it was thought that the *Peloponnesians* marching speedily, might but for his delay, have taken them all without: So passionate was the Army of *Archidamus*, for his stay before *Oenoe*. But expecting that the *Athenians*, whilst their Territory was yet unhurt, would relent, and not endure to see it wasted, for that cause (as it is reported) he held his hand. But after, when they had assaulted *Oenoe*, and tried all means, but could not take it, and seeing the *Athenians* sent no Herald to them, then at length arising from thence, about 80 days after that which happened to the *Thebans* that entered *Platea*, the Summer and Corn being now at the highest, they fell into *Attica*; led by *Archidamus* the son of *Zenxidamus* King of the *Lacedemonians*. And when they had pitched their Camp, they fell to wasting of the Countrey, first about *Eleusis*, and then in the plain of *Thriasia*, and put to flight a few *Athenian* Horsemen at the Brooks called *Rheiti*. After this, leaving the *Aegaleon* on the right hand, they passed through *Cecropia* till they came unto *Acharnas*, which is the greatest Town in all *Attica*, of those that are called * *Demoi*; and pitching there, both fortified their Camp, and staid a great while wasting the Countrey thereabout.

Archidamus was said to have staid so long at *Acharnas*, with his Army in Battel array, and not to have come down all the time of his Invasion into the Champaign with this intention: He hoped that the *Athenians* flourishing in number of young men, and better furnished for War then ever they were before, would perhaps have come forth against him, and not endured to see their Fields cut down and wasted; and therefore seeing they met him not in *Thriasia*, he thought good to trie if they would come out against him lying now at *Acharnas*. Besides, the place seemed unto him commodious for the Army to lie in; and it was thought also that the *Acharnans* being a great piece of the City (for they were 3000 men of Arms) would not have suffered the spoiling of their Lands, but rather have urged all the rest to go out and fight. And if they came not out against him at this Invasion, they might hereafter more boldly both waste the Champaign Countrey, and come down even to the Walls of the City. For the *Acharnans*, after they should have lost their own, would not be so forward to hazard themselves for the goods of other men; but there would be thoughts of Sedition in one towards another in the City. These were the cogitations of *Archidamus*, whilst he lay at *Acharnas*.

The *Athenians*, as long as the Army of the Enemy lay about *Eleusis* and the Fields of *Thrius*, and as long as they had any hope it would come on no further, (remembring that also *Plistoanax* the son of *Pausanias* King of *Lacedamon*, when 14 years before this War, he entered *Attica* with an Army of the *Peloponnesians* as far as *Eleusis* and *Thriasia*, retired

Archidamus taxed of backwardness, and favour to the *Athenians*.

Archidamus with his Army entrench into *Attica*.

And comes to *Acharnas*, and stayes there long, cutting down their Corn and Trees.

* *Burroughs*.
The design of *Archidamus* in staying so long at *Acharnas*.

The Athenians hardly contain themselves from going out to fight.

A Skirmish between the Athenian and Boeotian Horse.

Archidamus removes from Acharnas.

The Athenians send 100 Gallies to infest the Sea Coast of Peloponnesus.

The Peloponnesians go home.

retired again, and came no further ; for which he was also banished *Sparta*, as thought to have gone back for money) they stirred not. But when they saw the Army now at *Acharnas*, but 60 Furlongs from the City, then they thought it no longer to be endured ; and when their Fields were wasted (as it was likely) in their sight, (which the younger sort had never seen before, nor the elder but in the *Persian War*) it was taken for a horrible matter, and thought fit by all, especially by the youth, to go out, and not to endure it any longer. And holding Councils apart one from another, they were at much contention, some to make a sally, and some to hinder it. And the Priests of the Oracles giving out Prophecies of all kinds, every one made the interpretation according to the sway of his own affection. But the *Acharnans* conceiving themselves to be no small part of the *Athenians*, were they that whilest their own Lands were wasting, most of all urged their going out. Insomuch as the City was every way in tumult, and in choler against *Pericles*, remembring nothing of what he had formerly admonished them ; but reviled him, for that being their General he refused to lead them into the Field, and imputing unto him the cause of all their evil : but *Pericles* seeing them in passion for their present loss, and ill advised, and being confident he was in the right touching not sallying, assembled them not, nor called any Council, for fear lest being together, they might upon passion rather than judgment commit some error ; but looked to the guarding of the City, and as much as he could, to keep it in quiet. Nevertheless he continually sent out Horsemen to keep the Scouts of the Army from entering upon, and doing hurt to the Fields near the City. And there happened at *Phrygia* a small Skirmish between one Troop of Horse of the *Athenians* (with whom were also the *Thessalians*) and the Horse-men of the *Boeotians* ; wherein the *Athenians* and *Thessalians* had not the worse, till such time as the *Boeotians* were aided by the coming in of their men of Arms, and then they were put to flight, and a few of the *Athenians* and *Thessalians* slain ; whose bodies notwithstanding they fetcht off the same day, without leave of the Enemy ; and the *Peloponnesians* the next day erected a Trophy. This aid of the *Thessalians* was upon an ancient League with the *Athenians*, and consisted of *Larissians*, *Pharsalians*, *Parasians*, *Cranonians*, *Peirassians*, *Gyrtonians*, *Phereans*. The Leaders of the *Larissians* were *Polymedes* and *Aristonous*, men of contrary Factions in their City. Of the *Pharsalians*, *Meno*. And of the rest, out of the several Cities several Commanders.

The *Peloponnesians* seeing the *Athenians* would not come out to fight, dislodging from *Acharnas*, wasted certain other Villages between the Hills *Parnethus* and *Brelissus*.

Whilest these were in *Attica* the *Athenians* sent the 100 Gallies which they had provided, and in them 1000 men of Arms, and 400 Archers about *Peloponnesus*, the Commanders whereof were *Charcinus* the Son of *Xenotimus*, *Proteus* the Son of *Epicles*, and *Socrates* the Son of *Antigenes*, who thus furnished, weighed Anchor, and went their way.

The *Peloponnesians*, when they had staid in *Attica* as long as their provision lasted, went home through *Boeotia*, not the way they came in ; but passing by *Oropus*, wasted the Countrey called *Peiraice*, which is of the Tillage of the *Oropians*, Subjects to the People of *Athens* ; and when they were come back into *Peloponnesus*, they disbanded, and went every man to his own City.

When

When they were gone, the *Athenians* ordained Watches both by Sea and Land, such as were to continue to the end of the War. And made a Decree to take out a thousand Talents of the Money in the Cittadel, and set it by, so as it might not be spent, but the charges of the War be born out of other monies; and made it capital for any man to move, or give his vote for the stirring of this money for any other use, but onely (if the Enemy should come with an Army by Sea to invade the City) for necessity of that defence. Together with this money, they likewise set apart 100 Gallies, and those to be every year the best; and Captains to be appointed over them, which were to be employed for no other use then the money was, and for the same danger, if need should require.

The *Athenians* that were with the 100 Gallies about *Peloponnesus*, and with them the *Corcyraeans* with the aid of 50 Sail more, and certain others of the Confederates thereabout, amongst other places which they infested in their course, landed at *Methone*, a Town of *Laconia*, and assaulted it, as being but weak and few men within. But it chanced that *Brasidas* the son of *Tellis* a *Spartan*, had a Garrison in those parts, and hearing of it, succoured those of the Town with 100 men of Arms; wherewith running through the *Athenian* Army, disperfed in the Fields directly towards the Town, he put himself into *Methone*; and with the loss of few of his men in the passage, he saved the place, and for this adventure, was the first that was praised at *Sparta* in this War. The *Athenians* putting off from thence, sailed along the Coast, and put in at *Pheia* of *Elis*, where they spent two days in wasting the Countrey, and in a Skirmish overthrew 300 choice men of the lower *Elis*, together with other *Eleans* thereabouts that came forth to defend it. But the Wind arising, and their Gallies being tossed by the Weather in a harbourless place, the most of them imbarqued; and sailed about the Promontory called *Ichys*, into the Haven of *Pheia*. But the *Messenians* and certain others that could not get aboard, went by Land to the Town of *Pheia* and rifled it: and when they had done, the Gallies that now were come about took them in, and leaving *Pheia*, put forth to Sea again: by which time a great Army of *Eleans* was come to succour it, but the *Athenians* were now gone away, and wasting some other Territory.

About the same time the *Athenians* sent likewise thirty Gallies about * *Locris*, which were to serve also for a Watch about *Eubœa*. Of these *Cleopompus* the son of *Clinias* had the conduct, and landing his Souldiers in divers parts, both wasted some places of the Sea Coast, and won the Town of *Thronium*, of which he took Hostages; and overcame in fight at *Alope* the *Locrians* that came out to aid it.

The same Summer the *Athenians* put the *Æginetæ*, Man, Woman, and Child out of *Ægina*, laying to their charge, that they were the principal cause of the present War. And it was also thought the safer course to hold *Ægina*, being adjacent to *Peloponnesus*, with a Colony of their own people; and not long after they sent Inhabitants into the same. When the *Æginetæ* were thus banished, the *Lacedæmonians* gave them *Thyræa* to dwell in, and the occupation of the Lands belonging unto it to live on; both upon hatred to the *Athenians*, and for the benefits received at the hands of the *Æginetæ* in the time of the Earthquake and insurrection of their *Helots*. This Territory of *Thyræa* is in the Border between *Argolica* and *Laconica*, and reacheth to the Sea side. So some of them were placed there, and the rest disperfed into other parts of *Greece*.

The *Athenians* set by 1000. Talents and 100. Gallies, for defence against an invasion by Sea.

The *Athenians* assaulted *Methone*.

Brasidas defended it.

They take *Pheia*, a Town of *Elis*.

* That *Locris* whose chiefe City is *Opus*, not that where the *Locri Ozolæ* dwelt.

The Inhabitants of *Ægina* removed by the *Athenians*.

And received by the *Peloponnesians*.

Eclipse of the Sun and Stars discerned.

* Νεφελία καὶ σελήνη. The first day of the Moneth, according to the Moon, in distinction of the Moneth Civil; for their Year was Lunar, yet was it so exact, as that the Moon changed often on the first day. The Athenians seek the favour of *Sitalces* King of Thrace, and *Perdiccas* King of Macedonia.

* That is the man at whose house, and by whom any publick person was to be entertained that came from Athens to Abdera.

* See the Fable of *Tereus* and *Procne* in *Ovids Metam.*

* King of Macedon.

Sadocus the Son of *Sitalces* King of Thrace, made a Citizen of Athens.
∴ The war about *Potidæa*.

The Athenians take *Solium* and *Astacus*, and the Isle of *Cephalonia*.

The Athenians invade *Megaris*.

* The Territory of *Megara*.
The Athenians greatest Army.

Also the same Summer,* on the first day of the Moneth, according to the Moon, (at which time it seems onely possible) in the afternoon, happened an Eclipse of the Sun; the which after it had appeared in the form of a crescent, and withall some Stars had been discerned, came afterwards again to the former brightness.

The same Summer also the Athenians made *Nymphodorus* the son of *Pythos* of the City of *Abdera*, (whose Sister was married to *Sitalces*, and that was of great power with him) their * Host, though before they took him for an Enemy and sent for him to *Athens*, hoping by his means to bring *Sitalces* the son of *Teres* King of *Thrace* into their League. This *Teres* the Father of *Sitalces* was the first that advanced the Kingdom of the *Odrysians*, above the power of the rest of *Thrace*. For much of *Thrace* consisteth of Free States; and * *Tereus* that took to Wife (out of *Athens*) *Procne* the Daughter of *Pandion* was no kin to this *Teres*, nor of the same part of *Thrace*. But that *Tereus* was of the City of *Daulia*, in the Countrey now called *Phocis*, then inhabited by the *Thracians*. (And the Fact of the Women concerning *Itys*, was done there; and by the Poets, where they mention the Nightingal, that Bird is also called *Daulias*. And it is more likely that *Pandion* matched his Daughter with this man for Vicinity and mutual Succour, then with the other, that was so many days journey off, as to *Odrysæ*.) And *Teres*, which is also another name, was the first that seized on the Kingdom of *Odrysæ*. Now *Sitalces*, this mans Son, the Athenians got into their League, that they might have the Towns lying on *Thrace*, and * *Perdiccas* to be of their Party. *Nymphodorus*, when he came to *Athens*, made this League between them and *Sitalces*, and caused *Sadocus* the Son of *Sitalces* to be made free of *Athens*, and also undertook to end the War in ∴ *Thrace*. For he would perswade *Sitalces* to send unto the Athenians a *Thracian* Army of Horsemen and Targettiers. He likewise reconciled *Perdiccas* to the Athenians, and procured of him the restitution of *Therme*. And *Perdiccas* presently aided the Athenians and *Phormio* in the War against the *Chalcideans*. Thus were *Sitalces* the son of *Teres* King of *Thrace*, and *Perdiccas* the son of *Alexander* King of *Macedonia*, made Confederates with the Athenians.

The Athenians being yet with their hundred Gallies about *Peloponnesus*, took *Solium*, a Town that belonged to the *Corinthians*, and put the *Palirenses* onely of all the *Acarnanians*, into the Possession both of the Town and Territory: Having also by force taken *Astacus* from the Tyrant *Euarchus*, they drave him thence, and joyned the place to their League: From thence they sailed to *Cephalonia*, and subdued it without Battel. This *Cephalonia* is an Island lying over against *Acarnania* and *Leucas*, and hath in it these four Cities, the *Pallenses*, *Cranii*, *Samei*, and *Pronæi*. And not long after returned with the Fleet to *Athens*.

About the end of the Autumn of this Summer, the Athenians, both themselves and the Strangers that dwelt amongst them, with the whole power of the City, under the Conduct of *Pericles* the son of *Xantippus*, invaded the Territory of *Megara*. And those Athenians likewise that had been with the hundred Gallies about *Peloponnesus*, in their return (being now at *Ægina*) hearing that the whole power of the City was gone into * *Megaris*, went and joyned with them. And this was the greatest Army that ever the Athenians had together in one place before; the City being now in her strength, and the Plague not yet amongst them; (For the Athenians of themselves were no less then 10000 men of Arms,

Arms, (besides the 3000 at *Potidaea*) and the Strangers that dwelt amongst them, and accompanied them in this Invasion, were no fewer then 3000 men of Arms more, besides other great numbers of light-armed Souldiers. And when they had wasted the greatest part of the Countrey, they went back to *Athens*. And afterwards, year after year, during this War, the *Athenians* often invaded *Megaris*, sometimes with their Horsemen, and sometimes with their whole Army, until such time as they had won * *Nisea*.

The *Athenians* duly once a year invade *Megaris*.

Also in the end of this Summer they fortified *Atalante*, an Island lying upon the *Locrians* of *Opus*, desolate till then, for a Garrison against Thieves, which passing over from *Opus*, and other parts of *Loeris*, might annoy *Eubœa*. These were the things done this Summer, after the retreat of the *Peloponnesians* out of *Attica*.

* The Arsenal of *Megara*.

The Winter following *Euarchus* of *Acarmania*, desirous to return to *Astacus*, prevaieth with the *Corinthians* to go thither with 40 Gallies, and 1500 men of Arms to re-establish him; to which he hired also certain other Mercenaries for the same purpose. The Commanders of this Army were *Euphamidas* the son of *Aristonymus*, *Timoxenes* the son of *Timocrates*, and *Euarchus* the son of *Chrysis*. When they had re-established him, they endeavoured to draw to their Party some other places on the Sea Coast of *Acarmania*, but missing their purpose, they set sail homeward. As they passed by the Coast of *Cephalonia*, they disbarqued in the Territory of the *Cranii*, where under colour of Composition, they were deceived, and lost some part of their Forces. For the assault made upon them by the *Cranii*, being unexpected, they got off with much ado, and went home.

The end of the first Summer.

Euarchus the Tyrant recovereth *Astacus*.

The same Winter the *Athenians*, according to their Ancient Custom, solemnized a publick Funeral of the first slain in this War, in this manner: Having set up a Tent, they put into it the * bones of the dead, three days before the Funeral, and every one bringeth † whatsoever he thinks good to his * own. When the day comes of carrying them to their burial, certain Cypress Coffins are carried along in Carts, for every Tribe one, in which are the bones of the men of every Tribe by themselves. There is likewise born an empty Hearse covered over, for such as appear not, nor were found amongst the rest when they were taken up. The Funeral is accompanied by any that will, whether Citizen or Stranger; and the Women of their Kindred are also by at the Burial, lamenting and mourning. Then they put them into a publique Monument, which standeth in the fairest * Suburbs of the City, (in which place they have ever interred all that died in the Wars, except those that were slain in the Fields of *Marathon*; who, because their Vertue was thought extraordinary, were therefore buried there-right) and when the earth is thrown over them, some one, thought to exceed the rest in wisdom and dignity, chosen by the City, maketh an Oration, wherein he giveth them such praises as are fit; which done, the Company depart. And this is the form of that Burial; and for the * whole time of the War, whensoever there was occasion, they observed the same. For these first, the man chosen to make the Oration, was *Pericles* the son of *Xantippus*, who when the time served, going out of the place of Burial into a high Pulpit, to be heard the farther off by the multitude about him, spake unto them in this manner:

The manner of the *Athenians* in burying the bones of the first slain in the Wars.

* The custom was when a man died to burn him, and the Burial after, was onely of his bones, or (the powder of them) his ashes.

† Offerings, Incense, and Rites of Burial.

* To his own Friends slain.

* The Ceramicum.

* By the first slain in the war, is understood either the first every year in the same war, or else the several actions of this great war, are counted as several wars, and so the first slain in any of them, had the honour of this Burial.

The Funeral Oration made by PERICLES.

THough most that have spoken formerly in this place have commended the man that added this Oration to the Law, as honourable for those that die in the Wars; yet to me it seemeth sufficient, that they who have shewed their Valour by Action, should also by an Action have their Honour, as now you see they have, in this their Sepulture performed by the State; and not to have the Vertue of Many hazarded on One, to be believed, as that One shall make a good or bad Oration. For, to speak of men in a just measure, is a hard matter; and though one do so, yet he shall hardly get the truth firmly believed. The favourable Hearer, and he that knows what was done, will perhaps think what is spoken, short of what he would have it, and what it was; and he that is ignorant, will find somewhat on the other side, which he will think too much extolled; especially if he hear ought above the pitch of his own nature. For to hear another man praised, finds patience so long onely as each man shall think he could himself have done somewhat of that he hears. And if one exceed in their praises, the Hearer presently through envy thinks it false. But since our Ancestors have so thought good, I also, following the same Ordinance, must endeavour to be answerable to the desires and opinions of every one of you, as far forth as I can. I will begin at our Ancestors, being a thing both just and honest, that to them, first be given the honour of remembrance in this kind: For they having been always the Inhabitants of this Region, by their Valour have deliverrd the same to succession of Posterity hitherto, in the state of Liberty, for which they deserve commendation: but our Fathers deserve yet more, for that besides what descended on them, not without great labour of their own, they have purchased this our present Dominion, and delivered the same over to us that now are. Which in a great part also, we our selves, that are yet in the strength of our Age here present, have enlarged; and so furnished the City with every thing, both for Peace and War, as it is now all-sufficient in it self. The Actions of War, whereby all this was attained, and the deeds of Arms, both of our selves and our Fathers, in valiant opposition to the Barbarians, or Grecians, in their Wars against us, amongst you that are well acquainted with the sum, to avoid prolixity, I will pass over. But by what institutions we arrived at this, by what form of Government, and by what means we have advanced the State to this greatness, when I shall have laid open this, I will then descend to these mens praises. For I think they are things both fit for the purpose in hand, and profitable to the whole Company, both of Citizens and Strangers, to hear related. We have a Form of Government, not fetched by imitation from the Laws of our neighbouring States, (nay, we are rather a pattern to others then they to us) which, because in the administration, it hath respect, not to a few, but to the multitude, is called a Democracie. Wherein, though there be an equality amongst all men in point of Law for their private controversies, yet in conferring of dignities one man is preferred before another to publick charge; and that according to the reputation, not of his* House, but of his Vertue, and is not put back through poverty, for the obscurity of his person, as long as he can do good service to the Common-wealth. And we live not onely free in the administration of the State, but also one with another, void of jealousy, touching each others daily course of life; not offended at any man for following his own humour, nor casting on any man † censorious looks, which though they be no punishment, yet they grieve. So that conversing one with another for the private without offence, we stand chiefly in fear to transgress against

* *MéO*, A part. But here he means a part or family in the Commonwealth. Carping secretly at the Lacedæmonians, that had none came to the Supreme Office, but the Heracleides.

† He glanceth again at the Lacedæmonians, because they ever looked somerly on soft and loose behaviour.

against the Publick, and are obedient always to those that govern, and to the Laws, and principally to such Laws as are written for protection against injury, and such unwritten, as bring undeniable shame to the transgressors. We have also found out many ways to give our minds recreation from labour, by publick institution of Games and Sacrifices for all the days of the year, with a decent pomp and furniture of the same by private men; by the daily delight whereof, we expel sadness. We have this further, by the greatness of our City, that all things, from all parts of the Earth are imported hither; whereby we no less familiarly enjoy the commodities of all other Nations than our own. Then in the studies of War, we excel our Enemies in this; we leave our City open to all men, nor was it ever seen, that by * banishing of Strangers, we denied them the learning or sight of any of those things, which if not hidden, an Enemy might reap advantage by, not relying on secret preparation and deceit, but upon our own courage in the action. They in their discipline hunt after Valour presently from their Youth with laborious exercise, and yet we that live remissly, undertake as great dangers as they. For example, the Lacedæmonians invade not our Dominion by themselves alone, but with the aid of all the rest. But when we invade our Neighbours, though we fight in hostile ground, against such as in their own ground, fight in defence of their own Substance, yet for the most part we get the Victory. Never Enemy yet fell into the hands of our whole Forces at once, both because we apply our selves much to Navigation, and by Land also send many of our men into divers Countries abroad. But when fighting with a part of it, they chance to get the better, they boast they have beaten the whole; and when they get the worse, they say they are beaten by the whole. And yet when from ease, rather then studious labour, and upon natural rather then doctrinal Valour, we come to undertake any danger, we have this odds by it, that we shall not faint before-hand with the meditation of future trouble, and in the action we shall appear no less confident then they that are ever toiling, procuring admiration to our City, as well in this as in divers other things. For we also give our selves to Bravery, and yet with Thrift; and to Philosophy, and yet without mollification of the Mind. And we use Riches rather for Opportunities of Action, then for Verbal Ostentation: and hold it not a shame to confess poverty, but not to have avoided it. Moreover there is in the same men a rare, both of their Own, and of the Publick Affairs, and a sufficient * knowledge of State-matters, even in those that labour with their hands. For we onely think one that is utterly ignorant therein, to be a man not that meddles with nothing, but that is good for nothing. We likewise weigh what we undertake, and apprehend it perfectly in our minds; not accounting Words for a hindrance of Action, but that it is rather a hindrance to Action, to come to it without instruction of Words before. For also in this we excel others; daring to undertake as much as any, and yet examining what we undertake; whereas with other men, Ignorance makes them Dare, and Consideration Dastards; and they are most rightly reputed Valiant, who though they perfectly apprehend both what is dangerous, and what is easie, are never the more thereby diverted from adventuring. Again, We are contrary to most men in matter of Bounty; for we purchase our Friends, not by receiving, but by bestowing Benefits. And he that bestoweth a good turn, is ever the most constant Friend, because he will not lose the thanks due unto him, from him whom he bestowed it on. Whereas the Friendship of him that oweth a Benefit is dull and flat, as knowing his Benefit not to be taken for a Favour, but for a Debt: So that we onely do good to others, not upon computation of Profit, but freeness of Trust. In sum, it may be said,

both

The Athenians had Sacrifices and Games publick or private for every day of the year.

* This is spoken with envy towards the Lacedæmonians that prohibited Strangers to dwell amongst them.

* In Athens no man so poor but was a Statesman. So S. Luke Act. 17. 21. All the Athenians spend their time in nothing but hearing and telling of news. The true Character of Politicians without employment.

Hee magnifies the Athenian power above that which the Grecians had at Troy, which needed Homer to make it shew great, but this Power would seem great by Trophies and real Monuments of their Actions.

both that the City is in general a School of the Grecians, and that the men here, have every one in particular his person disposed to most diversity of Actions, and yet all with grace and decency. And that this is not now rather a Bravery of Words upon the Occasion, then real Truth, this power of the City, which by these Institutions we have obtained, maketh evident. For it is the onely Power now, found greater in Proof then Fame; and the onely Power that neither grieveth the Invader when he miscarries with the quality of those he was hurt by, nor giveth cause to the subjected States to murmur, as being in subjection to men unworthy. For both with present and future Ages we shall be in admiration for a Power, not without testimony, but made evident by great Arguments, and which needeth not either a Homer to praise it, or any other such, whose Poems may indeed for the present bring delight, but the truth will afterwards confute the Opinion conceived of the Actions. For we have opened unto us by our courage, all Seas and Lands, and set up eternal Monuments on all sides, both of the evil we have done to our Enemies, and the good we have done to our Friends. Such is the City for which these men (thinking it no reason to lose it) valiantly fighting, have died. And it is fit that every man of you that be left, should be like-minded, to undergo any travel for the same. And I have therefore spoken so much concerning the City in general, as well to shew you that the Stakes between us and them, whose City is not such, are not equal; as also to make known by effects the worth of these men I am to speak of, the greatest part of their praises being therein already delivered. For what I have spoken of the City, hath by these and such as these been atchieved: Neither would praises and actions appear so lewelly concurrent in many other of the Grecians, as they do in these; the present revolution of these mens lives seeming unto me an argument of their Vertues, noted in the first act thereof, and in the last confirmed. For even such of them as were worse then the rest, do nevertheless deserve that for their Valour shewn in the Wars for defence of their Countrey, they should be preferred before the rest. For having by their good actions abolished the memory of their evil, they have profited the State thereby more then they have hurt it by their private behaviour. Yet there was none of these, that preferring the further fruition of his wealth, was thereby grown Cowardly, or that for hope to overcome his poverty at length, and to attain to riches, did for that cause withdraw himself from the danger. For their principal desire was not Wealth, but Revenge on their Enemies, which esteeming the most honourable cause of danger, they made account through it both to accomplish their Revenge, and to purchase Wealth withall; putting the uncertainty of success to the account of their hope; but for that which was before their eyes, relying upon themselves in the Action; and therein chusing rather to fight and die, then to shrink and be saved. They fled from shame, but with their bodies they stood out the Battel; and so in a moment, whilst Fortune inclineth neither way, left their lives not in fear, but in opinion of Victory. Such were these men, worthy of their Countrey; and for you that remain, you may pray for a safer Fortune; but you ought not to be less venturously minded against the Enemy; not weighing the profit by an Oration onely, which any man amplifying, may recount, to you that know as well as he, the many commodities that arise by fighting valiantly against your Enemies, but contemplating the Power of the City in the Actions of the same from day to day performed, and thereby becoming enamoured of it. And when this Power of the City shall seem great to you, consider then that the same was purchased by valiant men, and by men that knew their duty, and by men that were sensible of dishonour when they were in fight; and by such men, as though they failed of their

their attempt, yet would not be wanting to the City with their Vertue, but made unto it a most honourable contribution. For having every one given his body to the Common-wealth, they receive in place thereof an undecaying commendation, and a most remarkable Sepulchre, not wherein they are buried so much, as wherein their glory is laid up upon all occasions, both of speech and action, to be remembred for ever. For to famous men, all the Earth is a Sepulchre; and their Vertues shall be testified, not onely by the Inscription in Stone at home, but by an Unwritten Record of the Mind, which more then of any Monument, will remain with every one for ever. In imitation therefore of these men, and placing Happiness in Liberty, and Liberty in Valour, be forward to encounter the dangers of War. For the miserable and desperate men, are not they that have the most reason to be prodigal of their lives; but rather such men, as if they live, may expect a change of Fortune, and whose losses are greatest if they miscarry in ought. For to a man of any spirit, Death, which is without sense, arriving whilest he is in Vigour, and common hope, is nothing so bitter, as after a tender life to be brought into misery. Wherefore I will not so much bewail as comfort you the Parents that are present of these men. For you know that whilest they lived, they were obnoxious to manifold calamities, whereas whilest you are in grief, they onely are happy that die honourably, as these have done: and to whom it hath been granted, not onely to live in prosperity, but to die in it. Though it be a hard matter to dissuade you from sorrow for the loss of that, which the * happiness of others, wherein you also when time was, rejoiced your selves, shall so often bring into your remembrance (for sorrow is not for the want of a Good never tasted, but for the privation of a Good we have been used to) yet such of you as are of the age to have children, may bear the loss of these, in the hope of more. For the latter children will both draw on with some the oblivion of those that are slain, and also doubly conduce to the good of the City, by population and strength. For it is not likely that they should equally give good counsel to the State, that have not children to be equally exposed to danger in it. As for you that are past having of children, you are to put the former and greater part of your life, to the account of your gain, and supposing the remainder of it will be but short, you shall have the glory of these for a consolation of the same. For the love of Honour never groweth old, nor doth that unprofitable part of our life take delight (as some have said) in gathering of wealth, so much as it doth in being honoured. As for you that are the Children or Brethren of these men, I see you shall have a difficult task of emulation. For every man useth to praise the dead, so that with odds of Vertue, you will hardly get an equal reputation, but still be thought a little short. For men envy their Competitors in glory, while they live, but to stand out of their way, is a thing honoured with an affection free from opposition. And since I must say somewhat also of feminine Vertue, for you that are now Widdows: I shall express it all in this short admonition. It will be much for your honour, not to recede from your Sex, and to give as little occasion of rumour amongst the men, whether of good or evil, as ye can. Thus also have I, according to the prescript of the Law, delivered in word what was expedient; and those that are here interred, have in fact been already honoured; and further, their children shall be maintained till they be at mans estate, at the charge of the City; which hath therein propounded both to these, and them that live, a profitable Garland in their matches of Valour. For where the rewards of Vertue are greatest, there live the worthiest men. So now having lamented every one his own, you may be gone.

* Children:

The Children of such as were the first slain in any War, were kept at the charge of the City, till they came to mans estate.

Such

Such was the Funeral made this Winter, which ending, ended the first Year of this War.

Year II.

The second invasion of Attica, by the Lacedæmonians.

In the very beginning of Summer the *Peloponnesians* and their Confederates, with two thirds of their Forces, as before invaded *Attica*, under the Conduct of *Archidamus* the son of *Zeuxidamus* King of *Lacedæmon*, and after they had encamped themselves, wasted the Country about them.

The plague at Athens.

They had not been many days in *Attica* when the Plague first began among the *Athenians*, said also to have seized formerly on divers other parts, as about *Lemnos*, and elsewhere; but so great a Plague and mortality of men, was never remembered to have happened in any place before. For at first, neither were the Physicians able to cure it, through ignorance of what it was, but died fastest themselves, as being the men that most approached the sick, nor any other Art of man availed whatsoever. All supplications to the *Gods*, and enquiries of *Oracles*, and whatsoever other means they used of that kind, proved all unprofitable, insomuch as subdued with the greatness of the evil, they gave them all over. It began (by report) first, in that part of *Æthiopia* that lieth upon *Ægypt*, and thence fell down into *Ægypt*, and *Africk*, and into the greatest part of the Territories of the * *King*. It invaded *Athens* on a sudden, and touched first upon those that dwelt in *Piræus*; insomuch as they reported that the *Peloponnesians* had cast poison into their Wells, for Springs there were not any in that place. But afterwards it came up into the high City, and then they died a great deal faster. Now let every man, Physician or other, concerning the ground of this Sickness, whence it sprung, and what causes he thinks able to produce so great an alteration, speak according to his own knowledge, for my own part, I will deliver but the manner of it, and lay open onely such things as one may take his Mark by, to discover the same if it come again, having been both sick of it my self, and seen others sick of the same. This year by confession of all men, was of all other, for other Diseases most free and healthful. If any man were sick before, his Disease turned to this; if not, yet suddenly, without any apparent cause preceding, and being in perfect health, they were taken first with an extream ach in their Heads, redness and inflammation of the Eyes; and then inwardly their Throats and Tongues grew presently bloody, and their Breath noisom and unsavoury. Upon this followed a sneezing and hoarseness, and not long after, the pain, together with a mighty Cough came down into the Brest: and when once it was settled in the * stomach, it caused Vomit, and with great torment came up all manner of bilious purgation, that Physicians ever named. Most of them had also the Hickeyeye, which brought with it a strong Convulsion, and in some ceased quickly, but in others was long before it gave over. Their bodies outwardly to the touch, were neither very hot nor pale, but reddish livid, and beset with little Pimples and Whelks; but so burned inwardly, as not to endure the lightest clothes or linnen garment to be upon them, nor any thing but meer nakedness; but rather most willingly to have cast themselves into the cold water. And many of them that were not looked to, possessed with insatiate thirst, ran unto the Wells, and to drink much or little was indifferent, being still from ease, and power to sleep, as far as ever. As long as the Disease was at the height, their bodies wasted not, but resisted the torment

It began in *Æthiopia*.

* of Persia.

The *Peloponnesians* supposed to have poisoned their Wells.

The Author sick of this disease.

The description of the Disease.

Ach of the head.
Redness of the eyes.
Sore throat.
Unsavoury breath

Vomitings.
* *Kapsia*. here taken for the stomach.
Hickyeye.

Extreme heat of their bodies.
Livid pustules

Insatiate thirst.
want of sleep.

torment

torment beyond all expectation, insomuch, as the most of them either died of their inward burning, in nine or seven days, whilst they had yet strength, or if they had escaped that, then the disease falling down into their Bellies, and causing there great exulcerations and immoderate looseness, they died many of them afterwards through weakness. For the disease (which took first the head) began above and came down, and passed through the whole body; and he that overcame the worst of it was yet marked with the loss of his extrem parts; for breaking out both at their privy members, and at their fingers and toes, many with the loss of these escaped. There were also some that lost their eyes, and many that presently upon their recovery, were taken with such an oblivion of all things whatsoever, as they neither knew themselves, nor their acquaintance. For this was a kind of Sickness which far surmounted all expression of words, and both exceeded humane nature, in the cruelty wherewith it handled each one, and appeared also otherwise to be none of those diseases that are bred amongst us, and that especially by this. For all, both Birds and Beasts, that use to feed on humane Flesh, though many men lay abroad unburied, either came not, at them, or tasting perished. An argument whereof as touching the Birds, is the manifest defect of such Fowl, which were not then seen, neither about the Carcasses, or any where else: But by the Dogs, because they are familiar with men, this effect was seen much clearer. So that this Disease (to pass over many strange particulars of the accidents that some had differently from others) was in general such as I have shown, and for other usual Sicknesses, at that time no man was troubled with any. Now they died some for want of attendance, and some again with all the care and Physick that could be used. Nor was there any to say, certain Medicine, that applied must have helped them; for if it did good to one, it did harm to another; nor any difference of body, for strength or weakness that was able to resist it; but it carried all away, what Physick soever was administered. But the greatest misery of all was, the dejection of mind, in such as found themselves beginning to be sick (for they grew presently desperate, and gave themselves over without making any resistance) as also their dying thus like Sheep, infected by mutual Visitation, for the greatest Mortality proceeded that way. For if men forbore to visit them, for fear; then they died forlorn, whereby many Families became empty, for want of such as should take care of them. If they forbore not, then they died themselves, and principally the honestest men. For out of shame they would not spare themselves, but went in unto their Friends, especially after it was come to this pass, that even their Domesticks, wearied with the lamentations of them that died, and overcome with the greatness of the calamity, were no longer moved therewith. But those that were recovered, had much compassion both on them that died, and on them that lay sick, as having both known the misery themselves, and now no more subject to the danger. For this disease never took any man the second time, so as to be mortal. And these men were both by others counted happy, and they also themselves, through excess of present joy, conceived a kind of light hope never to die of any other Sickness hereafter. Besides the present affliction, the reception of the Countrey people and of their substance into the City, oppressed both them, and much more the people themselves that so came in. For having no Houses, but dwelling at that time of the Year in stifling Booths, the

After 7, or 9 days, death.

Disease in the Belly. Looseness.

Loss of the parts where the Disease brake out.

Oblivion of all things done before their sickness.

Birds and Beasts perished that fed on Carcasses.

Want of attendance

Dejection of mind.

No man sick of it mortally the second time.

Men died in the Streets.

Disorder in their Funerals.

* A Pile of wood, which when they had laid the Corps on it, they fired, and afterwards buried the bones.
Licentiousness of life justified.

Neglect of Religion and Law.

Predictions called to mind.

* Λοιμὴς.

An ambiguous Prophecie expounded by the event.

* Apollo, to whom the Heathen attributed the immission of all epidemick or ordinary Diseases.

Mortality was now without all form; and dying men lay tumbling one upon another in the Streets, and men half dead about every Conduit through desire of Water. The Temples also where they dwelt in Tents, were all full of the dead that died within them; for oppressed with the violence of the Calamity, and not knowing what to do, men grew careless both of holy and prophane things alike. And the Laws which they formerly used touching Funerals, were all new broken; every one burying where he could find room. And many for want of things necessary, after so many deaths before, were forced to become impudent in the Funerals of their Friends. For when one had made a Funeral *Pile, another getting before him, would throw on his dead and give it fire. And when one was in burning, another would come, and having cast thereon him whom he carried, go his way again. And the great licentiousness, which also in other kinds was used in the City, began at first from this disease. For that which a man before would dissemble, and not acknowledge to be done for voluptuousness, he durst now do freely, seeing before his eyes such quick revolution, of the rich dying, and men worth nothing inheriting their Estates; in so much as they justified a speedy fruition of their goods, even for their pleasure, as men that thought they held their lives but by the day. As for pains, no man was forward in any action of honour to take any, because they thought it uncertain whether they should die or not, before they achieved it. But what any man knew to be delightful, and to be profitable to pleasure, that was made both profitable and honourable. Neither the fear of the Gods, nor Laws of men, awed any man. Not the former, because they concluded it was alike to worship or not worship, from seeing that alike they all perished: nor the latter, because no man expected that lives would last, till he received punishment of his crimes by judgment. But they thought there was now over their heads, some far greater judgment decreed against them; before which fell, they thought to enjoy some little part of their lives. Such was the misery into which the *Athenians* being fallen, were much oppressed; having not onely their men killed by the Disease within, but the Enemy also laying waste their Fields and Villages without. In this sickness also, (as it was not unlikely they would) they called to mind this Verse, said also of the elder sort to have been uttered of old:

*A Dorick War shall fall,
And a great * Plague withall.*

Now were men at variance about the word, some saying it was not Λοιμὴς, (i. the Plague) that was by the Ancients, mentioned in that Verse, but Λιμὴς, (i. Famine.) But upon the present occasion the word Λοιμὴς deservedly obtained. For as men suffered, so they made the Verse to say. And I think, if after this, there shall ever come another *Dorick War*, and with it a Famine, they are like to recite the Verse accordingly. There was also reported by such as knew, a certain answer given by the Oracle to the *Lacedemonians*, when they enquired whether they should make this War, or not, *That if they warred with all their Power, they should have the Victory, and that the * God himself would take their parts:* and thereupon they thought the present misery to be a fulfilling of that Prophecie. The *Peloponnesians* were no sooner entered *Attica*, but the sickness presently began, and never came into *Peloponnesus*, to speak of,

of, but reigned principally in *Athens*, and in such other places afterwards as were most populous. And thus much of this Disease.

After the *Peloponnesians* had wasted the Champaign Countrey, they fell upon the Territory called **Paralos*, as far as to the Mountain *Laurius*, where the *Athenians* had Silver Mines, and first wasted that part of it which looketh towards *Peloponnesus*; and then that also which lieth toward *Andros* and *Eubœa*: and *Pericles*, who was also then General, was still of the same mind he was of in the former Invasion, that the *Athenians* ought not to go out against them to Battel.

* By the Sea Coast.
Pericles with 100
Sail of *Athenians*, about
Peloponnesus.

Whilest they were yet in the Plain, and before they entered into the Maritime Countrey, he furnished an hundred Gallies to go about *Peloponnesus*, and as soon as they were ready, put to Sea. In these Gallies he had four thousand men of Arms, and in Vessels then purposely first made to carry Horses, three hundred Horsemen. The *Chians* and *Lesbians* joined likewise with him with fifty Gallies. This Fleet of the *Athenians*, when it set forth, left the *Peloponnesians* still in *Paralia*, and coming before *Epidaurus* a City of *Peloponnesus*, they wasted much of the Countrey thereabout, and assaulking the City, had hope to take it, though it succeeded not. Leaving *Epidaurus*, they wasted the Territories about, of *Trezenè*, *Halias*, and *Hermione*, places all on the Sea Coast of *Peloponnesus*. Putting off from hence, they came to *Prasie*, a small Maritime City of *Laconica*, and both wasted the Territory about it, and took and razed the Town it self: and having done this, came home and found the *Peloponnesians* not now in *Attica*, but gone back.

The *Peloponnesians*
depart out of *Attica*.

All the while the *Peloponnesians* were in the Territory of the *Athenians*, and the *Athenians* abroad with their Fleet, the Sicknes both in the Army and City, destroyed many, in so much as it was said, that the *Peloponnesians* fearing the Sicknes (which they knew to be in the City, both by Fugitives, and by seeing the *Athenians* burying their dead) went the sooner away out of the Countrey. And yet they staid there longer in this Invasion, then they had done any time before, and wasted even the whole Territory: for they continued in *Attica*, almost forty days.

The same Summer *Agnon* the Son of *Nicias*, and *Cleopompus* the Son of *Clinias*, who were joint Commanders with *Pericles*, with that Army which he had imployed before, went presently and made War upon the *Chalcideans* of *Thrace*, and against *Potidea*, which was yet besieged. Arriving, they presently applied Engines, and tried all means possible to take it; but neither the taking of the City, nor any thing else succeeded worthy so great preparation. For the Sicknes coming amongst them, afflicted them mightily indeed, and even devoured the Army. And the *Athenian* Souldiers which were there before, and in health, caught the Sicknes from those that came with *Agnon*. As for *Phormio* and his 1600, they were not now amongst the *Chalcideans*; and *Agnon* therefore came back with his Fleet, having of 4000 men in less then forty days, lost 1050 of the Plague. But the Souldiers that were there before, staid upon the place, and continued the Siege of *Potidea*.

The *Athenian* Fleet
returned from *Peloponnesus*, go to *Potidea* with ill success,
by reason of the
Sicknes.

After the second Invasion of the *Peloponnesians*, the *Athenians* (having their Fields now the second time wasted, and both the Sicknes and War falling upon them at once) changed their minds, and accused *Pericles*, as if by his means they had been brought into these calamities,

The *Athenian* people
vexed at once
both with the War
and Pestilence, grow
impatient toward
Pericles.

and desired earnestly to compound with the *Lacedaemonians*, to whom also they sent certain Ambassadors, but they returned without effect. And being then at their Wits end, they kept a stir at *Pericles*. And he seeing them vexed with their present calamity, and doing all those things which he had before expected, called an Assembly (for he was yet General) with intention to put them again into heart, and asswaging their Passion, to reduce their minds to a more calm and less dismayed temper; and standing forth he spake unto them in this manner.

The Oration of PERICLES.

Your anger towards me, commeth not unlooked for, (for the causes of it I know) and I have called this Assembly therefore, to remember you, and reprehend you for those things wherein you have either been angry with me, or given way to your adversity, without reason. For I am of this opinion, that the publick prosperity of the City, is better for private men, then if the private men themselves were in prosperity, and the Publick Wealth in decay. For a private man, though in good estate, if his Countrey come to ruine, must of necessity be ruined with it; whereas he that miscarrieth in a flourishing Common wealth, shall much more easily be preserved. Since then the Commonwealth is able to bear the calamities of private men, and every one cannot support the calamities of the Commonwealth, why should not every one strive to defend it? and not (as you now, astonished with domestick misfortune) forsake the common safety, and fall a censuring both me that counselled the War, and your selves that decreed the same as well as I. And it is I you are angry withall, one, as I think my self inferiour to none, either in knowing what is requisite, or in expressing what I know, and a lover of my Countrey, and superiour to Money. For he that hath good thoughts, and cannot clearly express them, were as good to have thought nothing at all. He that can do both, and is ill affected to his Countrey, will likewise not give it faithful counsel. And he that will do that too, yet if he be superable by money, will for that alone set all the rest to sale. Now if you followed my advice in making this War, as esteeming these Vertues to be in me, somewhat above the rest, there is sure no reason I should now be accused of doing you wrong. For though to such as have it in their own election (being otherwise in good estate) it were madness to make choice of War; yet when we must of necessity, either give way, and so without more ado, be subject to our Neighbours, or else save our selves from it by danger, he is more to be condemned that declineth the danger, then he that standeth to it. For mine own part, I am the man I was, and of the mind I was, but you are changed, won to the War, when you were entire, but repenting it upon the damage, and condemning my counsel, in the counsel, in the weakness of your own judgment. The reason of this is, because you feel already every one in particular, that which afflicts you, but the evidence of the profit to accrew to the City in general, you see not yet. And your minds dejected with the great and sudden alteration, cannot constantly maintain what you have before resolved. For that which is sudden and unexpected, and contrary to what one hath deliberated, enslaveeth the spirit; which by this disease principally, in the neck of the other in-commodities, is now come to pass in you. But you that are born in a great City, and with education futable; how great soever the affliction be, ought not to shrink at it, and eclipse your reputation (for men do no less condemn those that through cowardice lose the glory they have, then hate those that through impudence,

dence, arrogate the glory they have not) but to set aside the grief of your private losses, and lay your hands to the common safety. As for the toil of the War, that it may perhaps be long, and we in the end never the nearer to the Victory, though that may suffice which I have demonstrated at other times, touching your causeless suspicion that way; yet this I will tell you moreover, touching the greatness of your means for dominion which neither you your selves seem to have ever thought on, nor I touched in my former Orations, nor would I also have spoken it now, but that I see your minds dejected more then there is cause for. That though you take your dominion to extend onely to your Confederates, I affirm that of the two parts of the World of manifest use, the Land and the Sea, you are of the one of them, entire Masters, both of as much of it as you make use of, and also of as much more as you shall think fit your selves. Neither is there any King or Nation whatsoever, of those that now are, that can impeach your Navigation, with the Fleet and strength you now go. So that you must not put the use of Houses and Lands (wherein you now think your selves deprived of a mighty matter) into the ballance with such a Power as this, nor take the loss of these things heavily in respect of it; but rather set little by them, as but a light ornament and embellishment of wealth, and think that our liberty, as long as we hold fast that, will easily recover unto us these things again; whereas subjected once to others, even that which we possess besides will be deminished. Shew not your selves both ways inferiour to your Ancestors, who not onely held this (gotten by their own labours, not left them) but have also preserved and delivered the same unto us, (for it is more dishonour to lose what one possesseth, then to miscarry in the acquisition of it) and encounter the enemy not onely with magnanimity, but also with disdain: for a Coward may have a high mind upon a prosperous ignorance, but he that is confident upon judgment to be superiour to his enemy, doth also disdain him, which is now our case. And courage (in equal fortune) is the safer for our disdain of the enemy, where a man knows what he doth. For he trusteth less to Hope, which is of force onely in uncertainties, and more to judgment upon certainties, wherein there is a more sure foresight. You have reason besides to maintain the dignity the City hath gotten for her Dominion, (in which you all triumph) and either not decline the Pains, or not also pursue the Honour. And you must not think the question is now of your Liberty and Servitude onely; besides the loss of your rule over others, you must stand the danger you have contracted, by offence given in the administration of it. Nor can you now give it over (if any fearing at this present that that may come to pass, encourage himself with the intention of not to meddle hereafter) for already your Government is in the nature of a Tyranny, which is both unjust for you to take up, and unsafe to lay down. And such men as these, if they could perswade others to it, or lived in a free City by themselves, would quickly overthrow it. For the quiet life can never be preserved, if it be not ranged with the active life; nor is it a life conducible to a City that reigneth, but to a subject City, that it may safely serve. Be not therefore seduced by this sort of men, nor angry with me, together with whom your selves did decree this War, because the Enemy invading you, hath done what was likely he would, if you obeyed him not. And as for the Sickness (the onely thing that exceeded the imagination of all men) it was unlooked for, and I know you hate me somewhat the more for that, but unjustly, unless when any thing falleth out above your expectation fortunate, you will also dedicate unto me that. Evils that come from Heaven you must bear necessarily, and such as proceed from your Enemies valiantly; for so it hath been the custom of this City to do heretofore, which custom let it not be your part to reverse: Knowing that
this

this City hath a great Name amongst all People, for not yielding to adversity, and for the mighty Power it yet hath, after the expence of so many lives, and so much labour in the War; the memory whereof, though we should now at length miscarry (for all things are made with this Law, to decay again) will remain with posterity for ever. How that being Grecians, most of the Grecians were our Subjects; That we have abidden the greatest Wars against them, both universally and singly, and have inhabited the greatest and wealthiest City: Now this, he with the quiet life will condemn, the active man will emulate, and they that have not attained to the like, will envy. But to be hated, and to displease, is a thing that happeneth for the time to whosoever he be that hath the command of others; and he does well that undergoeth hatred, for matters of great consequence. For the hatred lasteth not, and is recompenced both with a present splendor, and an immortal glory hereafter. Seeing then you foresee both what is honourable for the future, and not dishonourable for the present, procure both the one and the other by your courage now. Send no more Heralds to the Lacedæmonians, nor let them know that the evil present does any way afflict you; for they whose minds least feel, and whose actions most oppose a calamity, both amongst States and private persons, are the best.

In this Speech did *Pericles* endeavour to appease the anger of the *Athenians* towards himself, and withall to withdraw their thoughts from the present affliction; But they, though for the State in general, they were won, and sent to the *Lacedæmonians* no more but rather inclined to the War, yet they were every one in particular, grieved for their several losses. The poor, because entering the War with little, they lost that little, and the rich, because they had lost fair possessions, together with goodly houses, and costly furniture in them, in the Countrey; but the greatest matter of all was, that they had War instead of Peace. And altogether, they deposed not their anger, till they had first fined him in a sum of money. Nevertheless, not long after, (as is the fashion of the multitude) they made him General again, and committed the whole State to his administration. For the sense of their domestick losses was now dulled, and for the need of the Common-wealth, they prized him more then any other whatsoever. For as long as he was in authority in the City, in time of Peace, he governed the same with moderation, and was a faithful watchman of it, and in his time it was at the greatest. And after the War was on foot, it is manifest that he therein also fore-saw what it could do. He lived after the War began, two years and six moneths. And his foresight in the War was best known after his death. For he told them, that if they would be quiet, and look to their Navy, and during this War, seek no further dominion, nor hazard the City itself, they should then have the upper hand. But they did contrary in all, and in such other things besides, as seemed not to concern the War, managed the State, according to their private ambition and covetousness, perniciously both for themselves, and their Confederates. What succeeded well, the honour and profit of it, came most to private men; and what miscarried, was to the Cities detriment in the War. The reason whereof was this, that being a man of great power, both for his dignity and wisdom, and for bribes, manifestly the most incorrupt, he freely controuled the multitude, and was not so much led by them, as he led them. Because (having gotten his power by no evil Arts) he would not humour them in his Speeches, but out of his authority,

durst

Pericles fined in a sum of money.

Athens at the greatest in the time of *Pericles*.

The death of *Pericles*.

* *Plutarch* says, he dyed of the Plague.

The commendation of *Pericles*.

durst anger them with contradiction. Therefore whensoever he saw them out of season insolently bold, he would with his Orations put them into a fear; and again when they were afraid without reason, he would likewise erect their spirits, and imbolden them. It was in name a State *Democratical*, but in fact, *A government of the principal Man*. But they that came after, being more equal amongst themselves, and affecting every one to be the chiefe, applyed themselves to the people, and let go the care of the Common-wealth. From whence, amongst many other errors, as was likely in a great and dominant City, proceeded also the voyage into *Sicily*, which was not so much upon mistaking those whom they went against, as for want of knowledge in the senders, of what was necessary for those that went the voyage. For through private quarrels about, who should bear the greatest sway with the people, they both abated the vigour of the Army, and then also first troubled the State at home with division. Being overthrown in *Sicily*, and having lost, besides other ammunition, the greatest part of their Navy, and the City being then in sedition, yet they held out 3 years, both against their first enemies, and the *Sicilians* with them, and against most of their revolted Confederates besides, and also afterwards against *Cyrus* the *Kings* son, who took part with, and sent mony to the *Peloponnesians*, to maintain their Fleet; and never shrunk till they had overthrown themselves with private dissentions. So much was in *Pericles* above other men at that time, that he could foresee by what means the City might easily have outlasted the *Peloponnesians* in this War.

The *Lacedemonians* and their Confederates, made War the same Summer with 100 Gallies, against *Zacynthus*, an Iland lying over against *Elis*. The Inhabitants whereof were a Colony of the *Acheans* of *Peloponnesus*, but Confederates of the people of *Athens*. There went in this Fleet, 1000 men of Arms, and *Cnemus* a *Spartan* for Admiral, who landing, wasted the greatest part of the Territory. But they of the Iland not yielding, they put off again, and went home.

In the end of the same Summer, *Aristeus* of *Corinth*, and *Anaristus*, *Nicolaus*, *Pratodemus*, and *Timagoras* of *Tegea*, Ambassadors of the *Lacedemonians*, and *Polis* of *Argos*, a private man, as they were travelling into *Asia* to the *King*, to get mony of him, and to draw him into their league, took *Thrace* in their way, and came unto *Sitalces* the son of *Teres*, with a desire to get him also, if they could, to forsake the league with *Athens*, and to send his Forces to *Potidea*, which the *Athenian* Army now besieged, and not to aid the *Athenians* any longer: and withall to get leave to pass through his Country to the other side of *Hellepont*, to go, as they intended, to *Pharnabazus*, the son of *Pharnaces*, who would convey them to the *King*. but the Ambassadors of *Athens*, *Learchus*, the son of *Callimachus*, and *Ameiniades* the son of *Philemon*, then resident with *Sitalces*, perswaded *Sadocus* the son of *Sitalces*, who was now a Citizen of *Athens*, to put them into their hands, that they might not go to the *King*, and do hurt to City, whereof he himself was now a member. Whereunto condescending, as they journeyed through *Thrace*, to take Ship to cross the *Hellepont*, * he apprehended them before they got to the Ship, by such others as he sent along with *Learchus* and *Ameiniades*, with command to deliver them into their hands; and they when they had them, sent them away to *Athens*. When they came thither, the *Athenians* fearing *Aristeus*, lest escaping, he should do them further mischief, (for he was manifestly the Author of all the business of *Potidea*, and

The *Lacedemonians* war against *Zacynthus*.

Zante.

The *Lacedemonian* Ambassadors taken by the *Athenian* Ambassadors in *Thrace* and went to *Athens*.

* A vile act of *Sadocus* to gratifie the *Athenians*, because they had made him free of their City.

about

The Athenians put them to death.

* *Oxycetes* Ships of the round form of building; for the use of Merchants, not for the use of war, as were Gallies, and other Vessels of the long form of building.
The Ambraciots war on Acarnania.

about *Thrace*) the same day put them all to death, unjudged, and desirous to have spoken; and threw them into the Pits, thinking it but just to take revenge of the *Lacedæmonians* that began it, and had slain and thrown into Pits, the Merchants of the *Athenians* and their Confederates, whom they took sailing in * Merchants Ships, about the Coast of *Peloponnesus*. For in the beginning of the War, the *Lacedæmonians* slew as Enemies whomsoever they took at Sea, whether Confederates of the *Athenians*, or neutral, all alike.

About the same time, in the end of Summer, the *Ambraciots*, both they themselves, and divers *Barbarian* Nations by them raised, made War against *Argos* of *Amphilochia*, and against the rest of that Territory. The quarrel between them and the *Argives* arose first from hence. This *Argos* and the rest of *Amphilochia*, was planted by *Amphilochus* the son of *Amphiraus*, after the Trojan War; who at his return, misliking the then State of *Argos*, built this City in the Gulf of *Ambracia*, and called it *Argos*, after the name of his own Countrey. And it was the greatest City, and had the most wealthy Inhabitants of all *Amphilochia*. But many Generations after, being fallen into misery, they communicated their City with the *Ambraciots*, bordering upon *Amphilochia*. And then they first learned the *Greek* Language now used, from the *Ambraciots* that lived among them. For the rest of the *Amphilochians* were *Barbarians*. Now the *Ambraciots* in process of time drove out the *Argives*, and held the City by themselves: whereupon the *Amphilochians* submitted themselves to the *Acarnanians*, and both together called in the *Athenians*, who sent 30 Gallies to their aid, and *Phormio* for General. *Phormio* being arrived, took *Argos* by assault, and making slaves of the *Ambraciots*, put the Town into the joint possessions of the *Amphilochians* and *Acarnanians*; and this was the beginning of the League between the *Athenians* and *Acarnanians*. The *Ambraciots* therefore deriving their hatred to the *Argives* from this their Captivity, came in with an Army partly of their own, and partly raised amongst the *Chaonians*, and other neighbouring *Barbarians* now in this War. And coming to *Argos*, were Masters of the Field; but when they could not take the City by assault, they returned, and disbanding, went every Nation to his own. These were the Acts of the Summer.

The end of the second Summer.

* *Lepanto*.

* *Oxycetes*.

Potidea rendred to the *Athenians*.

In the beginning of Winter the *Athenians* sent 20 Gallies about *Peloponnesus*, under the command of *Phormio*, who coming to lie at * *Naupactus*, guarded the passage that none might go in or out from *Corinth* and the *Crissæan* Gulf. And other 6 Gallies, under the Conduct of *Melesander*, they sent into *Caria* and *Lycia*, as well to gather tribute in those parts, as also to hinder the *Peloponnesian* Pirates, lying on those Coasts, from molesting the Navigation of such * Merchant Ships as they expected to come to them from *Phaselis*, *Phœnicia*, and that part of the Continent. But *Melesander* landing in *Lycia* with such Forces of the *Athenians* and their Confederates as he had aboard, was overcome in Battel and slain, with the loss of a part of his Army.

The same Winter the *Potidæans* unable any longer to endure the Siege, seeing the Invasion of *Attica* by the *Peloponnesians*, could not make them rise, and seeing their Victual failed, and that they were forced, amongst divers other things done by them, for necessity of Food, to eat one another, propounded at length to *Xenophon* the son of *Euripides*, *Hestiodorus* the son of *Aristoclidæ*, and *Phanommachus* the son of *Callimachus*, the *Athenian* Commanders that lay before the City, to give the same into

into their hands. And they, seeing both that the Army was already afflicted by lying in that cold place, and that the State had already spent * 2000 Talents upon the Siege, accepted of it. The conditions agreed on, were these; *To depart, they and their Wives and Children, and their auxiliary Souldiers, every man with one sute of clothes, and every woman with two; and to take with them every one a certain sum of money for his charges by the way.* Hereupon a Truce was granted them to depart, and they went, some to the *Chalcidians*, and others to other places, as they could get to. But the people of *Athens* called the Commanders in question, for compounding without them, conceiving that they might have gotten the City to discretion. And sent afterwards a Colony to *Potidea* of their own Citizens. These were the things done in this Winter. And so ended the second Year of this War, written by *Thucydides*.

275000. pound sterling.

The next Summer the *Peloponnesians* and their Confederates came not into *Attica*, but turned their Arms against *Plataea*, led by *Archidamus* the son of *Zeuxidamus* King of the *Lacedæmonians*, who having pitched his Camp, was about to waste the Territory thereof. But the *Plataeans* sent Ambassadors presently unto him, with words to this effect: *Archidamus, and you Lacedæmonians, you do neither justly, nor worthy your selves and Ancestors, in making War upon Plataea. For Pausanias of Lacedæmon, the son of Cleombrotus, having (together with such Grecians as were content to undergo the danger of the Battel that was fought in this our Territory) delivered all Greece from the slavery of the Persians, when he offered Sacrifice in the Marketplace of Plataea to Jupiter the Deliverer, called together all the Confederates, and granted to the Plataeans this priviledge; That their City and Territory should be free: that none should make any unjust War against them, nor go about to subject them; and if any did, the Confederates then present, should to their utmost ability, revenge their quarrel. These Priviledges your Fathers granted us for our valour and zeal in those dangers. But now do you the clean contrary, for you join with our greatest Enemies, the Thebans, to bring us into subjection. Therefore calling to witness the Gods then sworn by, and the Gods both of your and our Country, we require you, that you do no damage to the Territory of Plataea, nor violate those Oaths; but that you suffer us to enjoy our liberty in such sort as was allowed us by Pausanias.*

Year III.
The siege of Plataea.

The Plataeans
Speech to Archidamus.

The *Plataeans* having thus said, *Archidamus* replied, and said thus: *Men of Plataea, If you would do as ye say, you say what is just. For as Pausanias hath granted to you, so also be you free; and help to set free the rest, who having been partakers of the same dangers then, and being comprised in the same Oath with your selves, are now brought into subjection by the Athenians. And this so great preparation and War is onely for the deliverance of them, and others: of which if you will especially participate, keep your Oaths, at least (as we have also advised you formerly) be quiet, and enjoy your own, in neutrality, receiving both sides in the way of friendship, neither side in the way of faction.* Thus said *Archidamus*. And the Ambassadors of *Plataea*, when they had heard him, returned to the City; and having communicated his answer to the People, brought word again to *Archidamus*, *That what he had advised, was impossible for them to perform, without leave of the Athenians, in whose keeping were their Wives and Children; and that they feared also for the whole City, lest when the Lacedæmonians were gone, the Athenians should come and take the custody of it out of their hands; or that the Thebans comprehended in the Oath of receiving both sides, should again attempt to surprize it.* But *Archidamus* to en-

The Answer of Archidamus to the Plataeans.

The reply of the Plataeans.

The Answer of Archidamus to their reply.

encourage them, made this Answer: *Deliver you unto us Lacedæmonians your City and your Houses, shew us the bounds of your Territory, give us your Trees by tale, and whatsoever else can be numbred, and depart your selves whither you shall think good, as long as the War lasteth; and when it shall be ended, we will deliver it all unto you again: in the mean time we will keep them as deposited, and will cultivate your ground, and pay you rent for it, as much as shall suffice for your maintenance.*

The Plateans reply again and desire to know the pleasure of the people of Athens.

Hereupon the Ambassadors went again into the City, and having consulted with the people, made answer; *That they would first acquaint the Athenians with it, and if they would consent they would then accept the condition: till then, they desired a suspension of Arms, and not to have their Territory wasted.* Upon this he granted them so many days Truce as was requisite for their return, and for so long, forbore to waste their Territory. When the Platean Ambassadors were arrived at Athens, and had advised on the matter with the Athenians, they returned to the City with this Answer: *The Athenians say thus: That neither in former times, since we were their Confederates, did they ever abandon us to the injury of any, nor will they now neglect us, but give us their utmost assistance. And they conjure us by the Oath of our Fathers, not to make any alienation touching the League.*

The Athenians message to the Plateans.

When the Ambassadors had made this report, the Plateans resolved in their Councils not to betray the Athenians, but rather to endure, if it must be, the wasting of their Territory before their eyes, and to suffer whatsoever misery could befall them; and no more to go forth, but from the Walls to make this Answer: *That it was impossible for them to do as the Lacedæmonians had required.* When they had answered so, Archidamus the King first made a Protestation to the Gods and Heroes of the Countrey, saying thus: *All ye Gods and Heroes, Protectors of Platais, be witnesses that we neither invade this Territory, wherein our Fathers, after their Vows unto you, overcame the Medes, and which you made propitious for the Grecians to fight in, unjustly now in the beginning; because they have first broken the League they had sworn: nor what we shall further do will be any injury, because though we have offered many and reasonable conditions, they have yet been all refused. Assent ye also to the punishment of the beginners of injury, and to the revenge of those that bear lawful Arms.*

The Plateans last answer to Archidamus from the Wall.

Archidamus protestation.

Having made this Protestation to the Gods, he made ready his Army for the War. And first having felled Trees, he therewith made a Palizado about the Town, that none might go out. That done, he raised a Mount against the Wall, hoping with so great an Army all at work at once, to have quickly taken it. And having cut down Wood in the Hill Cithæron, they built a Frame of Timber, and watted it about on either side, to serve in stead of Walls, to keep the Earth from falling too much away and cast into it stones, and earth, and whatsoever else would serve to fill it up. 70 days and nights continually they poured on, deviding the work between them for rest in such manner, as some might be carrying, whilst others took their sleep and food. And they were urged to labour, by the Lacedæmonians that commanded the Mercenaries of the several Cities, and had the charge of the work. The Plateans seeing the Mount to rise, made the frame of a Wall with Wood, which having placed on the Wall of the City, in the place where the Mount touched, they built it within full of Bricks, taken from the adjoining houses, for that purpose demolished; the Timber serving to bind them together, that the building might not be weakned

A mount raised against Plataea.

The Plateans raise their Wall higher against the mount, by a frame of Timber, in which they layed their Bricks.

weakned by the height. The same was also covered with Hides and Quilts, both to keep the Timber from shot of Wildfire, and those that wrought from danger. So that the height of the Wall was great on one side, and the Mount went up as fast on the other. The *Plateans* used also this device; they brake a hole in their own Wall, where the Mount joined, and drew the Earth from it into the City. But the *Peloponnesians*, when they found it out, took Clay, and therewith daubing Hurdles of Reeds, cast the same into the chink, which mouldring not, as did the Earth, they could not draw it away. The *Plateans* excluded here, gave over that Plot, and digging a secret Mine, which they carried under the Mount from within the City by conjecture, fetched away the Earth again, and were a long time undiscovered; so that still casting on, the Mount grew still less, the Earth being drawn away below, and setting over the part where it was voided. The *Plateans* nevertheless, fearing that they should not be able even thus to hold out, being few against many, devised this further: they gave over working at the high Wall against the Mount, and beginning at both ends of it, where the Wall was low, built another Wall in form of a Crescent, inward to the City, that if the great Wall were taken, this might resist, and put the Enemy to make another Mount; and by coming further in, to be at double pains, and withall more encompassable with shot. The *Peloponnesians*, together with the raising of the Mount, brought to the City their Engines of Battery; one of which, by help of the Mount, they applied to the high Wall, wherewith they much shook it, and put the *Plateans* into great fear; and others to other parts of the Wall, which the *Plateans* partly turned aside, by casting Ropes about them, and partly with great Beams, which being hung in long iron Chains by either end upon two other great Beams jetting over, and inclining from above the Wall like two horns, they drew up to them athwart, and where the Engine was about to light, slacking the Chains, and letting their hands go, they let fall with violence, to break the beak of it. After this, the *Peloponnesians* seeing their Engines availed not, and thinking it hard to take the City by any present violence, prepared themselves to besiege it. But first they thought fit to attempt it by Fire, being no great City, and when the wind should rise, if they could, to burn it. For there was no way they did not think on, to have gained it without Expence and long Siege. Having therefore brought Faggots, they cast them from the Mount, into the space between it and their new Wall, which by so many hands was quickly filled; and then into as much of the rest of the City as at that distance they could reach: and throwing amongst them fire, together with Brimstone and Pitch, kindled the Wood, and raised such a flame, as the like was never seen before, made by the hand of man. For as for the Woods in the Mountains, the Trees have indeed taken fire, but it hath been by mutual attrition, and have flamed out of their own accord. But this Fire was a great one, and the *Plateans* that had escaped other mischiefs, wanted little of being consumed by this. For near the Wall they could not get by a great way: and if the Wind had been with it (as the Enemy hoped it might) they could never have escaped. It is also reported, that there fell much rain then, with great Thunder, and that the flame was extinguished, and the danger ceased by that. The *Peloponnesians*, when they failed likewise of this, retaining a part of their Army, and dismissing the rest, enclosed the City about with a Wall, dividing the circumference thereof to the

The *Plateans* devise to draw the Earth from the Mount thorow the Wall. The *Peloponnesians* remedy that evil.

The *Plateans* fetch the Earth away from under the Mount by a Mine.

The *Plateans* make another Wall within that which was to the Mount.

The *Peloponnesians* assault the Wall with Engines.

The *Plateans* defence against the Engines.

The *Peloponnesians* throw Faggots and Fire into the Town, from the Mount.

A great Fire.

■ In the beginning of September. The Siege laid to Platea.

charge of the several Cities. There was a Ditch both within and without it, out of which they made their Bricks; and after it was finished, which was about the * rising of *Arcturus*, they left a guard for one half of the Wall, (for the other was guarded by the *Bœotians*) and departed with the rest of their Army, and were dissolved according to their Cities. The *Plateans* had before this, sent their Wives and Children, and all their unserviceable men to *Athens*. The rest were besieged, being in number, of the *Plateans* themselves 400, of *Athenians* 80, and 100 Women to dress their meat. These were all when the Siege was first laid, and not one more, neither free nor bond in the City. In this manner was the City besieged.

The Athenians send all Army against the Chalcideans.

The same Summer, at the same time that this Journey was made against *Platea*, the *Athenians* with 2000 men of Arms of their own City, and 200 Horsemen, made War upon the *Chalcideans* of *Thrace*, and the *Bottians*, when the Corn was at the highest, under the conduct of *Xenophon* the son of *Eurypides*, and two others. These coming before *Spartolus* in *Bottia*, destroyed the Corn, and expected that the Town should have been rendred by the practice of some within. But such as would not have it so, having sent for aid to *Olynthus* before, there came into the City for safeguard thereof, a supply both of men of Arms, and other Souldiers from thence. And these issuing forth of *Spartolus*, the *Athenians* put themselves into order of Battel under the Town it self. The men of Arms of the *Chalcideans*, and certain Auxiliaries with them, were overcome by the *Athenians*, and retired within *Spartolus*. And the Horsemen of the *Chalcideans*, and their light-armed Souldiers, overcame the Horsemen, and light-armed of the *Athenians*; but they had some few Targetiers besides, of the Territory called *Chrusis*. When the Battel was now begun, came a supply of other Targetiers from *Olynthus*, which the light armed Souldiers of *Spartolus* perceiving, emboldned both by this addition of strength, and also as having had the better before, with the *Chalcidean* Horse, and this new supply, charged the *Athenians* afresh. The *Athenians* hereupon retired to two companies they had left with the Carriages; and as oft as the *Athenians* charged, the *Chalcideans* retired; and when the *Athenians* retired, the *Chalcideans* charged them with their shot. Especially the *Chalcidean* Horsemen rode up, and charging them where they thought fit, forced the *Athenians* in extream affright, to turn their backs, and chased them a great way. The *Athenians* fled to *Potideia*, and having afterwards fetched away the bodies of their dead upon truce, returned with the remainder of their Army, to *Athens*. Four hundred and thirty men they lost, and their cheif Commanders all three. And the *Chalcideans* and *Bottians*, when they had set up a Trophy, and taken up their dead bodies, disbanded and went every one to his City.

And overthrown with the loss of three Commanders.

The Ambraciots invade Acarnania, together with the Lacedæmonians.

Not long after this, the same Summer, the *Ambraciotes* and *Chaonians*, desiring to subdue all *Acarnania*, and to make it revolt from the *Athenians*, perswaded the *Lacedæmonians* to make ready a Fleet out of the Confederate Cities, and to send 1000 men of Arms into *Acarnania*; saying, that if they aided them both with a Fleet, and a Land Army at once, the *Acarnanians* of the Sea-coast being thereby disabled to assist the rest, having easily gained *Acarnania*, they might be Masters afterward both of *Zacynthus* and *Cephalonia*, and the *Athenians* hereafter less able to make their voyages about *Peloponnesus*; and that there was a hope besides to take *Naxos*. The *Peloponnesians* assenting, sent thither *Cnemus*, who was yet Admiral, with his men of Arms, in a few Gallies immediatly; and

and withall sent word to the Cities about, as soon as their Gallies were ready, to sail with all speed to *Leucas*. Now the *Corinthians* were very zealous in the behalf of the *Ambraciotes*, as being their own Colony. And the Gallies which were to go from *Corinth*, *Sicyonia*, and that part of the Coast, were now making ready; and those of the *Leucadians*, *Anacthorians*, and *Ambraciotes*, were arrived before, and stayed at *Leucas* for their comming. *Cnemus* and his 1000 men of Arms when they had crossed the Sea undiscried of *Phormio*, who commanded the 20 *Athenian* Gallies that kept watch at *Naupactus*, presently prepared for the War by Land. He had in his Army, of *Grecians*, the *Ambraciots*, *Leucadians*, *Anacthorians*, and the thousand *Peloponnesians* he brought with him; and of *Barbarians*, a thousand *Chaonians*, who have no King, but were led by *Photius* and *Nicanor*, which two being of the Families eligible had now the annual government. With the *Chaonians* came also the *Thesprotians*, they also without a King. The *Molossians*, and *Antitanians* were led by *Sabylinthus*, protector of *Tharups* their King, who was yet in minority. The *Paraveans* were led by their King *Orædus*; and under *Orædus*, served likewise, by permission of *Antiochus* their King, a thousand *Orestians*. Also *Perdiccas* sent thither, unknown to the *Athenians*, a thousand *Macedonians*; but these last were not yet arrived. With this Army began *Cnemus* to march, without staying for the Fleet from *Corinth*. And passing through *Argia*, they destroyed *Limnea*, a Town unwall'd. From thence they marched towards *Stratus*, the greatest City of *Acarnania*; conceiving that if they could take this first, the rest would come easily in. The *Acarnanians* seeing a great Army by Land was entred their Country already, and expecting the enemy also by Sea, joined not to succour *Stratus*, but guarded every one his own, and sent for aid to *Phormeo*. But he answered them, that since there was a Fleet to be set forth from *Corinth*, he could not leave *Naupactus* without a guard. The *Peloponnesians* and their Confederates, with their Army divided into three, marched on towards the City of the *Stratians*, to the end that being encamped neer it, if they yeelded not on parley, they might presently assault the Walls. So they went on, the *Chaonians* and other *Barbarians* in the middle; the *Leucadians*, and *Anacthorians*, and such others as were with these, on the right hand; and *Cnemus*, with the *Peloponnesians* and *Ambraciots* on the left; each Army at great distance, and sometimes out of sight one of another. The *Grecians* in their march kept their order, and went warily on, till they had gotten a convenient place to encamp in. But the *Chaonians* confident of themselves, and by the inhabitants of that Continent accounted most warlike, had not the patience to take in any ground for a Camp, but carried furiously on, together with the rest of the *Barbarians*, thought to have taken the Town by their clamour, and to have the Action ascribed onely to themselves. But they of *Stratus*, aware of this, whilst they were yet in their way, and imagining, if they could overcome these, thus divided from the other two Armies, that the *Grecians* also would be the less forward to come on, placed divers Ambushes not far from the City, and when the enemies approached, fell upon them, both from the City, and from the Ambushes at once, and putting them into affright, slew many of the *Chaonians* upon the place. And the rest of the *Barbarians* seeing these to shrink, staid no longer, but fled outright. Neither of the *Grecian* Armies had knowledge of this Skirmish, because they were gone so far before, to chuse (as they then thought) a commodious place to pitch in.

But

Lepanto.

The Army of the
Ambraciots and their
Confederates.

They go toward
Stratus.

Stratus the greatest
City of *Acarnania*.

Wariness of the *Grecians*.
Rashness of the *Chaonians*.

Stratagem of the
Stratians.

But when the *Barbarians* came back upon them running, they received them, and joyning both Camps together, stirred no more for that day. And the *Stratians* assaulted them not, for want of the aid of the rest of the *Acarnianians*, but used their slings against them, and troubled them much that way. For without their men of Arms, there was no stirring for them. And in this kind the *Acarnianians* are held excellent.

When night came, *Cnemus* withdrew his Army to the River *Anapus*, from *Stratus* 80 Furlongs, and fetched off the dead bodies upon truce the next day. And whereas the City *Oeriades* was come in of it self, he made his retreat thither, before the *Acarnianians* should assemble with their succours; and from thence went every one home. And the *Stratians* set up a Trophy of the Skirmish against the *Barbarians*.

In the mean time the Fleet of *Corinth*, and the other Confederates, that was to set out from the *Crissæan* Gulf, and to join with *Cnemus* to hinder the lower *Acarnianians* from aiding the upper, came not at all; but were compelled to fight with *Phormio*, and those twenty *Athenian* Gallies that kept Watch at *Naupactus*, about the same time that the Skirmish was at *Stratus*. For as they sailed along the Shore, *Phormio* waited on them till they were out of the Streight, intending to set upon them in the open Sea. And the *Corinthians* and their Confederates went not as to fight by Sea, but furnished rather for the Land Service in *Acarmania*; and never thought that the *Athenians* with their twenty Gallies, durst fight with theirs, that were seven and forty. Nevertheless when they saw that the *Athenians*, as themselves sailed by one Shore, kept over against them on the other, and that now when they went off from *Patrae* in *Achaia*, to go over to *Acarmania* in the opposite Continent, the *Athenians* came towards them from *Chalcis* and the River *Euenus*, and also knew that they had come to Anchor there the night before, they found they were then to fight of necessity, directly against the mouth of the Streight. The Commanders of the Fleet were such as the Cities that set it forth had severally appointed; but of the *Corinthians* these, *Machon*, *Isocrates*, and *Agatharchidas*. The *Peloponnesians* ordered their Fleet in such manner, as they made thereof a Circle as great as, without leaving the spaces so wide as for the *Athenians* to pass through, they were possibly able; with the stems of their Gallies outward, and sterns inward, and into the midst thereof, received such small Vessels as came with them; and also five of their swiftest Gallies, the which were at narrow passages to come forth in whatsoever part the Enemy should charge.

But the *Athenians* with their Gallies ordered one after one in File, went round them, and shrunk them up together, by wiping them ever as they past, and putting them in expectation of present fight. But *Phormio* had before forbidden them to fight, till he himself had given them the signal. For he hoped that this Order of theirs would not last long, as in an Army on Land, but that the Gallies would fall foul of one another, and be troubled also with the smaller Vessels in the midst. And if the Wind should also blow out of the Gulf, in expectation whereof he so went round them, and which * usually blew there every morning, he made account they would then instantly be disordered. As for giving the onset, because his Gallies were more agile than the Gallies of the Enemy, he thought it was in his own election, and would be most opportune on that occasion. When this Wind was up, and the Gallies of the *Peloponnesians* being already contracted into a narrow compass,

were

The *Peloponnesians* and *Ambraciots* retire without effect. *Phormio* with 20 Gallies of *Athens*, overcometh 47 of the *Peloponnesian* Gallies.

The order of the *Peloponnesian* Gallies.

The order of the *Athenian* Gallies, and the Stratagem of *Phormio*.

* A set wind which blew every morning there from the East, caused as it seemeth, by the approach of the Sun.

were both ways troubled by the Wind, and withall by their own lesser Vessels that incumbered them; and when one Gally fell foul of another, and the Mariners laboured to set them clear with their Poles, and through the noise they made, keeping off, and reviling each other, heard nothing, neither of their charge, nor of the Gallies direction; and for want of Skill, unable to keep up their Oars in a troubled Sea, rendred the Gallie untractable to him that sate at the Helm, Then, and with this opportunity he gave the signal. And the *Athenians* charging, drowned first one of the Admiral Gallies, and divers others after it, in the several parts they assaulted; and brought them to that pass at length, that not one applying himself to the fight, they fled all towards *Patrae* and *Dyme*, Cities of *Achaia*. The *Athenians*, after they had chased them, and taken twelve Gallies, and slain most of the men that were in them, fell of, and went to *Molychrium*; and when they had there set up a Trophy, and consecrated one Gally to *Neptune*, they returned with the rest to *Naupactus*. The *Peloponnesians* with the remainder of their Fleet, went presently along the Coast of *Cyllene*, the Arsenal of the *Eleans*; and thither, after the Battel at *Stratus*, came also *Cnemus* from *Leucas*, and with him those Gallies that were there, and with which this other Fleet should have been joined.

The *Peloponnesians* flee.

After this, the *Lacedaemonians* sent unto *Cnemus* to the Fleet, *Timocrates*, *Brasidas*, and *Lycophron* to be of his Council, with command to prepare for another better fight, and not to suffer a few Gallies to deprive them of the use of the Sea. For they thought this accident (especially being their first proof by Sea) very much against reason; and that it was not so much a defect of the Fleet, as of their courage: never comparing the long practice of the *Athenians*, with their own short study in these businesses. And therefore they sent these men thither in passion: who being arrived with *Cnemus*, intimated to the Cities about to provide their Gallies, and caused those they had before, to be repaired. *Phormio* likewise sent to *Athens*, to make known both the Enemies preparation, and his own former Victory; and withall to will them to send speedily unto him, as many Gallies as they could make ready; because they were every day in expectation of a new fight. Hereupon they sent him 20 Gallies, but commanded him that had the charge of them to go first into *Crete*.

Preparation for another fight.

For *Nicias* a *Cretan* of *Gortys*, the publick Host of the *Athenians*, had perswaded them to a Voyage against *Cydonia*, telling them they might take it in, being now their Enemy. Which he did, to gratifie the *Polychnites*, that bordered upon the *Cydonians*. Therefore with these Gallies he sailed into *Crete*, and together with the *Polychnites*, wasted the Territory of the *Cydonians*; where also, by reason of the Winds, and Weather unfit to take Sea in, he wasted not a little of his time.

Twenty sail of *Athenians*, sent to aid *Phormio*, stay in *Crete*.

In the mean time, whilest these *Athenians* were Wind-bound in *Crete*, the *Peloponnesians* that were in *Cyllene*, in order of Battel sailed along the Coast to *Panormus* of *Achaia*, to which also were their Land Forces come to aid them. *Phormio* likewise sailed by the shore to *Rhium* *Molychricum*, and anchored without it, with twenty Gallies, the same he had used in the former Battel. Now this *Rhium* was of the *Athenians* side, and the other *Rhium* in *Peloponnesus*, lies on the opposite Shore, distant from it at the most but seven furlongs of Sea; and these two make the mouth of the *Crissean* Gulfe. The *Peloponnesians* therefore came to an anchor at *Rhium* of *Achaia*, with 77 Gallies, not far from *Panormus*, where

The *Peloponnesians* sail by the Coast of *Panormus*.

where they left their Land Forces. After they saw the *Athenians*, and had lain six or seven dayes one against the other, meditating and providing for the Battel, the *Peloponnesians* not intending to put off without *Rhium* into the wide Sea, for fear of what they had suffered by it before; nor the other to enter the Streight, because to fight within, they thought to be the Enemies advantage. At last, *Cnemus*, *Brasidas*, and the other Commanders of the *Peloponnesians*, desiring to fight speedily before a new supply should arrive from *Athens*, called the Souldiers together, and seeing the most of them to be fearful through their former defeat, and not forward to fight again, encouraged them first with words to this effect.

The Oration of C N E M U S.

MEN of Peloponnesus, If any of you be afraid of the Battel at hand, for the success of the Battel past, his fear is without ground. For you know we were inferiour to them then in preparation, and set not forth as to a fight at Sea, but rather to an expedition by Land. Fortune likewise crossed us in many things, and somewhat we miscarried by unskilfulness, so as the loss can no way be ascribed to cowardice. Nor is it just, so long as we were not overcome by meer force, but have somewhat to alledge in our excuse, that the mind should be dejected for the calamity of the event. But we must think, that though Fortune may fail men, yet the courage of a valiant man can never fail, and not that we may justify cowardise in any thing, by pretending want of Skill, and yet be truly valiant. And yet you are not so much short of their Skill, as you exceed them in Valour. And though this knowledge of theirs which you so much fear, joined with courage, will not be without a memory also, to put what they know in execution, yet without courage no act in the World is of any force in the time of danger. For fear confoundeth the memory, and skill without courage availeth nothing. To their odds therefore of Skill, oppose your odds of Valour; and to the fear caused by your overthrow, oppose your being then unprovided. You have further now, a greater Fleet, and to fight on your own Shore, with your Aids at hand of men of Arms: and for the most part, the greatest number, and best provided, get the Victory. So that we can neither see any one cause in particular, why we should miscarry; and whatsoever were our wants in the former Battel, supplied in this, will now turn to our instruction. With courage therefore, both Masters and Mariners follow every man in his Order, not forsaking the place assigned him. And for us, we shall order the Battel as well as the former Commanders; and leave no excuse to any man of his Cowardise. And if any will needs be a Coward, he shall receive condign punishment, and the Valiant shall be rewarded according to their merit.

Thus did the Commanders encourage the *Peloponnesians*.

Phormio doubteth of the courage of his Souldiers.

And *Phormio*, he likewise doubting that his Souldiers were but faint-hearted, and observing they had consultations apart, and were afraid of the multitude of the Enemies Gallies, thought good, having called them together, to encourage and admonish them upon the present occasion. For though he had always before told them, and predisposed their minds to an opinion that there was no number of Gallies so great, which setting upon them, they ought not to undertake; and also most

of

of the Souldiers had of long time assumed a conceit of themselves, that being *Athenians*, they ought not to decline any number of Gallies whatsoever of the *Peloponnesians*; yet when he saw that the sight of the Enemy present had dejected them, he thought fit to revive their courage, and having assembled the *Athenians*, said thus:

And encourageth them.

The Oration of PHORMIO.

Souldiers, having observed your fear of the Enemies number, I have called you together, not enduring to see you terrified with things that are not terrible. For first they have prepared this great number and odds of Gallies, for that they were overcome before, and because they are even in their own opinions too weak for us. And next, their present boldness proceeds onely from their knowledge in Land Service, in confidence whereof (as if to be Valiant were peculiar unto them) they are now come up; wherein having for the most part prospered, they think to do the same in Service by Sea. But in reason the odds must be ours in this, as well as it is theirs in the other kind. For in courage they exceed us not, and as touching the advantage of either side, we may better be bold now then they. And the Lacedæmonians, who are the Leaders of the Confederates, bring them to fight, for the greatest part (in respect of the opinion they have of us) against their wills; for else they would never have undertaken a new Battel after they were once so clearly overthrown. Fear not therefore any great boldness on their part. But the fear which they have of you is far both greater and more certain, not onely for that you have overcome them before, but also for this, that they would never believe you would go about to resist, unless you had some notable thing to put in practice upon them. For when the Enemy is the greater number, as these are now, they invade chiefly upon confidence of their strength. But they that are much the fewer must have some great and sure design when they dare fight unconstrained. Wherewith these men now amazed, fear us more for our unlikely preparation, then they would if it were more proportionable. Besides, many great Armies have been overcome by the lesser through unskilfulness, and some also by timorousness, both which we our selves are free from. As for the Battel, I will not willingly fight it in the Gulf, nor go in thither; seeing that to a few Gallies with nimbleness and Art, against many without Art, streightness of room is disadvantage. For neither can one charge with the beak of the Gally as is fit, unless he have sight of the Enemy a far off, or if he be himself over-pressed, again get clear. Nor is there any getting through them, or turning to and fro at ones pleasure, which are all the works of such Gallies as have their advantage in agility; but the Sea-fight would of necessity be the same with a Battel by Land, wherein the greater number must have the better. But of this, I shall my self take the best care I am able. In the mean time keep you your Order well in the Gallies, and every man receive his charge readily, and the rather because the Enemy is at Anchor so near us. In the fight, have in great estimation, Order and Silence, as things of great force in most Military actions, especially in a fight by Sea, and charge these your Enemies according to the worth of your former Acts. You are to fight for a great Wager, either to destroy the hope of the Peloponnesian Navies, or to bring the fear of the Sea nearer home to the Athenians. Again, Let me tell you, you have beaten them once already; and men once overcome, will not come again to the danger so well resolved as before.

Thus did Phormio also encourage his Souldiers.

N

The

The stratagem of
the Peloponnesians.

The *Peloponnesians*, when they saw the *Athenians* would not enter the Gulf and Streight, desiring to draw them in against their wills, weighed Anchor, and betime in the morning having arranged their Gallies by four and four in a rank, sailed along their own Coast, within the Gulf, leading the way, in the same order as they had lain at Anchor with their right Wing. In this Wing they had placed 20 of their swiftest Gallies, to the end that if *Phormio*, thinking them going to *Naupactus*, should for safeguard of the Town, sail along his own Coast likewise, within the Streight, the *Athenians* might not be able to get beyond that Wing of theirs and avoid the impression, but be enclosed by their Gallies on both sides. *Phormio* fearing (as they expected) what might become of the Town now without guard, as soon as he saw them from Anchor, against his will, and in extream haste went aboard, and sailed along the Shore with the Land Forces of the *Messenians* marching by to aid him. The *Peloponnesians* when they saw them sail in one long File, Gally after Gally, and that they were now in the Gulf, and by the Shoar, (which they most desired) upon one sign given, turned suddenly, every one as fast as he could upon the *Athenians*, hoping to have intercepted them every Gally. But of those the eleven foremost avoiding that Wing, and the turn made by the *Peloponnesians*, got out into the open Sea. The rest they intercepted, and driving them to the Shore, sunk them.

The *Peloponnesians*,
give the onset.

The men, as many as swam not out, they slew, and the Gallies some they tied to their own, and towed them away empty, and one with the men and all in her they had already taken. But the *Messenian* succours on Land, entring the Sea with their Arms, got aboard of some of them, and fighting from the Decks, recovered them again, after they were already towing away. And in this part the *Peloponnesians* had the Victory, and overcame the Gallies of the *Athenians*. Now the 20 Gallies that were their right Wing, gave chase to those eleven *Athenian* Gallies, which had avoided them when they turned, and were gotten into the open Sea. These flying toward *Naupactus*, arrived there before the Enemies all save one, and when they came under the Temple of *Apollo*, turned their Beak-heads, and put themselves in readiness for defence, in case the enemy should follow them to the Land. But the *Peloponnesians* as they came after, were **Pæanizing*, as if they had already had the Victory; and one Gally which was of *Leucas*, being far before the rest, gave chase to one *Athenian* Gally that was behind the rest of the *Athenians*. Now it chanced that there lay out into the Sea a certain Ship at Anchor, to which the *Athenian* Gally first coming, fetcht a compass about her, and came back full but against the *Leucadian* Gally that gave her chase and sunk her. Upon this unexpected and unlikely accident they began to fear, and having also followed the chase, as being Victors, disorderly, some of them let down their Oars into the Water and hindred the way of their Gallies (a matter of very ill consequence, seeing the enemy was so near) and staid for more company. And some of them through ignorance of the Coast, ran upon the Shelves. The *Athenians* seeing this, took heart again, and together with one clamour set upon them; who resisted not long, because of their present errors committed, and their disarray; but turned and fled to *Panormus*, from whence at first they set forth. The *Athenians* followed, and took from them six Gallies, that were hindmost, and recovered their own which the *Peloponnesians* had sunk by the Shore, and tied a Stern of

* Singing the hymn of
Victory.

The *Athenians* have
the Victory.

of theirs. Of the men, some they slew, and some also they took alive. In the *Leucadian* Gally that was sunk near the Ship, was *Timocrates* a *Lacedæmonian*, who when the Gally was lost, run himself thorow with his Sword, and his body drove into the Haven of *Naupactus*. The *Athenians* falling off, erected a Trophy in the place from whence they set forth to this Victory, and took up their dead; and the Wrack, as much as was on their own Shore, and gave truce to the Enemy to do the like. The *Peloponnesians* also set up a Trophy, as if they also had had the Victory, in respect of the flight of those Gallies which they sunk by the Shore; and the Gally which they had taken they consecrated to *Neptune* in *Rhium* of *Achaia*, hard by their Trophy. After this, fearing the supply which was expected from *Athens*, they sailed by night into the *Crissæan* Gulf, and to *Corinth*, all but the *Leucadians*. And those *Athenians* with twenty Gallies out of *Crete* that should have been with *Phormio* before the Battel, not long after the going away of the Gallies of *Peloponnesus*, arrived at *Naupactus*; And the Summer ended.

Timocrates a *Lacedæmonian* Commander slayeth himself.

The end of the third Summer.

But before the Fleet gone into the *Crissæan* Gulf and to *Corinth*, was dispersed, *Cnemus*, and *Brasidas*, and the rest of the Commanders of the *Peloponnesians*, in the beginning of Winter, instructed by the *Megareans*, thought good to make an attempt upon *Piræus*, the Haven of the *Athenians*. Now it was without guard, or bar, and that upon very good cause, considering how much they exceeded others in the power of their Navy. And it was resolved that every Mariner with * his Oar, his Cushion, and † one Thong for his Oar to turn in, should take his way by Land from *Corinth* to the other Sea, that lieth to *Athens*, and going with all speed to *Megara*, lanch forty Gallies out of *Nisæa*, the Arsenal of the *Megareans* which then were there, and sail presently into *Piræus*. For at that time, there neither stood any Gallies for a Watch before it, nor was there any imagination, that the Enemies would on such a sudden come upon them. For they durst not have attempted it openly, though with leisure; nor if they had had any such intention, could it but have been discovered. As soon as it was resolved on, they set presently forward, and arriving by night, lanchd the said Gallies of *Nisæa*, and set sail, not now towards *Piræus*, as they intended, fearing the danger: and a Wind was also said to have risen that hindred them, but toward a Promontary of *Salamis*, lying out towards *Megara*.

The *Peloponnesians* resolve to attempt the surprize of *Piræus*.

* It may be hence gathered, that in the Gallies of old, there was but one man to one Oar.

† Τετραμήρ, a piece of Leather wherein their Oar turned.

The *Peloponnesians* dare not execute their design, but turn to *Salamis*.

Now, there was in it a little Fort, and underneath in the Sea, lay three Gallies that kept Watch, to hinder the importation and exportation of any thing, to or from the *Megareans*. This Fort they assaulted, and the Gallies they towed empty away after them. And being come upon the *Salaminiens* unawares, wasted also other parts of the Island.

By this time the Fires * signifying the coming of Enemies, were lifted up towards *Athens*, and afrighted them more then any thing that had happened in all this War: for they in the City thought the Enemies had been already in *Piræus*; and they in *Piræus* thought the City of the *Salaminiens* had been already taken, and that the Enemy would instantly come into *Piræus*: which had they not been afraid, nor been hindred by the Wind, they might also easily have done. But the *Athenians*, as soon as it was day, came with the whole strength of the City into *Piræus*, and lanchd their Gallies, and imbarcking in haste and tumult, set sail toward *Salamis*, leaving for the guard of *Piræus*, an Army of Foot. The *Peloponnesians* upon notice of those succours, having now over-run most of *Salamis*, and taken many Prisoners, and much other

* Fires lifted up, if they were still, signified Friends coming, if waved, Enemies. Scholiastes.

booty, besides the three Gallies from the Fort of *Budorus*, went back in all haste to *Nisæa*. And somewhat they feared the more, for that their Gallies had lain long in the Water, and were subject to leaking. And when they came to *Megara*, they went thence to *Corinth* again by Land. The *Athenians* likewise, when they found not the Enemy at *Salamis*, went home; and from that time forward looked better to *Piræus*, both for the shutting of the Ports, and for their diligence otherwise.

The King of *Thrace* maketh War on the King of *Macedon*.

About the same time, in the beginning of the same Winter, *Sytalces* an *Odrygian*, the son of *Teres* King of *Thrace*, made War upon *Perdiccas* the son of *Alexander* King of *Macedonia*, and upon the *Chalcideans* bordering on *Thrace*, upon two promises; one of which he required to be performed to him, and the other he was to perform himself. For *Perdiccas* had promised somewhat unto him for reconciling him to the *Athenians*, who had formerly oppressed him with War, and for not restoring his Brother *Philip* to the Kingdom, which was his Enemy, which he never paid him: and *Sytalces* himself had covenanted with the *Athenians*, when he made League with them, that he would end the War which they had against the *Chalcideans* of *Thrace*. For these causes therefore he made this Expedition, and took with him both *Amynas* the son of *Philip*, (with purpose to make him King of *Macedonia*) and also the *Athenian* Ambassadors then with him for that business, and *Agnon* the *Athenian* Commander. For the *Athenians* ought also to have joined with him against the *Chalcideans*, both with a Fleet, and with as great Land Forces as they could provide.

The description of *Thrace*.

Beginning therefore with the *Odrygians*, he levyed first those *Thracians* that inhabit on this side the Mountains *Æmus* and *Rhodope*, as many as were of his own Dominion, down to the Shore of the *Euxine* Sea, and the *Hellepont*. Then beyond *Æmus* he levyed the *Getes*, and all the Nations between *Ister* and the *Euxine* Sea. The *Getes*, and People of those parts, are Borderers upon the *Scythians*, and furnished as the *Scythians* are, all Archers on Horseback. He also drew forth many of those *Scythians* that inhabit the Mountains, and are Free States, all Sword-men, and are called *Dii*, the greatest part of which are on the Mountain *Rhodope*; whereof some he hired, and some went as Volunteers. He levyed also the *Agrians* and *Leeans*, and all other the Nations of *Peonia*, in his own Dominion. These are the utmost bounds of his Dominion, extending to the *Græans* and *Leeans*, Nations of *Peonia*, and to the River *Strymon*; which rising out of the Mountain *Scomius*, passeth through the Territories of the *Græans* and *Leeans*, who make the bounds of his Kingdom toward *Peonia*, and are subject onely to their own Laws. But on the part that lieth to the *Triballians*, who are also a Free People, the *Treres* make the bound of his Dominion, and the *Tilataeans*. These dwell on the North side of the Mountain *Scomius*, and reach Westward as far as to the River *Osciis*, which cometh out of the same Hill *Nestus* and *Hebrus* doth, a great and desert Hill adjoining to *Rhodope*.

* A Ship that useth onely Sails, of the round form of building, and serving for burthen, in distinction to Gallies, and all other Vessels of the long form of building, serving for the wars.

The Dimension of the Dominion of the *Odrygians* by the Sea side, is from the City of the *Abderites*, to the mouth of *Ister* in the *Euxine* Sea; and is the nearest way, four days and as many nights sail for a * round Ship, with a continual fore-wind. By Land likewise the nearest way, it is from the City *Abdera* to the mouth of *Ister* eleven days journey for an expedite Foot-man. Thus it lay in respect of the Sea.

Now for the Continent; from *Byzantium* to the *Leeans*, and to the River *Strymon* (for it reacheth this way farthest into the main Land) it is for the

the like Footman, thirteen days journey. The Tribute they received from all the *Barbarian Nations*, and from the Cities of *Greece*, in the reign of *Senthes*, (who reigned after *Sitalces*, and made the most of it) was in Gold and Silver, by estimation, * 400 Talents by year. And Presents of Gold and Silver came to as much more: besides Vestures, both wrought and plain, and other furniture, presented not onely to him, but also to all the men of Authority and *Odrysian* Nobility about him. For they had a Custom, which also was general to all *Thrace*, contrary to that of the Kingdom of *Persia*, to receive rather than to give: and it was there a greater shame to be asked and deny, than to ask and go without. Nevertheless they held this Custom long, by reason of their Power: for without gifts, there was nothing to be gotten done amongst them; so that this Kingdom arrived thereby to great power: for of all the Nations of *Europe* that lie between the * *Ionian* Gulf and the *Euxine* Sea, it was, for revenue of money, and other wealth, the mightiest; though indeed for strength of an Army and multitudes of Souldiers the same be far short of the *Scythians*: for there is no Nation, not to say of *Europe*, but neither of *Asia*, that are comparable to this, or that as long as they agree, are able one Nation to one, to stand against the *Scythians*; and yet in matter of Councel and Wisdom in the present occasions of life, they are not like to other men.

* 57000 l. sterling.

*The *Adriatick* Sea.
Mar Maggiore.

The great power of
the *Scythians*.

Sitalces therefore, King of this great Countrey, prepared his Army, and when all was ready, set forward, and marched towards *Macedonia*. First through his own Dominion, then over *Cercine*, a desert Mountain dividing the *Sintians* from the *Peonians* over which he marched the same way himself had formerly made with Timber, when he made War against the *Peonians*. Passing this Mountain out of the Countrey of the *Odrysians*, they had on their right hand the *Peonians*, and on the left the *Sintians* and *Medes*, and beyond it they came to the City of *Doberus* in *Peonia*. His Army as he marched diminished not any way, except by sickness, but encreased by the accession of many Free Nations of *Thrace* that came in uncalled, in hope of Booty. Insomuch as the whole number is said to have amounted to no less then 150000 men, whereof the most were Foot, the Horse being a third part, or thereabouts; and of the Horse the greatest part were the *Odrysians* themselves, and the next most the *Getes*: and of the Foot, those Sword-men, a Free Nation, that came down to him out of the Mountain *Rhodope*, were most warlike. The rest of the promiscuous multitude, were formidable only for their number. Being all together at *Doberus*, they made ready to fall in from the Hills side into the lower *Macedonia*, the Dominion of *Perdiccas*: for there are in *Macedonia* the *Lyncestians* and *Helimiots*, and other High-land Nations, who though they be Confederates, and in subjection to the other, yet have their several Kingdoms by themselves. But of that part of the now *Macedonia* which lieth toward the Sea, *Alexander* the Father of this *Perdiccas* and his Ancestors the *Temenidae*, who came out of *Argos*, were the first possessors, and reigned in the same; having first driven out of *Pieria* the *Pierians*, (which afterwards seated themselves in *Phagres* and other Towns beyond *Strymon*, at the foot of *Pangeum*; from which cause that Countrey is called the Gulf of *Pieria* to this day, which lieth at the foot of *Pangeum*; and bendeth toward the Sea) and out of that which is called *Bottia*, the *Bottians*, that now border upon the *Chalcidians*. They possessed besides a certain narrow portion of *Peonia*, near unto the River of *Axius*, reaching from above down to *Pella*, and to the

The beginning of
the Kingdom of *Macedonia*.

The *Macedonian*
Kings descended of
the *Temenidae*, a Family
in *Argos*, of
the *Peloponnesians*.

the Sea. Beyond *Axius* they possess the Countrey called *Mygdonia*, as far as to *Strymon*; from whence they have driven out the *Eidonians*. Furthermore they drove the *Eordians* out of the Territory, now called *Eorda*, (of whom the greatest part perished, but there dwell a few of them yet about *Physca*) and the *Almopians* out of *Almopia*. The same *Macedonians* subdued also other Nations, and hold them yet, as *Anthemus*, *Grestonia*, and *Bisaltia*, and a great part of the *Macedonians* themselves. But the whole is called *Macedonia*, and was the Kingdom of *Perdiccas* the son of *Alexander*, when *Sitalces* came to invade it. The *Macedonians* unable to stand in the Field against so huge an Army, retired all within their strong Holds, and Walled Towns, as many as the Countrey afforded, which were not many then; but were built afterwards by *Archelaus* the son of *Perdiccas*, when he came to the Kingdom, who then also laid out the High-ways straight, and took Order both for matter of War, as Horses and Arms, and for other provision, better then all the other eight Kings that were before him. The *Thracian* Army arising from *Doberus*, invaded that Territory first, which had been the Principality of *Philip*, and took *Eidomene* by force; but *Gortynia*, *Atalanta*, and some other Towns he had yielded to him for the love of *Amyntas* the son of *Philip*, who was then in the Army. They also assaulted *Europus*, but could not take it. Then they went on further into *Macedonia*, on the part that lies on the right hand of *Pella* and *Cyrrhus*; but within these, into *Bottia* and *Pieria* they entered not, but wasted *Mygdonia*, *Grestonia*, and *Anthemus*. Now the *Macedonians* had never any intention to make head against them with their Foot, but sending out their Horseman, which they had procured from their Allies of the Higher *Macedonia*, they assaulted the *Thracian* Army in such places, where few against many, they thought they might do it with most convenience; and where they charged, none was able to resist them, being both good Horsemen, and well armed with Breast-plates; but enclosed by the multitude of the Enemies, they fought against manifold odds of number: so that in the end they gave it over, esteeming themselves too weak to hazard Battel against so many.

The *Macedonians* retire into their Walled Towns.

Archelaus the son of *Perdiccas*, the ninth King of *Macedon*, of the Family of the *Temenidae*.

Sitalces and *Perdiccas* come to a Conference about the motives of the War.

The *Grecians* at the coming of this Army stand upon their Guard, fearing they were called in by the *Athenians* to subdue them.

After this, *Sitalces* gave way to a Conference with *Perdiccas* touching the motives of this War. And forasmuch as the *Athenians* were not arrived with their Fleet, (for they thought not that *Sitalces* would have made the journey) but had sent Ambassadors to him with Presents, he sent a part of his Army against the *Chalcideans* and *Bottiaans*, wherewith having compelled them within their Walled Towns, he wasted and destroyed their Territory. Whilest he staid in these parts, the *Thessalians* Southward, and the *Magnetians* and the rest of the Nations subject to the *Thessalians*, and all the *Grecians* as far as to *Thermopylae*, were afraid he would have turned his Forces upon them, and stood upon their guard. And Northward those *Thracians* that inhabit the Champaign Countrey beyond *Strymon*, namely the *Panaeans*, *Odomantians*, *Droans*, and *Dersaeans*, all of them Free States, were afraid of the same. He gave occasion also to a rumour, that he meant to lead his Army against all those *Grecians* that were enemies to the *Athenians*, as called in by them to that purpose, by virtue of their League. But whilst he staid, he wasted the *Chalcidean*, *Bottiaean*, and *Macedonian* Territories; and when he could not effect what he came for, and his Army both wanted Viſtual, and was afflicted with the coldness of the season; *Seuthes* the son of *Spartocus* his Cousin German, and of greatest Authority next himself, perswa-

perswaded him to make haste away. Now *Perdiccas* had dealt secretly with *Seuthes*, and promised him his Sister in marriage, and money with her: and *Sitalces* at the perswasion of him after the stay of full thirty days, whereof he spent eight in *Chalcidea*, retired with his Army with all speed into his own Kingdom. And *Perdiccas* shortly after gave to *Seuthes* his Sister *Stratonica* in marriage, as he had promised. This was the issue of this Expedition of *Sitalces*.

Seuthes corrupted by *Perdiccas*, perswaded *Sitalces* to return.

The same Winter, after the Fleet of the *Peloponnesians* was dissolved, the *Athenians* that were at *Naupactus*, under the conduct of *Phormio*, sailed along the Coast to *Astacus*, and disembarking, marched into the inner parts of *Acarnania*. He had in his Army 400 men of Arms that he brought with him in his Gallies, and 400 more *Messenians*. With these he put out of *Stratus*, *Corontæ*, and other places, all those whose fidelity he thought doubtful. And when he had restored *Cynes* the son of *Theolytus* to *Corontæ*, they returned again to their Gallies. For they thought they should not be able to make War against the *Oeniades*, (who only of all *Acarnania* are the *Athenians* Enemies) in respect of the Winter. For the River *Achelous*, springing out of the Mountain *Pindus*, and running through *Dolopia*, and through the Territories of the *Agræans*, and the *Amphilochians*, and through most part of the Champaign of *Acarnania*, passing above by the City of *Stratus*, and falling into the Sea by the City of the *Oeniades*, which also it moateth about with Fens, by the abundance of Water, maketh it hard lying there for an Army in time of Winter. Also most of the Islands *Echinades* lye just over against *Oenia*, hard by the mouth of *Achelous*. And the River being a great one, continually heapeth together the gravel; insomuch that some of those Islands are become Continent already, and the like in short time is expected by the rest. For not onely the stream of the River is swift, broad, and turbidous, but also the Islands themselves stand thick, and because the Gravel cannot pass, are joined one to another, lying in and out, not in a direct line, nor so much as to give the Water his course directly forward into the Sea. These Islands are all Desert, and but small ones. It is reported that *Apollo* by his Oracle did assign this place for an habitation to *Alcmaeon* the son of *Amphirans*, at such time as he wandred up and down for the killing of his Mother; telling him, *That he should never be free from the terrours that haunted him till he had found out, and seated himself in such a Land, as when he slew his Mother, the Sun had never seen, nor was then Land*, because all other Lands were polluted by him. Hereupon being at a *Non-plus*, as they say, with much ado he observed this ground congested by the River *Achelous*, and thought there was enough cast up to serve his turn already, since the time of the slaughter of his Mother, after which it was now a long time that he had been a Wanderer. Therefore seating himself in the places about the *Oeniades*, he reigned there, and named the Countrey after the name of his Son *Acarnas*. Thus goes the report, as we have heard it concerning *Alcmaeon*. But *Phormio* and the *Athenians* leaving *Acarnania*, and returning to *Naupactus* in the very beginning of the Spring, came back to *Athens*, and brought with them such Gallies as they had taken, and the Free-men they had taken Prisoners, in their fights at Sea, who were again set at liberty by exchange of man for man. So ended that Winter and the third Year of the War written by *Thucydides*.

Phormio putteth suspected persons out of *Stratus* and *Corontæ*.

The course of the River *Achelous*.

The Fable of *Alcmaeon*.

Acarnania whence so called.

The end of the third Year of the War.

The End of the Second Book.

THE HISTORY OF THUCYDIDES.

BOOK III.

THE PRINCIPAL CONTENTS.

Attica invaded by the Peloponnesians. The Mitylenians revolt, and are received by the Peloponnesians at Olympia into their League. The Athenians send Paches to Mitylene to besiege it. Part of the besieged Platæans escape through the Fortifications of the Enemy. The Commons of Mitylene armed by the Nobility for a Sally on the Enemy, deliver the Town to the Athenians. The residue of the Platæans yield to the Besiegers, and are put to the Sword. The proceedings upon the Mitylenians, and their punishment. The Sedition in Corcyra, Laches is sent by the Athenians into Sicily. And Nicias into Melos. Demosthenes fighteth against the Ætolians unfortunately, and afterwards against the Ambraciots fortunately. Pythadorus is sent into Sicily to receive the Fleet from Laches. This in other three Years of this War.

THe Summer following, the *Peloponnesians* and their Confederates at the time when Corn was at the highest, entered with their Army into *Attica*, under the Conduct of *Archidamus* the Son of *Zenxidamus* King of the *Lacedæmonians*, and there set them down, and waited the Territory about.

And the *Athenian* Horsemen, as they were wont, fell upon the Enemy where they thought fit, and kept back the multitude of light-armed Souldiers, from going out before the men of Arms, and infesting the places near the City. And when they had staid as long as their Victual lasted, they returned, and were dissolved according to their Cities.

After the *Peloponnesians* were entered *Attica*, *Lesbos* immediately all

Year IV.

The *Peloponnesians* invade *Attica*.

The Revolt of *Lesbos*

but

but *Mythymne*, revolted from the *Athenians*; which though they would have done before the War, and the *Lacedæmonians* would not then receive them, yet even now they were forced to revolt sooner then they had intended to do. For they staid to have first straitned the mouth of their Haven with Dams of Earth, to have finished their Walls, and their Gallies then in building, and to have gotten in all that was to come out of *Pontus*, as Archers, and Victual, and whatsoever else they had sent for.

The intention of the
Lesbians to revolt,
discovered to the *A-*
thenians.

But the *Tenedians*, with whom they were at odds, and the *Methymnians*, and of the *Mitylenians* themselves, certain particular men, upon Faction, being Hosts to the *Athenians*, made known unto them, that the *Lesbians* were forced to go all into *Mitylene*; that by the help of the *Lacedæmonians*, and their Kindred the *Bœotians*, they hastned all manner of Provision necessary for a Revolt, and that unless it were presently prevented, all *Lesbos* would be lost.

The *Athenians* (afflicted with the Disease, and with the War now on foot, and at the hottest) thought it a dangerous matter that *Lesbos*, which had a Navy, and was of strength entire, should thus be added to the rest of their Enemies; and at first received not the accusations, holding them therefore the rather feigned, because they would not have had them true.

The *Athenians* send
40 Gallies to *Lesbos*.

But after, when they had sent Ambassadors to *Mitylene*, and could not perswade them to dissolve themselves, and undo their preparation, they then feared the worst, and would have prevented them. And to that purpose suddenly sent out the 40 Gallies made ready for *Peloponnesus*, with *Cleippedes* and two other Commanders. For they had been advertised that there was a Holiday of *Apollo Maloeis* to be kept without the City, and that to the Celebration thereof, the *Mitylenians* were accustomed to come all out of the Town; and they hoped making haste, to take them there unawares. And if the attempt succeeded, it was well; if not, they might command the *Mitylenians* to deliver up their Gallies, and to demolish their Walls; or they might make War against them if they refused. So these Gallies went their way. And ten Gallies of *Mitylene* which then chanced to be at *Athens*, by virtue of their League to aid them, the *Athenians* staid; and cast into prison the men that were in them. In the mean time a certain man went from *Athens* into *Eubœa* by Sea, and then by Land to *Geræstus*, and finding there a Ship ready to put off, having the Wind favourable, arrived in *Mitylene* three days after he set forth from *Athens*, and gave them notice of the coming of the Fleet. Hereupon they not onely went not out to *Maloeis*, as was expected, but also stopped the Gaps of their Walls and Ports, where they were left unfinished, and placed Guards to defend them.

The *Athenians* im-
prison such of *Mity-*
lene as were at *A-*
thens, and stay their
Gallies.

When the *Athenians* not long after arrived, and saw this, the Commanders of the Fleet delivered to the *Mitylenians* what they had in charge, which not hearkned unto, they presently fell to the War. The *Mitylenians* unprovided, and compelled to a War on such a sudden, put out some few Gallies before the Haven to fight: but being driven in again by the Gallies of *Athens*, they called to the *Athenian* Commanders to parly; desiring, if they could, upon reasonable conditions, to get the Gallies for the present sent away.

The *Athenians* give
the *Mitylenians* time
to purge themselves
at *Athens*.

And the *Athenian* Commander allowed the Conditions, he also fearing they should be too weak to make War against the whole Island.

When a Cessation of Arms was granted, the *Mitylenians* amongst others, sent to *Athens*, one of those that had given intelligence there of
their

their Design, and had repented him after of the same, to trie if they could perswade them to withdraw their Fleet from them, as not intending any innovation. Withall they sent Ambassadors at the same time to *Lacedæmon*, undiscovered of the Fleet of the *Athenians*, which was riding at Anchor in * *Malca*, to the North of the City; being without any confidence of their success at *Athens*. And these men after an ill Voyage through the wide Sea, arriving at *Lacedæmon*, negotiated the sending of aid from thence. But when their Ambassadors were come back from *Athens* without effect, the *Mitylenians* and the rest of *Lesbos*, save onely *Methymne*, (for these, together with the *Imbrians*, *Lemnians*, and some few other their Confederates, aided the *Athenians*) prepared themselves for the War. And the *Mitylenians* with the whole strength of the City, made a sally upon the *Athenian* Camp, and came to a Battel; wherein though the *Mitylenians* had not the worse, yet they lay not that night without the Walls, nor durst trust to their strength, but retiring into the Town, lay quiet there, expecting to try their fortune with the accession of such Forces as (if any came) they wereto have from *Peloponnesus*. For there were now come into the City, one *Meleas* a *Laconian*, and *Hermiondas* a *Theban*, who having been sent out before the revolt, but unable to arrive before the coming of the *Athenian* Fleet, secretly after the end of the Battel, entered the Haven in a Gally, and perswaded them to send another Gally along with them, with other Ambassadors to *Sparta*; which they did. But the *Athenians* much confirmed by this the *Mitylenians* cessation, called in their Confederates, who because they saw no assurance on the part of the *Lesbians*, came much sooner in then it was thought they would have done; and riding at Anchor to the South of the City, fortified two Camps, on either side one, and brought their Gallies before both the Ports, and so quite excluded the *Mitylenians* from the use of the Sea. As for the Land, the *Athenians* held so much onely as lay near their Camps, which was not much: And the *Mitylenians* and other *Lesbians* that were now come to aid them, were Masters of the rest. For *Malea* served the *Athenians* for a station onely for their Gallies, and to keep their Market in. And thus proceeded the War before *Mitylene*.

About the same time of the same Summer, the *Athenians* sent likewise 30 Gallies into *Peloponnesus*, under the Conduct of *Asopius* the son of *Phormio*. For the *Acarnanians* had desired them to send some Son or Kinsman of *Phormio* for General into those parts. These, as they sailed by, wasted the maritime Countrey of *Laconia*, and then sending back the greatest part of his Fleet to *Athens*, *Asopius* himself with twelve Gallies went on to * *Naupactus*. And afterwards having raised the whole power of *Acarmania*, he made War upon the *Oeniades*, and both entered with his Gallies into the River of *Achelous*, and with his Land Forces wasted the Territory. But when the *Oeniades* would not yield, he disbanded his Landforces, and sailed with his Gallies to *Lencas*, and landed his Souldiers on the Territory of *Neritum*; but in going off, was by those of the Countrey that came out to defend it, and by some few of the Garrison Souldiers there, both himself and part of his Company slain. And having upon Truce received from the *Leucadians* their dead bodies, they went their ways.

Now the Ambassadors of the *Mitylenians* that went out in the first Gally, having been referred by the *Lacedæmonians* to the General Meeting of the *Grecians* at *Olympia*, to the end they might determine of

The *Mitylenians* sent to *Lacedæmon* for aid
* This *Malca* seemeth not to be the Promontory of *Malea*, according to the Scholiast, which lieth to the South of *Mitylene*, but some other nearer place, and on the North side of the City.

The *Mitylene* Ambassadors speed not at *Athens*.

They sally out upon the *Athenians*, but without success.

They lie still expecting help from *Peloponnesus*.

The *Athenians* send for the aids of their Confederates.

The *Athenians* send *Asopius* the son of *Phormio* with twenty Gallies about *Peloponnesus*.

* *Lepanto*.

Asopius slain.

The *Mitylenian* Ambassadors sent to *Lacedæmon*, are appointed to attend the General Assembly of the *Grecians* at *Olympia*.

* Olympiade 88.

them, together with the rest of the Confederates, went to Olympia accordingly. It was that * Olympiade wherein Dorieus of Rhodes was the second time Victor. And when after the solemnity, they were set in Council, the Ambassadors spake unto them in this manner:

The Oration of the Ambassadors of MITILENE.

MEN of Lacedæmon and Confederates, we know the received custom of the Grecians: For they that take into League such as revolt in the Wars, and relinquish a former League, though they like them as long as they have profit by them, yet accounting them but Traitors to their former Friends; they esteem the worse of them in their judgment. And to say the truth, this judgment is not without good reason, when they that revolt, and they from whom the revolt is made, are mutually like-minded and affected, and equal in provision and strength, and no just cause of their revolt given. But now between us and the Athenians it is not so. Nor let any man think the worse of us, for that having been honoured by them in time of peace, we have now revolted in time of danger. For the first point of our Speech, especially now we seek to come into League with you, shall be to make good the justice and honesty of our revolt. For we know there can be neither firm friendship between man and man, nor any Communion between City and City to any purpose whatsoever, without a mutual opinion of each others honesty, and also a similitude of Customs otherways: for in the difference of minds is grounded the diversity of actions. As for our League with the Athenians, it was first made when you gave over the Medan War, and they remained to prosecute the reliques of that business: Yet we entered not such a League, as to be their helpers in bringing the Grecians into the servitude of the Athenians, but to set free the Grecians from the servitude of the Medes. And as long as they led us as equals, we followed them with much zeal; but when we saw they remitted their enmity against the Medes, and led us to the subjugation of the Confederates, we could not then but be afraid. And the Confederates through the multitude of distinct Councils, unable to unite themselves for resistance, fell all but our selves and the Chians into their subjection; and we having still our own Laws, and being in name a free State, followed them to the Wars; but so, as by the examples of their former actions, we held them not any longer for faithful Leaders. For it was not probable when they had subdued those, whom together with us they took into League, but that, when they should be able, they would do the like also by the rest. It is true that if we were now in liberty all, we might be the better assured that they would forbear to innovate; but since they have under them the greatest part already, in all likelihood they will take it ill to deal on equal terms with us alone; and the rest yielding, to let us onely stand up as their equals: especially when by how much they are become stronger by the subjection of their Confederates, by so much the more are we become desolate. But the equality of mutual fear, is the onely band of faith in Leagues; for he that hath the will to transgress, yet when he hath not the odds of strength, will abstain from coming in. Now the reason why they have left us yet free, is no other, but that they may have a fair colour to lay upon their domination over the rest; and because it hath seemed unto them more expedient to take us in by policy then by force. For therein they made use of us for an argument, that having equal vote with them, we would never have followed them to the Warrs, if those against whom they led us had not done the injury.

And

And thereby also they brought the stronger against the weaker, and reserving the strongest to the last, made them the weaker, by removing the rest. Whereas if they had begun with us, when the Confederates had had both their own strength, and a side to adhere to, they had never subdued them so easily. Likewise our Navy kept them in some fear, lest united and added to yours, or to any other, it might have created them some danger. Partly also we escaped by our observance toward their Commons and most eminent men from time to time. But yet we still thought we could not do so long, considering the examples they have shewed us in the rest, if this War should not have fallen out. What friendship then or assurance of liberty was this, when we received each other with alienated affections? when whilst they had Wars, they for fear courted us, and when they had Peace, we for fear courted them? and whereas in others, good will assureth loyalty, in us it was the effect of fear? So it was more for fear than love that we remained their Confederates; and whomsoever security should first embolden, he was first likely by one means or other to break the League. Now if any man think we did unjustly to revolt upon the expectation of evil intended, without staying to be certain, whether they would do it or not, he weigheth not the matter aright. For if we were as able to contrive evil against them, and again to defer it, as they can against us, being thus equal, what needed us to be at their discretion? But seeing it is in their hands to invade at pleasure, it ought to be in ours to anticipate. Upon these pretensions therefore, and causes, Men of Lacedæmon and Confederates, we have revolted; the which are both clear enough for the hearers to judge upon, that we had reason for it, and weighty enough to affright and compel us to take some course for our own safety; which we would have done before, when before the War we sent Ambassadors to you about our revolt, but could not, because you would not then admit us into your League. And now when the Boeotians invited us to it, we presently obeyed. Wherein we thought we made a double revolt, one from the Græcians, in ceasing to do them mischief with the Athenians, and helping to set them free; and another from the Athenians, in breaking first, and not staying to be destroyed by them hereafter. But this revolt of ours hath been sooner then was fit, and before we were provided for it. For which cause also the Confederates ought so much the sooner to admit us into the League, and send us the speedier aid, thereby the better at once both to defend those you ought to defend, and to annoy your enemies. Whereof there was never better opportunity then at this present: For the Athenians being both with the likest, and their great expences consumed, and their Navy divided, part upon your own Coasts, and part upon ours, it is not likely they should have many Gallies spare, in case you again this Summer invade them both by Sea and Land; but that they should either be unable to resist the invasion of your Fleet, or be forced to come off from both our Coasts. And let not any man conceive that you shall herein, at your own danger defend the Territory of another. For though Lesbos seem remote, the profit of it will be near you. For the War will not be, as a man would think, in Attica, but there from whence cometh the profit to Attica. This profit is the Revenue they have from their Confederates, which if they subdue us, will still be greater. For neither will any other revolt, and all that is ours will accrew unto them; and we shall be worse handled besides, then those that were under them before. But aiding us with diligence you shall both add to your League a City that hath a great Navy, (the thing you most stand in need of) and also easily overthrow the Athenians by subduction of their Confederates; because every one will then be more confident to come in, and you shall avoid the imputation of not assisting such as revolt unto you. And if it appear that your

endeavour

endeavour is to make them free, your strength in this War will be much the more confirmed. In reverence therefore of the hopes which the Grecians have reposed in you, and of the presence of Jupiter Olympius, in whose Temple here, we are in a manner suppliants to you, receive the Mitylenians into League, and aid us. And do not cast us off, who (though, as to the exposing of our persons, the danger be our own) shall bring a common profit to all Greece, if we prosper, and a more common detriment to all the Grecians if through your inflexibleness we miscarry. Be you therefore men, such as the Grecians esteem you, and our fears require you to be.

In this manner spake the Mitylenians.

The Mitylenians taken into the Lacedæmonian League.

The Lacedæmonians prepare for the invasion of Attica, both by Sea and Land.

And the Lacedæmonians and their Confederates, when they had heard and allowed their reasons, decreed not only a League with the Lesbians, but also again to make an invasion into Attica. And to that purpose the Lacedæmonians appointed their Confederates there present, to make as much speed as they could with two parts of their Forces into the Isthmus: And they themselves being first there, prepared Engines in the Isthmus for the drawing up of Gallies, with intention to carry the Navy from Corinth to the other Sea that lieth towards Athens, and to set upon them both by Sea and Land. And these things diligently did they. But the rest of the Confederates assembled but slowly, being busied in the gathering in of their Fruits, and weary of Warfare.

The Athenians to make shew of their power, and to deter the enemy from their enterprize, send 100 Gallies, not so much to waste Peloponnesus, as to confute the opinion which the Lesbian Ambassadors had put into the Lacedæmonians of their weakness.

* A degree estimated by their wealth, as if one should say, men that had 500 Chaldrons revenue, as they reckon in Scotland.

† Horsemen, such as kept a Horse to serve the State, and were valued at 300 Chaldrons.

The greatness of the Athenian Navy, and occasion of their great expence of money.

* Ὀπλίται, A man of Arms had double pay, for himself and for a servant.

The Athenians perceiving all this preparation to be made, upon an opinion of their weakness, and desirous to let them see they were deceived, as being able without stirring the Fleet at Lesbos, easily to Master the Fleet that should come against them out of Peloponnesus, manned out 100 Gallies, and imbarqued therein generally, both Citizens (except those of the degree of * *Pentacosmedimni*, and † *Horsemen*) and also Strangers that dwelt amongst them: And sailing to the Isthmus, made a shew of their strength, and landed their Souldiers in such parts of Peloponnesus as they thought fit. When the Lacedæmonians saw things so contrary to their expectation, they thought it false, which was spoken by the Lesbian Ambassadors; and esteeming the action difficult, seeing their Confederates were not arrived, and that news was brought of the wasting of the Territory near their City, by the 30 Gallies formerly sent about Peloponnesus by the Athenians, went home again; and afterwards prepared to send a Fleet to Lesbos, and intimated to the Cities rateably to furnish 40 Gallies, and appointed Alcidas, who was to go thither with them for Admiral. And the Athenians, when they saw the Peloponnesians gone, went likewise home with their hundred Gallies.

About the time that this Fleet was out, they had surely the most Gallies in action (besides the beauty of them) that ever they had at once. But in the beginning of the War, they had as good Gallies, and also more in number. For 100 attended the Guard of Attica, Eubæa, and Salamis, and another 100 were about Peloponnesus, besides those that were at Potidæa, and in other places: so that in one Summer they had in all 250 Sail. And this together with Potidæa, was it that most exhausted their treasure. For the * men of Arms that besieged the City, had each of them two drachmaes a day, one for himself and another for his man, and were 3000 in number that were sent thither at first, and remained to the end of the Siege; besides 1600 more, that went with Phormio, and came away before the Town was won. And the

the Gallies had all the same pay. In this manner was their money consumed, and so many Gallies employed, the most indeed that ever they had manned at once.

About the same time that the *Lacedæmonians* were in the *Isthmus*, the *Mitylenians* marched by Land, both they and their Auxiliaries, against *Methymne*, in hope to have had it betray'd unto them; and having assaulted the City, when it succeeded not the way they looked for, they went thence to *Antyssa*, *Pyrrha*, and *Eressus*; and after they had settled the affairs of those places, and made strong their Walls, returned speedily home. When these were gone, the *Methymneans* likewise made War upon *Antyssa*, but beaten by the *Antyssians*, and some Auxiliaries that were with them, they made haste again to *Methymne*, with the loss of many of their Souldiers. But the *Athenians* being advertised hereof, and understanding that the *Mitylenians* were Masters of the Land, and that their own Souldiers there, were not enough to keep them in, sent thither, about the beginning of Autumn, *Paches* the son of *Epicurus*, with 1000 men of Arms of their own City, who supplying the place of Rowers themselves, arrived at *Mitylene*, and ingirt it with a single Wall. Save that in some places, stronger by Nature than the rest, they onely built Turrets, and placed Guards in them. So that the City was every way strongly besieged both by Sea and Land; And the Winter began.

The *Mitylenians* go with a power to *Methymne*, hoping to have it betrayed.

The *Athenians* send *Paches* with 1000 men of Arms to *Mitylene*.

The *Athenians* standing in need of money for the Siege, both contributed themselves, and sent thither * 200 Talents of this their first contribution, and also dispatched *Lysicles* and four others, with 42 Gallies, to levie money amongst the Confederates. But *Lysicles*, after he had been to and fro, and gathered money in divers places, as he was going up from *Myus* thorow the plains of *Meander* in *Caria*, as far as to the Hill *Sandius*, was set upon there by the *Carians* and *Anetians*, and himself with a great part of his Souldiers slain.

The end of the fourth Summer.
* 37500 l. sterling.

The same Winter the *Plateans* (for they were yet besieged by the *Peloponnesians* and *Bæotians*) pressed now with want of Victual, and hopeless of relief from *Athens*, and no other means of safety appearing, took Counsel, both they and the *Athenians* that were besieged with them, at first all to go out, and if they could to pass over the Wall of the Enemy by force. The Authors of this attempt, were *Theanetus* the son of *Timidas* a Sooth-sayer, and *Eupolpidas* the son of *Damachus*, one of their Commanders. But half of them afterwards, by one means or other, for the greatness of the danger, shrunk from it again. But 220 or thereabouts, voluntarily persisted to go out, in this manner: They made them Ladders, fit for the height of the Enemies Wall; the Wall they measured by the Lays of Brick, on the part toward the Town, where it was not Plaistered over; and divers men at once numbred the lays of Brick, whereof though some missed, yet the greatest part took the reckoning just; especially, numbring them often, and at no great distance, but where they might easily see the part to which their Ladders were to be applied; and so by guess of the thickness of one Brick took the measure of their Ladders.

The escape of 212 men out of *Platea*, through the works of the Enemy.

They make the length of their Ladders by conjecture upon counting the Lays of Brick.

As for the Wall of the *Peloponnesians*, it was thus built: It consisted of a double Circle, one towards *Platea*, and another outward, in case of an assault from *Athens*. These two Walls were distant one from the other about sixteen foot; and that sixteen foot of space which was betwixt them, was disposed and built into Cabines for the Watchmen, which

The Description of the Fortification of the *Peloponnesians* about *Platea*.

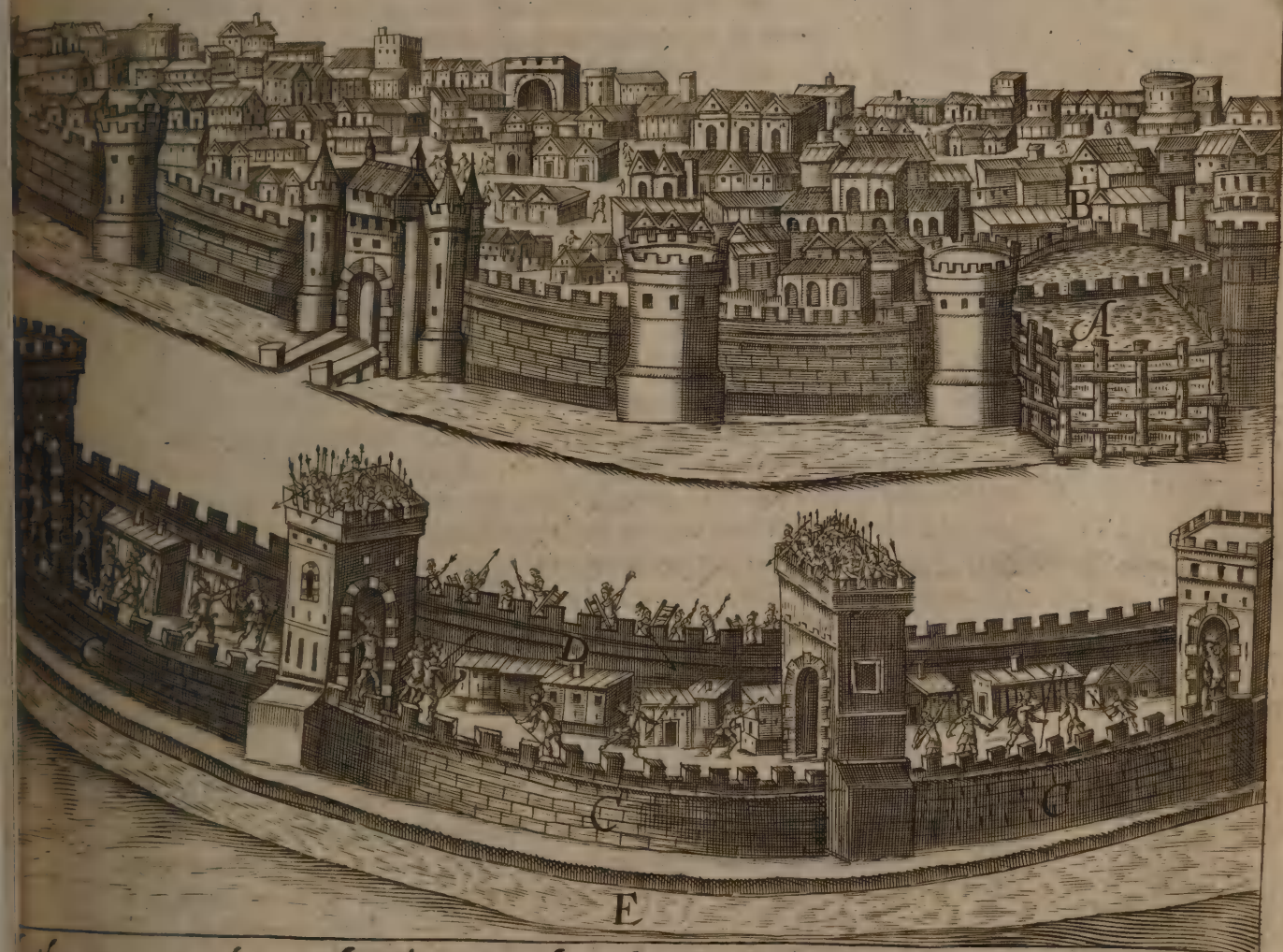
The Description of
the *Plateans* going
over the Enemies
Walls.

which were so joined and continued one to another, that the whole appeared to be one thick Wall, with Battlements on either side. At every ten Battlements stood a great Tower of a just breadth to comprehend both Walls, and reach from the utmost to the inmost front of the whole, so that there was no passage by the side of a Tower, but through the midst of it. And such nights as there happened any storm of Rain they used to quit the Battlements of the Wall, and to watch under the Towers, as being not far asunder, and covered beside over head. Such was the form of the Wall wherein the *Peloponnesians* kept their Watch. The *Plateans*, after they were ready, and had attended a tempestuous night, and withall Moonless, went out of the City, and were conducted by the same men that were the Authors of the Attempt. And first they passed the Ditch that was about the Town, and then came up close to the Wall of the Enemy, who because it was dark, could not see them coming; and the noise they made as they went could not be heard for the blustering of the Wind. And they came on besides at a good distance one from the other, that they might not be betrayed by the clashing of their Arms; and were but lightly armed, and not shod but on the left foot, for the more steddiness in the wet. They came thus to the Battlements in one of the spaces between Tower and Tower, knowing that there was now no Watch kept there. And first came they that carried the Ladders, and placed them to the Wall; then twelve lightly armed, onely with a Dagger and a Breast-plate, went up, led by *Ammear* the son of *Corabus*, who was the first that mounted; and they that followed him, went up into either Tower six. To these succeeded others lightly armed, that carried the Darts, for whom they that came after carried Targets at their backs, that they might be the more expedite to get up, which Targets they were to deliver to them when they came to the Enemy. At length, when most of them were ascended, they were heard by the Watchmen that were in the Towers; for one of the *Plateans* taking hold of the Battlements threw down a Tyle, which made a noise in the fall, and presently there was an Alarm: And the Army ran to the Wall, for in the dark and stormy night, they knew not what the danger was. And the *Plateans* that were left in the City, came forth withall, and assailed the Wall of the *Peloponnesians* on the opposite part to that where their men went over. So that though they were all in a tumult in their several places, yet not any of them that watched durst stir to the aid of the rest, nor were able to conjecture what had happened. But *those three hundred that were appointed to assist the Watch upon all occasions of need, went without the Wall, and made towards the place of the clamour. They also held up the Fires by which they used to make known the approach of Enemies, towards *Thebes*. But then the *Plateans* likewise held out many other Fires from the Wall of the City, which for that purpose they had before prepared, to render the Fires of the Enemy insignificant; and that the *Thebans* apprehending the matter otherwise then it was, might forbear to send help, till their men were over, and had recovered some place of safety.

* There is no mention
of these 300 where
the Author relateth the
laying of the Siege:
But it must be under-
stood.

In the mean time those *Plateans*, which having scaled the Wall first, and slain the Watch, were now Masters of both the Towers, not onely guarded his passages, by standing themselves in the Entries, but also applying Ladders from the Wall to the Towers, and conveying many men to the top, kept the Enemies off with shot, both from above and below. In the mean space the greatest number of them having reared to
the

Platæa



the mount of earth Cast up by the Peloponnesians. B. The wall
 built inwards by the Platæans to frustrate the effect of the mount.
 The worke of the Peloponnesians. D. The place wher the Platæans
 go ouer. E. The ditch wth out, full of water

the Wall many Ladders at once, and beaten down the Battlements, passed quite over between the Towers, and ever as any of them got to the other side, they stood still upon the brink of the Ditch without, and with Arrows and Darts kept off those that came by the outside of the Wall to hinder their passage. And when the rest were over, then last of all, and with much ado, came they also down to the Ditch which was in the two Towers. And by this time the three hundred that were to assist the Watch, came and set upon them, and had lights with them; by which means the *Plateans* that were on the further brink of the Ditch, discerned them the better from out of the dark, and aimed their Arrows and Darts at their most disarmed parts. For, standing in the dark, the lights of the Enemy made the *Plateans* the less discernable. Inasmuch as these last passed the Ditch, though with difficulty and force. For the Water in it was frozen over, though not so hard as to bear, but watry, and such as when the Wind is at East, rather than at North: and the Snow which fell that night, together with so great a Wind as that was, had very much increased the Water, which they waded thorow with scarce their heads above. But yet the greatness of the storm was the principal means of their escape.

From the Ditch the *Plateans* in troop took the way towards *Thebes*, leaving on the left hand the *Temple of Jano*, built by *Androcrates*, both for that they supposed they would least suspect the way that led to their Enemies; and also because they saw the *Peloponnesians* with their lights pursue that way, which by Mount *Citharon*, and the *Oak-heads*, led to *Athens*. The *Plateans*, when they had gone six or seven Furlongs, forsook the *Theban* way, and turned into that which led towards the Mountain to *Erythræ* and *Hysia*, and having gotten the Hills, escaped through to *Athens*, being 212 persons of a greater number: for some of them returned into the City before the rest went over; and one of their Archers was taken upon the Ditch without. And so the *Peloponnesians* gave over the pursuit, and returned to their places. But the *Plateans* that were within the City, knowing nothing of the event, and those that turned back having told them, that not a man escaped, as soon as it was day, sent a Herald to entreat a Truce for the taking up of their dead bodies; but when they knew the truth, they gave it over. And thus these men of *Platea* passed through the Fortification of their Enemies, and were saved.

About the end of the same Winter, *Salathus* a *Lacedæmonian*, was sent in a Gally to *Mitylene*, and coming first to *Pyrrha*, and thence going to *Mitylene* by Land, entered the City by the dry channel of a certain Torrent which had a passage through the Wall of the *Athenians*, undiscovered. And he told the Magistrates that *Attica* should again be invaded, and that the 40 Gallies which were to aid them, were coming; and that himself was sent before, both to let them know it, and withall to give Order in the rest of their Affairs. Hereupon the *Mitylenians* grew confident, and hearkned less to Composition with the *Athenians*. And the Winter ended, and the fourth year of this War written by *Thucydides*.

In the beginning of the Summer, after they had sent *Alcidas* away with the * 42 Gallies, whereof he was Admiral, unto *Mitylene*, both they and their Confederates invaded *Attica*; to the end that the *Athenians* troubled on both sides, might the less send supply against the Fleet, now gone to *Mitylene*. In this Expedition *Cleomenes* was General in

Salathus a *Lacedæmonian*, entereth secretly into *Mitylene*, and confirmeth them with hope of speedy aid.

Year V.

* It should be 40. *Attica* the fourth time invaded.

Pausanias King of *Lacedæmon*.

stead of *Pausanias* the son of *Plistoanax*, who being King, was yet in minority, and *Cleomenes* was his Uncle by the Father. And they now cut down, both what they had before wasted and began to grow again, and also whatsoever else they had before pretermitted. And this was the sharpest invasion of all but the second. For whilest they staid to hear news from their Fleet at *Lesbos*, which by this time they supposed to have been arrived, they went abroad, and destroyed most part of the Countrey. But when nothing succeeded according to their hopes, and seeing their Corn failed, they retired again, and were dissolved according to their Cities.

Salæthus arms the Commons for a Sally. They mutiny and give up the Town.

The *Mitylenians* in the mean time, seeing the Fleet came not from *Peloponnesus*, but delayed the time, and their Victuals failed, were constrained to make their composition with the *Athenians*, upon this occasion. *Salæthus*, when he also expected these Gallies no longer, armed the Commons of the City, who were before unarmed, with intention to have made a sally upon the *Athenians*; but they, as soon as they had gotten Arms, no longer obeyed the Magistrates, but holding Assemblies by themselves, required the rich men either to bring their Corn to light, and divide it amongst them all, or else they said they would make their composition by delivering up the City to the *Athenians*.

Some of the *Mitylenians* fearing the worst, take Sanctuary. Whom *Paches* persuadeth to rise. And sendeth them to be in custody at *Tenedos*.

Those that managed the State perceiving this, and unable to hinder it, knowing also their own danger, in case they were excluded out of the composition, they all jointly agreed to yield the City to *Paches* and his Army, with these conditions, *To be proceeded withall at the pleasure of the people of Athens; and to receive the Army into the City, and that the Mitylenians should send Ambassadors to Athens about their own business: And that Paches till their return, should neither put in bonds, nor make Slave of, nor slay any Mitylenian.* This was the effect of that composition. But such of the *Mitylenians* as had principally practized with the *Lacedæmonians*, being afraid of themselves, when the Army was entered the City, durst not trust to the Conditions agreed on, but took Sanctuary at the Altars. But *Paches* having raised them upon promise to do them no injury, sent them to *Tenedos*, to be in custody there till the people of *Athens* should have resolved what to do. After this, he sent some Gallies to *Antissa*, and took in that Town, and ordered the Affairs of his Army as he thought convenient.

The Voyage of *Alcidas* with 40 Gallies into *Ionis*.

Alcidas with his Fleet at *Embatus* is assured of the loss of *Mitylene*.

In the mean time, those 40 Gallies of *Peloponnesus* which should have made all possible haste, trifled away the time about *Peloponnesus*, and making small speed in the rest of their Navigation, arrived at *Delos* unknown to the *Athenians* at *Athens*. From thence sailing to *Icarus* and *Myconum*, they got first intelligence of the loss of *Mitylene*. But to know the truth more certainly, they went thence to *Embatus* in *Erythræa*. It was about the seventh day after the taking of *Mitylene*, that they arrived at *Embatus*, where understanding the certainty, they went to counsel about what they were to do upon the present occasion, and *Tentiaplus* an *Elean* delivered his opinion to this effect.

The advice of *Tentiaplus* in the Council of War.

Alcidas, and the rest that have command of the *Peloponnesians* in this Army, *It were not amiss, in my opinion, to go to Mitylene, as we are, before advice be given of our arrival. (For in all probability, we shall find the City, in respect they have but lately won it, very weakly guarded) and to the Sea, (where they expect no Enemy, and we are chiefly strong) not guarded at all. It is also likely that their Land Souldiers are dispersed, some in one house and some in another, carelessly as Victors. Therefore if we fall upon them,*

them suddenly, and by night, I think, with the help of those within (if any be left there that will take our part) we may be able to possess our selves of the City. And we shall never fear the danger, if we but think this, That all Stratagems of War whatsoever, are no more, but such occasions as this, which if a Commander avoid in himself and take the advantage of them, in the Enemy, he shall for the most part have good success. Thus said he, but prevailed not with Alcidas. And some others, Fugitives of Ionia, and those Lesbians that were with him in the Fleet, gave him counsel, That seeing he feared the danger of this, he should seize some City of Ionia, or Cume in Æolia, that having some Town for the seat of the War, they might from thence force Ionia to revolt, whereof there was hope, because the Ionians would not be unwilling to see him there. And if they could withdraw from the Athenians this their great revenue, and withall put them to maintain a Fleet against them, it would be a great exhausting of their Treasure. They said besides, that they thought they should be able to get Pissuthnes, to joyn with them in the War.

The advice of certain Out-laws of Ionia and Lesbos.

But Alcidas rejected this advice likewise, inclining rather to this opinion, that since they were come too late to Mitylene, they were best to return speedily into Peloponnesus. Whereupon putting off from Embatus, he sailed by the Shoar to Myonnesus of the Taians, and there slew most of the Prisoners he had taken by the way. After this he put in at Ephesus, and thither came Ambassadors to him from the Samians of Anæa, and told him that it was but an ill manner of setting the Grecians at liberty, to kill such as had not lift up their hands against him, nor were indeed enemies to the Peloponnesians, but Confederates to the Athenians by constraint. And that unless he gave over that course, he would make few of the Enemies his Friends; but many now Friends, to become his Enemies. Wherefore upon these words of the Ambassadors, he set the Chians, and some others, all that he had left alive, at liberty. For when men saw their Fleet, they never fled from it, but came unto them as to Athenians; little imagining that the Athenians being Masters of the Sea, the Peloponnesians durst have put over to Ionia.

The cowardly resolution of Alcidas.

He killeth his Prisoners.

The Samians sharply reprehend him.

From Ephesus, Alcidas went away in haste, indeed fled; for he had been descried by the * Salaminia, and the † Paralus (which by chance were then in their course for Athens,) whilst he lay at Anchor about Claros, and fearing to be chased kept the wide Sea, meaning by his good will to touch no Land, till he came into Peloponnesus. But the news of them came to Paches from divers places, especially from Erythraea: for the Cities of Ionia being unwall'd, were afraid extreamly, lest the Peloponnesians sailing by, without intention to stay, should have pillaged them as they passed. But the Salaminia and the Paralus having seen him at Claros, brought the news themselves. And Paches thereupon made great haste after, and followed him as far as Latmos* the Island: but when he saw he could not reach him, he came back again, and thought he had a good turn, seeing he could not overtake those Gallies upon the wide Sea, that the same were not compelled, by being taken in some place near Land, to fortifie themselves, and so to give him occasion with Guards and Gallies, to attend them.

Alcidas maketh haste from Ephesus homeward.

* The names of two Gallies of Athens.

Paches pursueth the Peloponnesians, and is glad he overtaketh them not.

* In distinction to Latmos the Mountain. But I can find no mention of this Latmos the Island in any of the Geographers.

Paches restoreth Notium to the Colophonians, driven out by Sedition.

* The City of Colophon, two miles higher into the Land.

As he came by, in his return, he put in at Notium, a City of the Colophonians, into which the Colophonians came and inhabited, after the * Town above through their own Sedition, was taken by Itamanes and the Barbarians. This Town was taken at the time when Attica was

the

the second time invaded by the *Peloponnesians*.) They then that came down, and dwelt in *Notium*, falling again into Sedition, the one part having procured some Forces, *Arcadians* and *Barbarians* of *Pissuthnes*, kept them in a part of the Town which they had severed from the rest with a Wall; and there with such of the *Colophonians* of the high Town as being of the *Medan* Faction, entered with them, they governed the City at their pleasure: and the other part which went out from these, and were the Fugitives, brought in *Paches*. He, when he had called out *Hippias*, Captain of the *Archadians* that were within the said Wall, with promise, if they should not agree, to set him safe and sound within the Wall again; and *Hippias* was thereupon come to him, committed him to custody, but without bonds; and withall assaulting the Wall on a sudden when they expected not, took it, and slew as many of the *Arcadians* and *Barbarians* as were within. And when he had done, brought *Hippias* in again, according as he had promised. But after he had him there, laid hold on him, and caused him to be shot to death; and restored *Notium* to the *Colophonians*, excluding onely such as had Medized. Afterwards the *Athenians* sent Governours to *Notium* of their own, and having gathered together the *Colophonians* out of all Cities whatsoever, seated them there under the Law of the *Athenians*.

Paches parlieth with *Hippias*.

His equivocation with *Hippias* whom he put to death contrary to promise.

Paches taketh *Pyrrha* and *Ereessus*. He apprehendeth *Salathus* in *Mitylene*.

The *Athenians* slay *Salathus*, though he offer to withdraw the *Peloponnesians* from the siege of *Plataea*. The cruel decree of the *Athenians* in their passion against the *Mitylenians*.

The *Athenians* repent of their decree, and consult anew.

Cleon most popular, and most violent.

Paches, when he came back to *Mitylene*, took in *Pyrrha* and *Ereessus*; and having found *Salathus* the *Lacedaemonian* hidden in *Mitylene*, apprehended him, and sent him, together with those men he had put in custody at *Tenedos*, and whomsoever else he thought Author of the Revolt, to *Athens*. He likewise sent away the greatest part of his Army, and with the rest staid and settled the State of *Mitylene*, and the rest of *Lesbos*, as he thought convenient.

These men, and *Salathus* with them, being arrived at *Athens*, the *Athenians* slew *Salathus* presently, though he made them many offers, and amongst other, to get the Army of the *Peloponnesians* to rise from before *Plataea*, (for it was yet besieged) but upon the rest they went to Council, and in their passion decreed to put them to death; not onely those men there present, but also all the men of *Mitylene* that were of Age, and to make Slaves of the Women and Children: laying to their charge the Revolt it self, in that they revolted not, being in subjection as others were: And withall the *Peloponnesian* Fleet, which durst enter into *Ionia* to their aid, had not a little aggravated that commotion. For by that it seemed that the Revolt was not made without much premeditation. They therefore sent a Gally to inform *Paches* of their Decree, with command to put the *Mitylenians* presently to death. But the next day they felt a kind of Repentance in themselves, and began to consider what a great and cruel Decree it was, that not the Authors onely, but the whole City should be destroyed. Which when the Ambassadors of the *Mitylenians* that were there present, and such *Athenians* as favoured them understood, they wrought with those that bare Office to bring the matter again into debate; wherein they easily prevailed, for as much as to them also it was well known, that the most of the City were desirous to have means to consult of the same anew. The Assembly being presently met, amongst the opinions of divers others, *Cleon* also, the son of *Cleometus*, who in the former Assembly had won to have them killed, being of all the Citizens most violent, and with the people at that time far the most powerful, stood forth, and said in this manner:

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The Oration of CLEON.

I Have often on other occasions thought a Democratic uncappable of dominion over others; but most of all now, for this your repentance concerning the Mitylenians. For through your own mutual security and openness, you imagine the same also in your Confederates, and consider not, that when at their perswasion you commit an error, or relent upon compassion, you are softened thus, to the danger of the Commonwealth, not to the winning of the affections of your Confederates. Nor do you consider, that your Government is a Tyranny, and those that be subject to it, are against their wills so, and are plotting continually against you, and obey you not for any good turn, which to your own detriment you shall do them, but onely for that you exceed them in strength, and for no goodwill. But the worst mischief of all is this, that nothing we decree shall stand firm, and that we will not know, that a City with the worse Laws, if immoveable, is better then one with good Laws, when they be not binding; and that a plain Wit accompanied with Modesty, is more profitable to the State then dexterity with Arrogance; and that the more ignorant sort of men do for the most part better regulate a Common-wealth, then they that are wiser. For these love to appear wiser then the Laws, and in all publick debates to carry the Victory, as the worthiest things wherein to shew their Wisdom; from whence most commonly proceedeth the ruine of the States they live in. Whereas the other sort, mistrusting their own Wits, are content to be esteemed not so wise as the Laws, and not able to carp at what is well spoken by another; and so making themselves equal Judges, rather then contenders for Mastery, govern a State for the most part well. We therefore should do the like, and not be carried away with Combats of Eloquence and Wit, to give such counsel to your multitude, as in our own judgments we think not good. For my own part I am of the opinion I was before; and I wonder at these men that have brought this matter of the Mitylenians in question again, and thereby cause delay, which is the advantage onely of them that do the injury. For the Sufferer by this means comes upon the Doer with his anger dulled; whereas Revenge, the Opposite of Injury, is then greatest, when it follows presently. I do wonder also what he is that shall stand up now to contradict me, and shall think to prove, that the injuries done us by the Mitylenians, are good for us, or that our calamities are any damage to our Confederates. For certainly he must either trust in his Eloquence, to make you believe that that which was decreed was not decreed, or moved with lucre, must with some elaborate Speech endeavour to seduce you. Now of such matches [of Eloquence] as these, the City giveth the prizes to others, but the danger that thence proceedeth, she her self sustaineth. And of all this you your selves are the cause, by the evil institution of these matches, in that you use to be Spectators of words, and hearers of Actions, beholding future actions in the words of them that speak well, as possible to come to pass; and actions already past, in the Orations of such as make the most of them, and that with such assurance, as if what you saw with your eyes, were not more certain then what you hear related. You are excellent men for one to deceive with a Speech of a new strain, but backward to follow any tried advice: slaves to strange things, contempters of things usual. You would every one chiefly give the best advice, but if you cannot, then you will contradict those that do. You would not be thought to come after with your opinion; but rather if any thing be acutely spoken, to applaud it first, and to appear ready apprehenders of what is spoken, even before

The nature of the multitude in Council, lively set forth.

Aggravation of the
Revolt of the Mity-
lenians.

fore it be out ; but slow to preconceive the sequel of the same. You would hear, as one may say, somewhat else than what our life is conversant in ; and yet you sufficiently understand not that, that is before your eyes. And to speak plainly, overcome with the delight of the ear, you are rather like unto spectators, sitting to hear the contentions of Sophisters, than to men that deliberate of the state of a Common-wealth. To put you out of this humour, I say unto you, that the Mitylenians have done us more injury, then ever did any one City. For those that have revolted through the over-hard pressure of our government, or that have been compelled to it by the enemy, I pardon them ; but they that were Ilanders, and had their City walled, so as they needed not fear our Enemies, but only by Sea ; in which case also they were armed for them with sufficient provision of Gallies ; and they that were permitted to have their own Laws, and whom we principally honoured, and yet have done thus ; what have they done but conspired against us, and rather warred upon us, then revolted from us, (for a revolt is only of such as suffer violence) and joined with our bitterest Enemies to destroy us ? This is far worse then if they had warred against us for encreasing of their own power. But these men would neither take example by their neighbours calamity, who are, all that revolted, already subdued by us, nor could their own present felicity, make them afraid of changing it into misery. But being bold against future events, and aiming at matters above their strength, though below their desires, have taken Arms against us, and preferred force before justice. For no sooner they thought they might get the victory, but immediately, though without injury done them, they rose against us. But with Cities that come to great and unexpected prosperity, it is usual to turn insolent. Whereas most commonly that prosperity which is attained according to the course of reason, is more firm then that which cometh unhop'd for. And such Cities, as one may say, do more easily keep off an adverse, then maintain a happy fortune. Indeed we should not formerly have done any honour, more to the Mitylenians, then to the rest of our Confederates ; for then they had never come to this degree of insolence. For it is natural to men to condemn those that observe them, and to have in admiration such as will not give them way. Now therefore let them be punished according to their wicked dealing ; and let not the fault be laid upon a few, and the people be absolved ; for they have all alike taken Arms against us. And the Commons, if they had been constrained to it, might have fled hither, and have recovered their City afterwards again. But they, esteeming it the safer adventure, to join with the Few, are alike with them culpable of the Revolt. Have also in consideration, your Confederates ; And if you inflict the same punishment on them that revolt upon compulsion of the Enemy, that you do on them that revolt of their own accord, who think you will not revolt, though on light pretence ; seeing that speeding they win their liberty, and failing, their case is not incurable. Besides, that against every City we must be at a new hazard both of our persons and fortunes. Wherein with the best success, we recover but an exhausted City, and lose that, wherein our strength lieth, the revenue of it ; but miscarrying, we add these Enemies to our former ; and must spend that time in warring against our own Confederates, which we needed to employ against the Enemies, we have already. We must not therefore give our Confederates hope of pardon, either impetrable by words, or purchaseable by money, as if their errors were but such as are commonly incident to humanity. For these did us not an injury unwillingly, but wittingly conspired against us ; whereas it ought to be involuntary, whatsoever is pardonable. Therefore both then at first, and now again I maintain, that you ought not to alter your former Decree, nor to offend in any of these three most disadvantageous things to Empire, Pity, Delight in plausible

plausible speeches, and Lenity. As for Pity, it is just to shew it on them that are like us, and will have pity again; but not upon such as not only would not have had pity upon us, but must also of necessity have been our enemies for ever hereafter. And for the Rhetoricians that delight you with their Orations, let them play their prizes in matters of less weight, and not in such wherein the City for a little pleasure, must suffer a great damage, but they for their well speaking, must well * have. Lastly for Lenity, it is to be used towards those that will be our friends hereafter, rather than towards such, as being suffered to live, will still be as they are, not a jot the less our enemies. In sum I say only this, that if you follow my advice, you shall do that, which is both just in respect of the Mitylenians, and profitable for your selves; whereas if you decree otherwise, you do not gratifie them, but condemn your selves. For if these have justly revolted, you must unjustly have had dominion over them. Nay though your dominion be against reason, yet if you resolve to hold it, you must also, as a matter conducing thereunto, against reason punish them; or else you must give your dominion over, that you may be good without danger. But if you consider what was likely they would have done to you, if they had prevailed, you cannot but think them worthy the same punishment; nor be less sensible you that have escaped, then they that have conspired; especially they having done the injury first. For such as do an injury without precedent cause, persecute most, and even to the death, him they have done it to; as jealous of the danger his remaining Enemy may create him. For he that is wronged without cause, and escapeth, will commonly be more cruel, then if it were against any Enemy on equal quarrel. Let us not therefore betray our selves, but in contemplation of what you were neer suffering, and how you once prized above all things else, to have them in your power, requite them now accordingly. Be not softened at the sight of their present estate, nor forget the danger that hung over our own heads so lately: Give not only unto these their deserved punishment, but also unto the rest of our Confederates a cleer example, that death is their sentence, whensoever they shall rebel. Which when they know, you shall the less often have occasion to neglect your Enemies, and fight against your own Confederates.

* Meaning that the Orators are bribed and hired to give counsel to the Commonwealth, according to the desire of other States.

To this purpose spake Cleon.

After him, Diodotus the son of Eucrates, who also in the former Assembly opposed most the putting of the Mitylenians to death, stood forth, and spake as followeth.

The Oration of DIODOTUS.

I Will neither blame those who have propounded the business of the Mitylenians, to be again debated, nor commend those that find fault with often consulting in affairs of great importance. But I am of opinion that nothing is so contrary to good counsel as these two, haste and anger: whereof the one is ever accompanied with madness, and the other with want of judgement. And whosoever maintaineth, that words are not instructers to deeds, either he is not wise, or doth it upon some private interest of his own. Not wise, if he think that future and not apparent things, may be demonstrated otherwise then by words: Interested, if desiring to carry an ill matter, and knowing that a bad cause will not bear a good speech, he go about to deter his opposers and hearers by a good calumination. But they, of all others, are most intolerable, that

that when men give publick advice, will accuse them also of Bribery. For if they charged a man with no more but ignorance, when he had spoken in vain, he might yet depart with the opinion of a Fool. But when they impute corruption also, if his counsel take place, he is still suspected, and if it do not take place, he shall be held not onely a Fool, but also void of honesty. The Common-wealth gets no good by such courses; for through fear hereof it will want Counsellors, and the State would do their business for the most part well, if this kind of Citizens were they that had least ability in speaking; for they should then perswade the City to the fewer errors. For a good Statesman should not go about to terrifie those that contradict him, but rather to make good his counsel upon liberty of speech. And a wise State ought not, either to adde unto, or on the other side, to derogate from the honour of him that giveth good advice; nor yet punish, nay nor disgrace the man whose counsel they receive not. And then neither would he that lighteth on good advice, deliver any thing against his own Conscience, out of ambition of further honour, and to please the Auditory; nor he that doth not covet thereupon by gratifying the People some way or other, that he also may endear them. But we do here the contrary, and besides, if any man be suspected of corruption, though he give the best counsel that can be given, yet through Envy, for this uncertain opinion of his gain, we lose a certain benefit to the Commonwealth. And our custom is to hold good counsel given suddenly no less suspect, then bad. By which means, as he that gives the most dangerous counsel must get the same received by fraud, so also he that gives the most sound advice, is forced by lying to get himself believed. So that the Commonwealth is it alone, which by reason of these suspicious imaginations, no man can possibly benefit, by the plain and open way, without artifice. For if any man shall do a manifest good unto the Commonwealth, he shall presently be suspected of some secret gain unto himself in particular. We therefore, that in the most important affairs, and amidst these jealousies, do give our advice, have need to foresee farther then you that look not far; and the rather because we stand accountable for our counsel, and you are to render no account of your hearing it. For if the perswader and the perswaded, had equal harm, you would be the more moderate Judges. But now, according to the passion that takes you, when at any time your affairs miscarry, you punish the sentence of that one onely that gave the counsel, not the many sentences of your own, that were in fault as well as his. For my own part, I stood not forth with any purpose of contradiction, in the business of the Mitylenians, nor to accuse any man. For we contend not now, if we be wise, about the injury done by them, but about the wisest counsel for our selves. For how great soever be their fault, yet I would never advise to have them put to death, unless it be for our profit; nor yet would I pardon them, though they were pardonable, unless it be good for the Commonwealth. And in my opinion, our deliberation now is of the future, rather then of the present. And whereas Cleon contendeth, that it will be profitable for the future, to put them to death, in that it will keep the rest from rebelling, I contending likewise for the future, affirm the contrary. And I desire you not to reject the profit of my advice, for the fair pretexts of his, which agreeing more with your present anger against the Mitylenians, may quickly perhaps win your consent. We plead not judicially with the Mitylenians, so as to need arguments of equity, but we consult of them, which may we may serve our selves of them to our most advantage hereafter. I say therefore, that death hath been in States ordained for a punishment of many offences, and those not so great, but far less then this. Yet encouraged by hope, men hazard themselves. Nor did any man ever yet enter into a practice,

which

which he knew he could not go through with. And a City when it revolteth, supposeth it self to be better furnished either of themselves, or by their Confederates, then it is, or else it would never take the enterprise in hand. They have it by nature, both Men and Cities to commit offences; nor is there any Law that can prevent it. For men have gone over all degrees of punishment, augmenting them still, in hope to be less annoyed by Malefactors; and it is likely that gentler punishments were inflicted of old, even upon the most heinous crimes; but that in tract of time, men continuing to transgress, they were extended afterwards to the taking away of life; and yet they still transgress. And therefore either some greater terror than death must be devised, or death will not be enough for coercion. For poverty will always add boldness to necessity; and wealth, covetousness to pride and contempt. And the other [middle] fortunes, they also through humane passion, according as they are severally subject to some insuperable one or other, impel men to danger. But Hope and Desire work this effect in all Estates. And this as the Leader, that as the Companion; this contriving the Enterprise, that suggesting the Success; are the cause of most crimes that are committed: and being least discerned, are more mischievous then Evils seen. Besides these two, Fortune also puts men forward as much as any thing else: For presenting her self sometimes unlookt for, she provoketh some to adventure, though not provided as they ought for the purpose; and specially Cities, because they venture for the greatest matters, as liberty and dominion over others; and amongst a generality, every one, though without reason, somewhat the more magnifies himself in particular. In a word, it is a thing impossible, and of great simplicity to believe, when humane nature is earnestly bent to do a thing, that by force of Law, or any other danger, it can be diverted. We must not therefore, relying on the security of capital punishment, decree the worst against them, nor make them desperate, as if there were no place to repent, and as soon as they can to cancel their offence. For observe, if a City revolted should know it could not hold out, it would now compound, whilst it were able both to pay us our charges for the present, and our tribute for the time to come. But the way that Cleon prescribeth, what City, think you, would not provide it self better then this did, and endure the Siege to the very last, if to compound late and soon be all one? And how can it be but detriment to us, to be at the charge of long Sieges, through their obstinacy, and when we have taken a City, to find it exhausted, and to lose the revenue of it for the future? And this revenue is the onely strength we have against our Enemies. We are not then to be exact Judges in the punishment of Offenders, but to look rather how by their moderate punishment we may have our Confederate Cities, such as they may be able to pay us tribute; and not think to keep them in awe by the rigour of Laws, but by the providence of our own actions. But we to the contrary, when we recover a City, which having been Free, and held under our obedience by force, hath revolted justly, think now, that we ought to inflict some cruel punishment upon them; whereas we ought rather, not mightily to punish a Free City revolted, but mightily to look to it before it revolt, and to prevent the intention of it; but when we have overcome them, to lay the fault upon as few as we can. Consider also, if you follow the advice of Cleon, how much you shall offend likewise in this other point. For in all your Cities, the Commonalty are now your Friends, and either revolt not with the Few, or if they be compelled to it by force, they presently turn Enemies to them that caused the revolt; whereby when you go to War, you have the Commons of the adverse City on your side. But if you shall destroy the Commonalty of the Mitylenians, which did neither partake of the revolt, and as soon as

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they

they were armed, presently delivered the City into your hands, you shall first do unjustly to kill such as have done you service, and you shall effect a work besides, which the great men do every where most desire. For when they have made a City to revolt, they shall have the People presently on their side; you having fore-slewn them by the example, that both the guilty and not guilty must undergo the same punishment.

Whereas indeed, though they were guilty, yet we ought to dissemble it, to the end that the onely party (now our Friend) may not become our Enemy. And for the assuring of our Dominion, I think it far more profitable voluntarily to put up an injury, then justly to destroy such as we should not. And that same, both JUSTICE and Profit of REVENGE alledged by Cleon, can never possibly be found together in the same thing.

You therefore, upon knowledge that this is the best course, not upon Compassion, or Lenity, (for neither would I have you won by that) but upon consideration of what hath been advised, be ruled by me, and proceed to judgment at your own leisure, against those whom Paches hath sent hither as guilty, and suffer the rest to enjoy their City. For that will be both good for the future, and also of present terrour to the Enemy. For he that consulteth wisely, is a sorer Enemy then he that assaulteth with the strength of action unadvisedly.

Thus spake DIODOTUS.

After these two opinions were delivered, the one most opposite to the other, the Athenians were at contention which they should decree; and at the holding up of hands, they were both sides almost equal: but yet the sentence of Diodotus prevailed. Whereupon they presently in haste sent away another Gallie, lest not arriving before the former, they should find the City already destroyed. The first Gallie set forth before the second a day and a night. But the Mitylenian Ambassadors having furnished this latter with Wine and Barley Cakes, and promised them great rewards, if they overtook the other Gallie; they rowed diligently, at one and the same time both plying their Oars, and taking their refecti^on of the said Barley Cakes steeped in Wine and Oyl; and by turns part of them slept, and the other part rowed. It happened also that there blew no Wind against them; And the former Gallie making no great haste, as going in so sad an errand, whereas the latter proceeded in the manner before mentioned, arrived indeed first, but onely so much, as Paches had read the Sentence, and prepared to execute what they had decreed. But presently after came in the other Gallie, and saved the City from being from being destroyed. So near were the Mitylenians to the danger.

But those whom Paches had sent home, as most culpable of the Revolt, the Athenians, as Cleon had advised, put to death; being in number somewhat above a thousand.

They also razed the Walls of Mitylene, and took from them all their Gallies. After which they imposed on the Lesbians no more Tribute, but having divided their Land (all but that of the Methymneans) into 3000 parts, 300 of those parts, of the choicest Land, they consecrated to the Gods. And for the rest, they sent men by lot out of their own City to possess it, of whom the Lesbians at the rent of *two Minae

of

The Sentence of Diodotus taketh place.

A Gallie sent out after the former, with a sentence of mercy.

The speed of this latter Gallie to overtake the former that carried the Decree of death.

The Commons of Mitylene very near destruction.

Above a thousand principal Authors of the Revolt executed.

* Six pound five shillings sterling.

of Silver yearly upon a Lot, had the Land again to be husbanded by themselves. The *Athenians*, took in all such Towns also as the *Mitylenians* were Masters of in the Continent, which were afterwards made Subjects to the *People of Athens*. Thus ended the business touching *Lesbos*.

The same Summer, after the recovery of *Lesbos*, the *Athenians* under the conduct of *Nicias* the son of *Niceratus*, made War on *Minoa*, an Island adjacent to *Megara*. For the *Megareans* had built a Tower in it, and served themselves of the Island for a place of Garrison. But *Nicias* desired that the *Athenians* might keep their Watch upon *Megara* in that Island, as being nearer, and no more at *Budorus* and *Salamis*; to the end that the *Peloponnesians* might not go out thence with their Gallies undiscried, nor send out Pirates as they had formerly done, and to prohibit the importation of all things to the *Megareans* by Sea. Wherefore when he had first taken two Towers that stood out from *Nisea*, with Engines applied from the Sea, and so made a free entrance for his Gallies between the Island and the firm Land, he took it in with a Wall also from the Continent, in that part where it might receive aid by a Bridge over the Marshes, for it was not far distant from the main Land. And that being in few days finished, he built a Fort in the Island it self, and leaving there a Garrison, carried the rest of his Army back.

Nicias taketh *Minoa*, an Island adjacent to *Megara*.

It hapned also about the same time of this Summer, that the *Plateans* having spent their Victual, and being unable longer to hold out, yielded their City in this manner to the *Peloponnesians*. The *Peloponnesians* assaulted the Walls, but they within were unable to fight. Whereupon the *Lacedæmonian* Commander perceiving their weakness would not take the place by force, (for he had command to that purpose from *Lacedæmon*, to the end that if they should ever make peace with the *Athenians*, with conditions of mutual restitution of such Cities as on either side had been taken by War, *Platea*, as having come in of its own accord, might not be thereby recoverable,) but sent a Herald to them, who demanded, Whether or no they would give up their City voluntarily into the hands of the *Lacedæmonians*, and take them for their Judges, with power to punish the offenders, but none without form of Justice. So said the Herald: and they (for they were now at the weakest) delivered up the City accordingly. So the *Peloponnesians* gave the *Plateans* food for certain days, till the Judges, which were five, should arrive from *Lacedæmon*. And when they were come, no accusation was exhibited, but calling them man by man, they asked of every one onely this question: *Whether they had done to the Lacedæmonians and their Confederates in this War, any good service?* But the *Plateans* having sued to make their Answer more at large, and having appointed *Astymachus* the son of *Asopolans*, and *Lacon* the son of *Adimnestus* (who had been heretofore the Host of the *Lacedæmonians*) for their Speakers, said as followeth:

The *Plateans* yield the City.

The *Lacedæmonians* refuse to take *Platea* by force, but will have it by voluntary surrender.

Unjust proceeding of the *Lacedæmonians*

The Oration of the PLATÆANS.

MEn of Lacedæmon, relying upon you, we yielded up our City, not expecting to undergo this, but some more legal manner of proceeding, and we agreed not to stand to the judgment of others, (as now we do) but of your selves only; conceiving we should so obtain the better justice. But now we fear we have been deceived in both. For we have reason to suspect, both that the Trial is capital, and you the Judges partial. Gathering so much, both from that, that there hath not been presented any accusation to which we might answer, and also from this, that the interrogatory is short, and such as if we answer to it with truth, we shall speak against our selves; and be easily convinced, if we lie. But since we are on all hands in a straight, we are forced (and it seems our safest way) to trie what we can obtain by pleading. For, for men in our case, the Speech not spoken, may give occasion to some to think, that spoken, it had preserved us. But besides other inconveniences, the means also of perswasion go ill on our side: For if we had not known one another, we might have helped our selves by producing testimony in things you knew not. Whereas now all that we shall say, will be before men that know already what it is. And we fear not that you mean, because you know us inferiour in vertue to your selves, to make that a crime, but lest you bring us to a judgment already judged, to gratifie some body else. Nevertheless we will produce our reasons of equity against the quarrel of the Thebans, and withall make mention of our services done, both to you and to the rest of Greece, and make trial, if by any means we can perswade you. As to that short interrogatory, Whether we have any way done good in this present War to the Lacedæmonians and their Confederates or not? If you ask us as Enemies, we say, that if we have done them no good, we have also done them no wrong. If you ask us as Friends, then we say, that they rather have done us the injury, in that they made War upon us. But in the time of the Peace, and in the War against the Medes, we behaved our selves well; for the one, we brake not first, and in the other, we were the onely Bæotians that joined with you for the delivery of Greece. For though we dwell up in the Land, yet we fought by Sea at Artemisium, and in the Battel fought in this our own territory we were with you; and whatsoever dangers the Grecians in those times underwent, we were partakers of all, even beyond our strength. And unto you Lacedæmonians in particular, when Sparta was in greatest afright after the Earthquake, upon the Rebellion of the Helots, and seizing of Ithome, we sent the third part of our power to assist you, which you have no reason to forget. Such then we shewed our selves in those ancient and most important affairs. It is true, we have been your Enemies since, but for that you are to blame your selves: For when oppressed by the Thebans we sought League of you, you rejected us, and bade us go to the Athenians that were nearer hand, your selves being far off: Nevertheless, you neither have in this War, nor were to have suffered at our hands any thing that misbecame us. And if we denied to revolt from the Athenians, when you bade us, we did you no injury in it: For they both aided us against the Thebans, when you shrunk from us; and it was now no more any honesty to betray them: Especially having been well used by them, and we our selves, having sought their League, and been made Denizens also of their City. Nay, we ought rather to have followed them in all their commands with alacrity. When You, or the Athenians have the leading of the Confederates, if evil be done,

not they that follow are culpable, but you that lead to the evil. The Thebans have done us many other injuries; but this last, which is the cause of what we now suffer, you your selves know what it was. For we avenged us but justly of those that in time of Peace, and upon the day of our Novilunial Sacrifice, had surprized our City; and by the Law of all Nations it is lawful to repel an assailing Enemy; and therefore there is no reason you should punish us now for them. For if you shall measure Justice by your and their present benefit in the War, it will manifestly appear, that you are not Judges of the Truth, but Respecters onely of your Profit. And yet if the Thebans seem profitable to you now, we and the rest of the Grecians were more profitable to you then, when you were in greater danger. For though the Thebans are now on your side when you invade others, yet at that time when the Barbarian came in to impose servitude on all, they were on his. It is but Justice, that with our present offence (if we have committed any) you compare our forwardness then; which you will find both greater then our fault, and augmented also by the circumstance of such a season, when it was rare to find any Grecian that durst oppose his valour to Xerxes power; and when they were most commended, not that with safety helped to further his invasion, but that adventured to do what was most honest, though with danger. But we being of that number, and honoured for it amongst the first, are afraid lest the same shall be now a cause of our destruction, as having chosen rather to follow the Athenians justly, then you profitably. But you should ever have the same opinion, in the same case; and think this onely to be profitable, that doing what is useful for the present occasion, you reserve withal a constant acknowledgment of the vertue of your good Confederates. Consider also that you are an example of honest dealing to the most of the Grecians. Now if you shall decree otherwise then is just, (for this judgment of yours is conspicuous) you that be praised against us that be not blamed, take heed that they do not dislike that good men should undergo an unjust sentence, though at the hands of better men; or that the spoil of us that have done the Grecians service, should be dedicated in their Temples. For it will be thought a horrible matter that Plataea should be destroyed by Lacedaemonians, and that you, whereas your Fathers in honour of our valour, inscribed the name of our City on the Tripode at Delphi, should now blot it out of all Greece to gratifie the Thebans. For we have proceeded to such a degree of calamity, that if the Medes had prevailed, we must have perished then; and now the Thebans have overcome us again in you, who were before our greatest Friends, and have put us to two great hazards, one before of famishing if we yielded not, and another of a Capital sentence. And we Plataeans, who even beyond our strength have been zealous in the defence of the Grecians, are now abandoned, and left unrelieved by them all. But we beseech you for those gods sakes, in whose names once we made a mutual League, and for our Valours sake shewn in the behalf of the Grecians, to be moved towards us, and (if at the perswasion of the Thebans, you have determined ought against us,) to change your minds, and reciprocally to require at the hands of the Thebans this courtesie, that whom you ought to spare, they would be contented not to kill, and so receive an honest benefit in recompence of a wicked one, and not to bestow pleasure upon others, and receive wickedness upon your selves in exchange. For though to take away our lives be a matter quickly done yet to make the infamy of it cease, will be work enough. For being none of your enemies, but well-willers, and such as have entered into the War upon constraint, you cannot put us to death with justice. Therefore if you will judge uncorruptly, you ought to secure our persons, and to remember that you

* It doth not appear by any thing in the time of this war, that the Lacedaemonians deserved any reputation for Justice, but contrarily they appear by this and divers other actions, not to have esteemed of Justice at all when it crossed their own interest or passion.

received

received us by our own voluntary submission, and with hands upkeld (and it is the Law among Græcians not to put such to death) besides that, we have from time to time been beneficial to you: For look upon the Sepulchres of your Fathers, whom slain by the Medes, and buried in this Territory of ours, we have yearly honoured at the Publick charge, both with Vestments and other Rites; and of such things as our Land hath produced, we have offered unto them the first fruits of it all, as friends in an amicable Land, and Confederates use to do to those that have formerly been their fellows in Arms. But now by a wrong sentence, you shall do the contrary of this. For consider this: Pausanias, as he thought, interred these men in amicable ground, and amongst their friends: but you, if you slay us, and of Plataeis make Thebais, what do you but leave your Fathers and Kindred deprived of the honours they now have, in an hostile Territory, and amongst the very men that slew them? And moreover put into servitude that soil whereon the Grecians were put into liberty? and make desolate the Temples wherein they prayed when they prevailed against the Medes? and destroy the Patrial Sacrifices which were instituted by the Builders and Founders of the same?

These things are not for your glory, Men of Lacedæmon, nor to violate the common Institutions of Greece, and wrong your Progenitors, nor to destroy us that have done you service, for the hatred of another, when you have received no injury from us your selves. But to spare our lives, to relent, to have a moderate compassion, in contemplation not onely of the greatness of the punishment, but also of who we are that must suffer, and of the uncertainty where calamity may light, and that undeservedly; which we (as becometh us, and our need compelleth us to do) cry aloud unto the common gods of Greece to perswade you unto; producing the oath sworn by your Fathers, to put you in mind; and also we become here, Sanctuary men, at the sepulchres of your Fathers, crying out upon the dead, not to suffer themselves to be in the power of the Thebans, nor to let their greatest friends be betrayed into the hands of their greatest enemies; remembring them of that day, upon which, though we have done glorious acts in their company, yet we are in danger at this day of most miserable suffering. But to make an end of speaking (which is, as necessary, so most bitter to men in our case, because the hazard of our lives commeth so soon after,) for a conclusion we say, that it was not to the Thebans that we rendred our City (for we would rather have died of Famine, the most base perdition of all other) but we came out on trust in you. And it is but justice, that if we cannot perswade you, you should set us again in the estate we were in, and let us undergo the danger at our own election. Also we require you, Men of Lacedæmon, not onely not to deliver us Plataeans who have been most zealous in the service of the Græcians, especially being Sanctuary men, out of your own hands, and your own trust, into the hands of our most mortal Enemies the Thebans, but also to be our Saviours, and not to destroy us utterly, you that set at liberty all other Græcians.

Thus spake the PLATAEANS.

But the Thebans, fearing lest the Lacedæmonians might relent at their Oration, stood forth and said, That since the Plataeans had had the liberty of a longer Speech (which they thought they should not) then for answer to the question was necessary, they also desired to speak: and being commanded to say on, spake to this effect:

The

The Oration of the THEBANS.

IF these men had answered briefly to the question, and not both turned against us with an accusation, and also out of the purpose, and wherein they were not charged, made much apology and commendation of themselves in things unquestioned, we had never asked leave to speak; but as it is, we are to the one point to answer, and to confute the other, that neither the faults of us, nor their own Reputation may do them good, but your Sentence may be guided, by hearing of the truth of both. The Quarrel between us and them arose at first from this, that when we had built Plataea last of all the Cities of Boeotia, together with some other places, which, having driven out the promiscuous Nations, we had then in our Dominion, they would not (as was ordained at first) allow us to be their Leaders; but being the onely men of all the Boeotians that transgressed the Common Ordinance of the Countrey, when they should have been compelled to their duty, they turned unto the Athenians, and together with them did us many evils, for which they likewise suffered as many from us. But when the Barbarian invaded Greece, then (say they) that they of all the Boeotians onely also, Medized not. And this is the thing wherein they both glory most themselves, and most detract from us. Now we confess they Medized not, because also the Athenians did not. Nevertheless when the Athenians afterwards invaded the rest of the Græcians, in the same kind then of all the Boeotians they onely Atticized. But take now into your Consideration withall, what Form of Government we were in, both the one and the other, when we did this. For then had we our City governed, neither by an Oligarchy, with Laws common to all, nor by a Democracie, but the State was managed by a Few with Authority absolute, then which there is nothing more contrary to Laws, and moderation, nor more approaching unto Tyranny. And these Few, hoping yet further, if the Medes prevailed, to encrease their own Power, kept the People under, and furthered the coming in of the Barbarian. And so did the whole City, but it was not then Master of it self; nor doth it deserve to be upbraided with what it did when they had no Laws, [but were at the will of others.] But when the Medes were gone, and our City had Laws, consider now, when the Athenians attempted to subdue all Greece, and this Territory of ours with the rest, wherein through sedition they had gotten many places already, whether by giving them Battel at Coronea and defeating them, we delivered not Boeotia from servitude then, and do not also now with much zeal assist you in the asserting of the rest, and find not more Horses, and more provision of War, then any of the Confederates besides. And so much be spoken by way of Apology to our Medizing. And we will endeavour to prove now, that the Grecians have been rather wronged by you, and that you are more worthy of all manner of punishment. You became, (you say) Confederates and Denizens of Athens, for to be righted against us; against us then onely the Athenians should have come with you, and not you with them have gone to the Invasion of the rest; especially when if the Athenians would have led you whither you would not, you had the League of the Lacedæmonians made with you against the Medes, (which you so often object) to have resorted unto; which was sufficient not onely to have protected you from us, but which is the main matter, to have secured you to take what course you had pleased. But voluntarily, and without constraint,

you rather chose to follow the Athenians. And you say it had been a dishonest thing to have betrayed your Benefactors: But it is more dishonest, and more unjust by far, to betray the Grecians universally, to whom you have sworn, then to betray the Athenians alone; especially when these go about to deliver Greece from subjection, and the other to subdue it. Besides, the requital you make the Athenians, is not proportionable, nor free from dishonesty; for you (as you say your selves) brought in the Athenians to right you against injuries, and you co-operate with them in injuring others. And howsoever, it is not so dishonest to leave a benefit unrequited, as to make such a requital, as though justly due, cannot be justly done. But you have made it apparent, that even then it was not for the Grecians sake, that you alone of all the Bœotians, Medized not, but because the Athenians did not; yet now, you that would do as the Athenians did, and contrary to what the Grecians did, claim favour of these, for what you did for the others sake. But there is no reason for that; but as you have chosen the Athenians, so let them help you in this trial. And produce not the Oath of the former League, as if that should save you now; for you have relinquish't it, and contrary to the same, have rather helped the Athenians to subdue the Æginetæ, and others, then hindred them from it. And this you not onely did voluntarily, and having Lawes, the same you have now, and none forcing you to it, as there did us, but also rejected our last invitation, (a little before the shutting up of your City) to quietness and neutrality. Who can therefore more deservedly be hated of the Grecians in general then you, that pretend honesty to their ruine? And those acts wherein formerly (as you say) you have been beneficial to the Grecians, you have now made apparent to be none of yours, and made true proof of what your own nature inclines you to. For with Athenians you have walked in the way of injustice. And thus much we have laid open touching our involuntary Medizing, and your voluntary Atticizing.

And for this last injury you charge us with, namely the unlawful invading of your City in time of Peace, and of your New Moon Sacrifice, we do not think, no not in this action, that we have offended so much as you your selves. For though we had done unjustly if we had assaulted your City, or wasted your Territory as Enemies, of our own accord, yet when the prime men of your own City, both for Wealth and Nobility, willing to discharge you of Foreign League, and conform you to the common institutions of all Bœotia, did of their own accord call us in, wherein lieth the injury then? For they that lead transgress, rather then they that follow. But as we conceive, neither they nor we have transgressed at all. But being Citizens as well as you, and having more to hazard, they opened their own Gates, and took us into the City as Friends, not as Enemies, with intention to keep the ill-affected from being Worse, and to do right to the Good: Taking upon them to be Moderators of your Councils, and not to deprive the City of your Persons; but to reduce you into one Body with the rest of your Kindred; and not to engage you in Hostility with any, but to settle you in Peace with all.

And for an Argument that we did not this as Enemies, we did harm to no man; but proclaimed, that if any man were willing to have the City governed after the Common Form of all Bœotia, he should come to us. And you came willingly at first, and were quiet; but afterwards when you knew we were but few, (though we might seem to have done somewhat more then was fit to do, without the consent
of

of your multitude) you did not by us as we did by you, first innovate nothing in fact, and then with words persuade us to go forth again, but contrary to the composition, assaulted us. And for those men you slew in the affray, we grieve not so much (for they suffered by a kind of Law) but to kill those that held up their hands for mercy, whom taken alive, you afterwards had promised to spare, was not this a horrid cruelty? You committed in this business three crimes, one in the neck of another: First the breach of the composition, then the death that followed of our men, and thirdly the falsifying of your promise, to save them if we did no hurt to anything of yours in the Fields. And yet you say that we are the transgressors, and that you for your parts deserve not to undergo a judgment. But it is otherwise. And if these men judge aright, you shall be punished now for all your crimes at once. We have herein, Men of Lacedæmon, been thus large, both for your sakes and ours. For yours, to let you see, that if you condemn them, it will be no injustice; for ours, that the equity of our revenge may the better appear. Be not moved with the recital of their Vertues of old (if any they had) which though they ought to help the wronged, should double the punishment of such as commit wickedness, because their offence doth not become them. Nor let them fare ever the better for their lamentation, or your compassion, when they cry out upon your Fathers Sepulchres, and their own want of friends. For we on the other side affirm, that the Youth of our City suffered harder measure from them and their Fathers, partly slain at Coronea, in bringing Bœotia to your Confederation, and partly alive and now old, and deprived of their children, make far juster supplication to you for revenge. And pity belongeth to such as suffer undeservedly, but on the contrary, when men are worthily punished, (as these are) it is to be rejoiced at. And for their present want of Friends, they may thank themselves: For of their own accord they rejected the better Confederates. And the Law hath been broken by them, without precedent wrong from us, in that they condemned our men spitefully, rather than judicially; in which point we shall now come short of requiting them; for they shall suffer legally, and not, as they say they do, with hands upheld from battel, but as men that have put themselves upon trial by consent.

Maintain therefore (ye Lacedæmonians) the Law of the Grecians against these men that have transgressed it, and give unto us that have suffered contrary to the Law, the just recompence of our alacrity in your service. And let not the words of these, give us a repulse from you: But set up an example to the Grecians, by presenting unto these men a trial, not of Words, but of Facts; which if they be good, a short narration of them will serve the turn; if ill, comely Orations do but veil them. But if such as have the authority, as you have now, would collect the matter to a head, and according as any man should make answer therunto, so proceed to sentence, men would be less in the search of fair Speeches, wherewith to excuse the foulness of their actions.

Thus spake the THEBANS.

And the Lacedæmonian Judges conceiving their Interrogatory to stand well, namely, Whether they had received any benefit by them or not, in this present War, (For they had indeed intreated them both at other times, according to the ancient League of Pausanias after the Median War, to stand

The Lacedæmonians proceed with their question.

R

neutral;

neutral and also a little before the Siege, the *Plateans* had rejected their proposition of being common friend to both sides, according to the same league) taking themselves in respect of these their just offers, to be now discharged of the league, and to have received evil at their hands, caused them one by one to be brought forth, and having asked them again the same question, *Whether they had any way benefited the Lacedæmonians, and their Confederates in this present War, or not?* as they answered, *Not*, led them aside and slew them, not exempting any. Of the *Plateans* themselves they slew not less than 200. Of *Athenians*, who were besieged with them, 25. The Women they made Slaves; and the *Thebans* assigned the City for a year, or thereabouts, for an habitation to such *Megareans* as in Sedition had been driven from their own, and to all those *Plateans*, which living, were of the *Theban* Faction. But afterwards, pulling it all down to the very Foundation, they built an Hospital in the place, near the Temple of *Juno*, of 200 foot diameter, with Chambers on every side in Circle, both above and below; using therein the Roofs and Dores of the *Plateans* Buildings. And of the rest of the Stuff that was in the City Wall, as Brass, and Iron, they made Bedsteads, and dedicated them to *Juno*, to whom also they built a stone Chappel of 100 foot over. The Land they confiscated, and set it to farm afterwards for ten years to the *Thebans*. So far were the *Lacedæmonians* alienated from the *Plateans*, especially, or rather altogether for the *Thebans* sake, whom they thought useful to them in the War now on foot. So ended the business at *Platea*, in the fourscore and thirteenth year after their League made with the *Athenians*.

The 40 Gallies of *Peloponnesus*, which having been sent to aid the *Lesbians*, fled, as hath been related, through the wide Sea, chased by the *Athenians*, and tossed by Storms on the Coast of *Crete*, came thence dispersed, into *Peloponnesus*, and found thirteen Gallies, *Leucadians*, and *Ambraciots* in the Haven of *Cyllene*, with *Brasidas* the son of *Tellis*, come thither to be of Council with *Alcidas*. For the *Lacedæmonians*, seeing they failed of *Lesbos*, determined with their Fleet augmented to sail to *Corcyra*, which was in Sedition, (there being but twelve *Athenian* Gallies about *Naupactus*) to the end they might be there before the supply of a greater Fleet should come from *Athens*. So *Brasidas* and *Alcidas* employed themselves in that.

The Sedition in *Corcyra* began upon the coming home of those Captives which were taken in the Battels by Sea at *Epidamnus*, and released afterwards by the *Corinthians* at the Ransome, as was voiced, of eighty Talents, for which they had given security to their Hosts; but in fact, for that they had perswaded the *Corinthians* that they would put *Corcyra* into their power. These men going from man to man, solicited the City to revolt from the *Athenians*. And two Gallies being now come in, one of *Athens*, another of *Corinth* with Ambassadors from both those States, the *Corcyraens* upon audience of them both, decreed to hold the *Athenians* for their Confederates, on Articles agreed on; but withall to remain Friends to the *Peloponnesians*, as they had formerly been. There was one *Pithias*, voluntary Host of the *Athenians*, and that had been principal Magistrate of the people. Him, these men called into judgment, and laid to his charge a practice to bring the City into the servitude of the *Athenians*. He again, being acquit, called in question five of the wealthiest of the same men, saying they had cut * certain Stakes in the ground belonging to the Temples both of *Jupiter* and of *Alcinus*, upon every

of

The *Plateans* are put to death.
25 *Athenians* slain with them.

Platea pulled down.

The *Lacedæmonians* in their sentence upon the *Plateans*, have more respect to their own profit, than to the merit of the cause.

The 40 Gallies, with *Alcidas* come weather-beaten home.

The sedition of *Corcyra* occasioned by the Captives that came from *Corinth*; Who perswade the renouncing of their league with *Athens*.

Pithias, one of the *Athenian* faction, accused; and absolved, accuseth some of the other faction.

* *Xaigxas* Stakes, either for Vine Props, which are particularly called *Xaigxas*, or for other prophane use.

of which', there lay a penalty of a * Stater. And the cause going against them, they took Sanctuary in the Temples, to the end, the sum being great, they might pay it by portions, as they should be taxed. But *Pithias* (for he was also of the Senate) obtained that the Law should proceed. These five being by the Law excluded the Senate, and understanding that *Pithias*, as long as he was a Senator, would cause the People to hold for Friends and Foes, the same that were so to the *Athenians*, conspired with the rest, and armed with Daggers, suddenly brake into the Senate House, and slew both *Pithias* and others, as well private men as Senators, to the number of about sixty Persons; onely a few of those of *Pithias* his Faction escaped into the *Athenian* Gally that lay yet in the Harbour. When they had done this, and called the *Corcyraens* to an Assembly, they told them, that what they had done, was for the best, and that they should not be now in bondage to the *Athenians*. And for the future they advised them to be in quiet, and to receive neither Party with more than one Gally at once; and to take them for Enemies if they were more. And when they had spoken, forced them to decree it accordingly. They also presently sent Ambassadors to *Athens*, both to shew that it was fit for them to do what they had done, and also to dissuade such *Corcyraens* as were fled thither of the other Faction, from doing any thing to their prejudice, for fear the matter should fall into a relapse.

* Of our money about
15 shillings 7 pence
half penny.

Pithias and others
slain in the Senate.

When these arrived, the *Athenians* apprehended both the Ambassadors themselves, as seditious persons, and also all those *Corcyraens* whom they had there prevailed with; and sent them to custody in *Ægina*. In the mean time, upon the coming in of a Gally of *Corinth* with Ambassadors from *Lacedæmon*, those that managed the State assailed the Commons, and overcame them in fight. And night coming on, the Commons fled into the Citadel, and the higher parts of the City, where they rallied themselves, and encamped, and made themselves Masters of the Haven called the *Hillaique* Haven. But the Nobility seized on the Market-place (where also the most of them dwelt,) and on the Haven on the side toward the Continent.

The *Lacedæmonian*
Faction assail the
Commons.

The next day they skirmished a little with * shot, and both parts sent abroad into the Villages to sollicite the Slaves with promise of Liberty, to take their parts. And the greatest part of the Slaves took part with the Commons; and the other side had an aid of 800 men from the Continent.

* Arrows, Darts,
Stones, and the like
missile weapons.

The next day but one they fought again, and the People had the Victory, having the odds both in strength of Places, and in number of men. And the Women also manfully assisted them, throwing Tiles from the Houses, and enduring the tumult even beyond the condition of their Sex. The *Few* began to flie about twilight, and fearing lest the People should even with their shout take the Arsenal, and so come on and put them to the Sword, to stop their passage, set fire on the houses in circle about the Market-place, and upon others near it. Much goods of Merchants was hereby burnt, and the whole City, if the Wind had risen and carried the flame that way, had been in danger to have been destroyed. When the People had gotten the Victory, the *Corinthian* Gally stole away, and most of the Auxiliaries got over privily into the Continent.

The Commons over-
come the *Oligarchi-
cals*.

The next day *Nicostratus* the son of *Diotrephes*, an *Athenian* Commander, came in with 12 Gallies and 500 *Messenian* men of Arms from

Naupactus, and both negotiated a reconciliation, and induced them (to the end they might agree) to condemn ten of the principal Authors of the Sedition (who presently fled) and to let the rest alone, with Articles both between themselves, and with the *Athenians* to esteem Friends and Enemies, the same the *Athenians* did. When he had done this, he would have been gone; but the People perswaded him before he went to leave behind him five of his Gallies, the better to keep their Adversaries from stirring, and to take as many of theirs, which they would man with *Corcyraeans*, and send with him. To this he agreed, and they made a List of those that should imbarque, consisting altogether of their Enemies. But these fearing to be sent to *Athens*, took Sanctuary in the Temple of *Castor* and *Pollux*; But *Nicostratus* endeavoured to raise them, and spake to them, to put them into courage: but when he could not prevail, the People (arming themselves on pretence that their diffidence to go along with *Nicostratus* proceeded from some evil intention) took away their Arms out of their houses, and would also have killed some of them, such as they chanced on, if *Nicostratus* had not hindred them.

Others also, when they saw this, took Sanctuary in the Temple of *Juno*, and they were in all above four hundred. But the people fearing some innovation, got them by perswasion to rise, and conveying them into the Island that lieth over against the Temple of *Juno*, sent them their necessities thither.

Alcidas and the *Peloponnesians* arrive and fight at Sea against the *Corcyraeans*.

The Sedition standing in these terms, the fourth or fifth day after the putting over of these men into the Island, arrived the *Peloponnesian* Fleet from *Cyllene*, where since their Voyage of *Ionia*, they had lain at Anchor, to the number of three and fifty Sail. *Alcidas* had the command of these, as before, and *Brasidas* came with him as a Counsellour. And having first put in at *Sybotia*, a Haven of the Continent, they came on the next morning by break of day toward *Corcyra*.

The *Corcyraeans* being in great tumult and fear, both of the Seditious within, and of the Invasion without, made ready threescore Gallies, and still as any of them were manned, sent them out against the Enemy; whereas the *Athenians* had advised them to give leave to them to go forth first, and then the *Corcyraeans* to follow after with the whole Fleet together. When their Gallies came forth thus thin, two of them presently turned to the Enemy, and in others, they that were aboard, were together by the ears among themselves, and nothing was done in due order. The *Peloponnesians* seeing their confusion, opposed themselves to the *Corcyraeans* with twenty Gallies onely, the rest they set in array against the twelve Gallies of *Athens*, whereof the *Salaminia* and the *Paralus* were two.

The *Corcyraeans* having come disorderly up, and by few at once, were on their part, in much distress; but the *Athenians*, fearing the Enemies number, and doubting to be invironed, would never come up to charge the Enemy where they stood thick, nor would set upon the Gallies that were placed in the midst, but charged one end of them, and drowned one of their Gallies: and when the *Peloponnesians* afterwards had put their Fleet into a circular Figure, they then went about and about it, endeavouring to put them into disorder; which they that were fighting against the *Corcyraeans* perceiving, and fearing such another chance as befel them formerly at *Naupactus*, went to their aid, and uniting themselves, came upon the *Athenians* all together.

But

But they retiring, rowed a stern, intending that the *Corcyreans* should take that time to escape in; they themselves in the mean time going as leisurely back as was possible, and keeping the Enemy still a head. Such was this Battel, and it ended about Sun-set.

The *Corcyreans* fearing lest the Enemy in pursuit of their Victory, should have come directly against the City, or take aboard the men which they had put over into the Island, or do them some other mischief, fetcht back the men into the Temple of *Juno* again, and guarded the City.

But the *Peloponnesians*, though they had won the Battel, yet durst not invade the City, but having taken thirteen of the *Corcyrean* Gallies, went back into the Continent from whence they had set forth. The next day they came not unto the City, no more then before, although it was in great tumult and affright: and though also *Brasidas* (as it is reported) advised *Alcidas* to it, but had not equal authority; but onely landed Souldiers at the Promontory of *Leucimna*, and wasted their Territory.

Alcidas = coward.

In the mean time the people of *Corcyra*, fearing extreamly lest those Gallies should come against the City, not onely conferred with those in Sanctuary, and with the rest, about how the City might be preserved, but also induced some of them to go aboard. For notwithstanding the Sedition, they manned 30 Gallies, in expectation that the Fleet of the Enemy should have entered. But the *Peloponnesians* having been wasting of their Fields till it was about Noon, went their ways again. Within night the *Corcyreans* had notice by Fires of three-score *Athenian* Gallies coming toward them from *Leucas*, which the *Athenians*, upon intelligence of the Sedition, and of the Fleet to go to *Corcyra* under *Alcidas*, had sent to aid them, under the conduct of *Eurymedon* the son of *Thucles*.

Three-score sail of *Athenians* come to aid the *Corcyrean* Commons.

The *Peloponnesians* therefore, as soon as night came, failed speedily home, keeping still the shore, and causing their Gallies to be carried over at the *Isthmus* of *Leucas*, that they might not come in sight, as they went about. But the people of *Corcyra* hearing of the *Attique* Gallies coming in, and the going off of the *Peloponnesians*, brought into the City those * *Messenians*, which before were without, and appointing the Gallies which they had furnished, to come about into the *Hillaigue* Haven, whilst accordingly they went about, slew all the contrary Faction they could lay hands on; and also afterwards threw over-board out of the same Gallies, all those they had before perswaded to imbarque, and so went thence. And coming to the Temple of *Juno*, they perswaded 50 of those that had taken Sanctuary, to refer themselves to a legal Trial; all which they condemned to die. But the most of the Sanctuary men, that is, all those that were not induced to stand to Trial by Law, when they saw what was done, killed one another there-right in the Temple: some hanged themselves on Trees, every one as he had means, made himself away. And for seven days together that *Eurymedon* staid there with his three-score Gallies, the *Corcyreans* did nothing but kill such of their City as they took to be their Enemies, laying to their charge a practice to have everted the Popular Government.

The *Peloponnesians* depart with their Fleet.

* That came with *Nicostratus*.

The people, upon the coming in of the *Athenians*, most cruelly put to death whomsoever they can of the contrary Faction.

Amongst whom, some were slain upon private hatred, and some by their Debtors, for the money which they had lent them. All forms of death were then seen, and (as in such cases it usually falls out) what-

Description of the behaviour of the people in this sedition.

whatsoever had happened at any time, happened also then, and more. For the Father slew his Son, men were dragged out of the Temples, and then slain hard by; and some immured in the Temple of *Bacchus*, died within it. So cruel was this Sedition, and seemed so the more, because it was of these the first. For afterwards all *Greece*, as a man may say, was in commotion; and quarrels arose every where between the Patrons of the Commons, that sought to bring in the *Athenians*, and the *Few*, that desired to bring in the *Lacedemonians*. Now in time of Peace they could have had no pretence, nor would have been so forward to call them in; but being War, and Confederates to be had for either Party, both to hurt their Enemies, and strengthen themselves, such as desired alteration, easily got them to come in. And many and hainous things happened in the Cities through this Sedition, which though they have been before, and shall be ever, as long as humane nature is the same, yet they are more calm, and of different kinds, according to the *several conjunctures. For in Peace and Prosperity, as well Cities as private men, are better minded, because they be not plunged into necessity of doing any thing against their will; but War taking away the affluence of daily necessities, is a most violent Master, and conformeth most mens passions to the present occasion. The Cities therefore being now in Sedition, and those that fell into it later, having heard what had been done in the former, they far exceeded the same in newness of conceit, both for the Art of assailing, and for the strangeness of their revenges. The received value of names imposed for signification of things, was changed into Arbitrary: For inconsiderate boldness, was counted true-hearted manliness; provident deliberation, a handsom fear; modesty, the cloak of cowardice; to be wise in every thing, to belazy in every thing. A furious suddenness was reputed a point of Valour. To re-advise for the better security, was held for a fair pretext of tergiversation. He that was fierce, was always trusty; and he that contraried such a one, was suspected. He that did insidiate, if it took, was a wise man; but he that could smell out a Trap laid, a more dangerous man then he: But he that had been so provident as not to need to do the one or the other, was said to be a dissolver of Society, and one that stood in fear of his Adversary. In brief, he that could out-strip another in the doing of an evil act, or that could perswade another thereto, that never meant it, was commended. To be kin to another, was not to be so near as to be of his society, because these were ready to undertake any thing, and not to dispute it. For these * Societies were not made upon prescribed Laws of profit, but for rapine, contrary to the Laws established. And as for mutual trust amongst them, it was confirmed not so much by * Divine Law, as by the communication of guilt. And what was well advised of their Adversaries, they received with an eye to their actions, to see whether they were too strong for them or not, and not ingenuously. To be revenged was in more request, then never to have received injury. And for Oaths (when any were) of reconciliation, being administred in the present for necessity, were of force to such as had otherwise no Power: but upon opportunity, he that first durst, thought his revenge sweeter by the trust, then if he had taken the open way. For they did not only put to account the safeness of that course, but having circumvented their Adversary by fraud, assumed to themselves withall, a Mastery in point of Wit. And dishonest men for the most part are sooner called

able,

* Μεταβολαί τῶν ἑκ-
τινῶν, changes of the
state of things.]

The manners of the
Seditious.

* The uniting of Com-
panies under certain
Laws, for the more
profitable manning
of their Trades and
Arts, seemeth to have
been in use then, as
now.

* By Oath.

able, then simple men honest. And men are ashamed of this title, but take a pride in the other. The cause of all this is *desire of rule*, out of *Avarice* and *Ambition*, and the zeal of * contention from those two proceeding. For such as were of authority in the Cities, both of the one and the other Faction, preferring under decent titles, one the *political equality of the multitude*; the other the moderate *Aristocratie*, though in words they seemed to be servants of the Publick, they made it *in effect* but the Prize of their contention. And striving by whatsoever means to overcome, both ventured on most horrible outrages, and prosecuted their revenges still further, without any regard of Justice, or the publick good, but limiting them, each Faction, by their own appetite: and stood ready; whether by unjust sentence, or with their own hands, when they should get power, to satisfy their present spight. So that neither side made account to have any thing the sooner done for Religion [of an Oath,] but he was most commended, that could pass a business against the hair with a fair Oration. The neutrals of the City were destroyed by both Factions; partly because they would not side with them, and partly for envy that they should so escape.

* *Φιλονομία* properly that spight which reigneth in two adversaries whilst they contend, or eagerness in striving.

Thus was wickedness on foot in every kind, throughout all Greece, by the occasion of their sedition. Sincerity (whereof there is much in a generous nature) was laughed down. And it was far the best course, to stand diffidently against each other, with their thoughts in battel array, which no speech was so powerfull, nor Oath terrible enough to disband. And being all of them, the more they considered, the more desperate of assurance, they rather contrived how to avoid a mischief, then were able to rely on any mans faith. And for the most part, such as had the least wit, had the best success; for both their own defect, and the subtilty of their adversaries, putting them into a great fear to be overcome in words, or at least in pre-insidiation, by their enemies great craft, they therefore went roundly to work with them, with deeds. Whereas the other, not caring though they were perceived, and thinking they needed not to take by force, what they might do by plot, were thereby unprovided, and so the more easily slain.

In seditions and confusion, they that distrust their wits, suddenly use their hands, and defeat the Stratagems of the more subtle sort.

In *Corcyra* then were these evils for the most part committed first; and so were all other, which either such men as have been governed with pride, rather than modesty, by those on whom they take revenge, were like to commit in taking it; or which such men as stand upon their delivery from long poverty, out of covetousness (chiefly to have their neighbours goods) would contrary to justice give their voices to: or which men, not for covetousness, but assailing each other on equal terms, carried away with the unruliness of their anger, would cruelly and inexorably execute.

And the common course of life being at that time confounded in the City; the nature of man, which is wont even against Law to do evil, gotten now above the Law, shewed it self with delight, to be too weak for passion, too strong for justice, and enemy to all superiority. Else they would never have preferred revenge before innocence, nor lucre (whensoever the envy of it was without power to do them hurt) before justice. And for the Laws common to all men in such cases, (which, as long as they be in force, give hope to all that suffer injury) men desire not to leave them standing, against the need a man in danger may have of them, but by their revenges on others, to be beforehand in subverting them. Such were the passions of the *Corcyraeans* first of all other *Grecians*,

The Athenian Fleet goes away.

600. of the Nobility that escaped, seize on such places as belonged to the *Coreyreans* in the Continent.

They come over and fortify themselves in *Istone*.

The Athenians send 20 Gallies into *Sicily*, in pretence to aid the *Leontines*, but with intention to hinder the coming of corn from thence into *Peloponnesus*, and to spy out the possibility of subduing that Island.

The end of the fifth Summer.

The Plague again at Athens.

The Athenians invade the *Lipareans*, and Islands called the *Isles of Aeolus*. * *Σικελος*. There are in Thucydides mentioned *Σικελος* and *Σικελιάς*, whereof this later is the name of the inhabitants of Sicily in general, the former, are only those that were of that name anciently in Italy, and coming over into Sicily gave that name to the Island.

cians, towards one another in the City. And *Eurymedon* and the *Athenians* departed with their Gallies.

Afterwards such of the *Coreyreans* as had fled (for there escaped about 500 of them) having seized on the Forts in the Continent, impatronized themselves of their own Territory on the other side, and from thence came over and robbed the Islanders, and did them much hurt; and there grew a great famine in the City. They likewise sent Ambassadors to *Lacedæmon* and *Corinth*, concerning their reduction; and when they could get nothing done, having gotten Boats, and some Auxiliary Soldiers, they passed awhile after to the number of about 600 into the Island. Where when they had set fire on their Boats that they might trust to nothing but to make themselves Masters of the Field, they went up into the Hill *Istone*, and having there fortified themselves with a Wall, infested those within, and were Masters of the Territory.

In the end of the same Summer the *Athenians* sent twenty Gallies into *Sicily* under the command of *Laches* the son of *Melanopus*, and *Chariadas* the son of *Euphiletus*: For the *Syracusians* and the *Leontines* were now warring against each other. The Confederates of the *Syracusians* were all the *Dorique* Cities, (except the *Camarinaeans*) which also in the beginning of this War were reckoned in the League of the *Lacedæmonians*, but had not yet aided them in the War. The Confederates of the *Leontines* were the *Chalcidique* Cities, together with *Camarina*. And in *Italy* the *Locrians* were with the *Syracusians*; but the *Rhegians*, according to their consanguinity, took part with the *Leontines*. Now the Confederates of the *Leontines*, in respect of their ancient alliance with the *Athenians*, as also for that they were *Ionians* obtained of the *Athenians* to send them Gallies, for that the *Leontines* were deprived by the *Syracusians* of the use both of the Land and Sea. And so the people of *Athens* sent aid unto them, pretending propinquity, but intending both to hinder the transportation of Corn from thence into *Peloponnesus*, and also to taste the possibility of taking the States of *Sicily* into their own hands. These arriving at *Rhegium* in *Italy*, joined with the Confederates, and began the War; and so ended this Summer.

The next Winter the Sickness fell upon the *Athenians* again (having indeed never totally left the City, though there was some intermission,) and continued above a year after. But the former lasted two years; inasmuch as nothing afflicted the *Athenians*, or impaired their strength more than it: For the number that died of it, of men of Arms enrolled, were no less than 4400, and Horsemen 300, of the other multitude, innumerable. There happened also at the same time many Earthquakes, both in *Athens* and in *Eubœa*, and also amongst the *Boeotians*, and in *Beotia*, chiefly at *Orchomenus*.

The *Athenians* and *Rhegians* that were now in *Sicily*, made War the same Winter on the Islands called *The Islands of Aeolus*, with thirty Gallies. For in Summer it was impossible to War upon them for the shallowness of the Water. These Islands are Inhabited by the *Lipareans*, who are a Colonie of the *Cnidians*, and dwell in one of the same Islands, no great one, called *Lipara*, and thence they go forth, and husband the rest, which are *Dydime*, *Strongile*, and *Hiera*. The Inhabitants of those places have an opinion, that in *Hiera*, *Vulcan* exerciseth the craft of a Smith: for it is seen to send forth abundance of fire in the day time, and of smoak in the night. These Islands are adjacent to the Territory of the * *Siculi* and *Meljanians*, but were Confederates of the *Syracusians*.

When

When the *Athenians* had wasted their Fields, and saw they would not come in, they put off again and went to *Rhegium*. And so ended this Winter, and the fifth year of this War, written by *Thucydides*.

The next Summer the *Peloponnesians* and their Confederates came as far as the *Isthmus*, under the Conduct of *Agis* the Son of *Archidamus*, intending to have invaded *Attica*; but by reason of the many Earthquakes that then happened, they turned back, and the Invasion proceeded not.

Year VI.

About the same time, (*Eubœa* being then troubled with Earthquakes) the Sea came in at *Orobia*, on the part which then was Land, and being impetuous withal, overflowed most part of the City, whereof part it covered, and part it washed down, and made lower in the return; so that it is now Sea, which before was Land. And the People, as many as could not prevent it by running up into the higher ground, perished. Another inundation like unto this, happened in the Isle of *Atalanta*, on the Coast of *Locris* of the *Opuntians*, and carried away part of the *Athenians* Fort there, and of two Gallies that lay on dry Land, it brake one in pieces.

Earthquakes about *Eubœa*, and inundations.

Also there happened at *Peparethus* a certain rising of the Water, but it brake not in. And a part of the Wall, the * Town-house, and some few houses besides, were overthrown by the Earthquakes. The cause of such inundation, for my part, I take to be this; that the Earthquake where it was very great, did there send off the Sea, and the Sea returning on a sudden, caused the Water to come on with greater violence. And it seemeth unto me, that without an Earthquake, such an accident could never happen.

* Τὸ πρυτανεῖον.
The natural cause of Inundation given by the Author.

The same Summer, divers others, as they had several occasions, made War in *Sicily*. So also did the * *Sicilians* amongst themselves, and the *Athenians* with their Confederates. But I will make mention onely of such most memorable things as were done either by the Confederates there with the *Athenians*, or against the *Athenians* by the Enemy.

* Σικελῶν.

Charæades the *Athenian* General being slain by the *Syracusians*, *Laches*, who was now the sole Commander of the Fleet, together with the Confederates, made War on *Mylæ*, a Town belonging to *Messana*. There were in *Mylæ* two Companies of *Messanians* in Garrison, the which also laid a certain ambush for those that came up from the Fleet. But the *Athenians* and their Confederates, both put to flight those that were in ambush, with the slaughter of most of them, and also assailing their Fortification, forced them on composition both to render the Citadel, and to go along with them against *Messana*. After this, upon the approach of the *Athenians* and their Confederates, the *Messanians* compounded likewise, and gave them Hostages, and such other security as was requisite.

The *Athenians* win *Mylæ*.

And *Messana*.

The same Summer the *Athenians* sent thirty Gallies about *Peloponnesus*, under the Command of *Demosthenes* the son of *Antisthenes*, and *Proclus* the son of *Theodorus*; and sixty Gallies more, with two thousand men of Arms, Commanded by *Nicias* the son of *Niceratus*, into *Melos*. For the *Athenians*, in respect that the * *Melians* were Islanders, and yet would neither be their Subjects, nor of their League, intending to subdue them. But when upon the wasting of their Fields they still stood out, they departed from *Melos*, and sailed to *Oropus*, in the opposite Continent.

The *Athenians* send *Demosthenes* with 30 Gallies about *Peloponnesus*.

And *Nicias* with 60 Gallies into the Island of *Melos*.

* Μήλιοι. The *Melians* mentioned a little after this, are not Islanders, nor termed *Μήλιοι*, but *Μηλιῶες*.

The Army of *Nicias*, and another Army from the City of *Athens*, meet upon a sign given, at *Tanagra* in *Bœotia*.

They overcome the *Tanagrians* in battel.

The *Lacedæmonians* build the City *Heraclea*.

* *Μηλιείς*, A people of *Thessaly*, near the *Mælian Gulf*.

The commodious seat of this new City for the War.

The *Thessalians* infect the new City with continual War, for fear they should be too great.

Being there arrived within night, the men of Arms left the Gallies, and marched presently by Land to *Tanagra* in *Bœotia*. To which place upon a sign given, the *Athenians* that were in the City of *Athens*, came also forth with their whole Forces, led by *Hipponicus* the son of *Callias*, and *Eurymedon* the son of *Thucles*, and joined with them; and pitching their Camp, spent the day in wasting the Territory of *Tanagra*, and lay there the night following.

The next day they defeated in Battel, such of the *Tanagrians* as came out against them, and also certain Succours sent them from *Thebes*; and when they had taken up the Arms of those that were slain, and erected a Trophie, they returned back, the one part to *Athens*, the other to their Fleet. And *Nicias* with his sixty Gallies, having first sailed along the Coast of *Locris*, and wasted it, came home likewise.

About the same time the *Peloponnesians* erected the Colony of *Heraclea* in *Trachinia*, with this intention: The * *Melians* in the whole contain these three parts: *Paralians*, *Hierans*, and *Trachinians*. Of these the *Trachinians* being afflicted with War from the *Oeteans* their Borderers, thought at first to have joyned themselves to the *Athenians*; but fearing that they would not be faithful unto them, they sent to *Lacedæmon*, choosing for their Ambasadour *Tisamenus*. And the *Dorians*, who are the Mother Nation to the *Lacedæmonians*, sent their Ambassadors likewise with him, with the same requests. For they also were infested with War from the same *Oeteans*.

Upon audience of these Ambassadors, the *Lacedæmonians* concluded to send out a Colony, both intending the reparation of the injuries done to the *Trachinians* and to the *Dorians*; and conceiving withall, that the Town would stand very commodiously, for their War with the *Athenians*, inasmuch as they might thereby have a Navy ready, where the passage was but short, against *Eubœa*; and it would much further their conveyance of Souldiers into *Thrace*. And they had their mind wholly bent to the building of the place.

First therefore they asked counsel of the Oracle in *Delphi*; and the Oracle having bidden them do it, they sent Inhabitants thither, both of their own People, and of the neighbours about them, and gave leave also to any that would to go thither out of the rest of *Greece*, save only to the *Ionians*, *Achaians*, and some few other Nations.

The Conductors of the Colony were three *Lacedæmonians*; *Leon*, *Alcidas*, and *Damagon*: who taking it in hand, built the City which is now called *Heraclea*, from the very foundation; being distant from *Thermopylæ* forty Furlongs, and from the Sea twenty. Also they made houses for Gallies to lie under, beginning close to *Thermopylæ*, against the very streight, to the end to have them the more defensible.

The *Athenians*, when this City was peopled, were at first afraid, and thought it to be set up especially against *Eubœa*; because from thence to *Cenenum*, a Promontory of *Eubœa*, the passage is but short. But it fell out afterwards otherwise then they imagined, for they had no great harm by it. The reason whereof was this: That the *Thessalians* who had the Towns of those parts in their power, and upon whose ground it was built, afflicted these new Planters with a continual War, till they had worn them out, though they were many indeed in the beginning, (for being the Foundation of the *Lacedæmonians*, every one went thither boldly, conceiving the City to be an assured one) and chiefly the

the Governours themselves, sent thither from *Lacedæmon*, undid the business, and dispeopled the City by frightening most men away, for that they governed severely, and sometimes also unjustly, by which means their neighbours more easily prevailed against them.

The same Summer, and about the same time that the *Athenians* staid in *Melos*, those other *Athenians* that were in the thirty Gallies about *Peloponnesus*, slew first certain Garrison Souldiers in *Ellomenus*, a place of *Leucadia*, by Ambushment. But afterwards with a greater Fleet, and with the whole power of the *Acarnanians* (who followed the Army, all (but the *Oeniades*) that could bear Arms) and with the *Zacynthians* and *Cephalonians*, and fifteen Gallies of the *Corcyreans*, made War against the City it self of *Leucas*. The *Leucadians*, though they saw their Territory wasted by them, both without the *Isthmus*, and within, (where the City of *Leucas* standeth, and the Temple of *Apollo*) yet they durst not stir, because the number of the Enemy was so great. And the *Acarnanians* entreated *Demosthenes* the *Athenian* General to Wall them up, conceiving that they might easily be expugned by a Siege, and desiring to be rid of a City their continual Enemy. But *Demosthenes* was perswaded at the same time by the *Messenians*, that seeing so great an Army was together, it would be honourable for him to invade the *Ætolians*, principally, as being Enemies to *Naupactus*; and that if these were subdued, the rest of the Continent thereabouts would easily be added to the *Athenian* dominion. For they alledged, that though the Nation of the *Ætolians* were great and Warlike, yet their habitation was in Villages unwall'd, and those at great distances; and were but light-armed, and might therefore with no great difficulty be all subdued before they could unite themselves for defence. And they advised him to take in hand first the *Apodotians*, next the *Ophionians*, and after them the *Eurytians*, which are the greatest part of *Ætolia*, of a most strange language, and that are reported to eat raw flesh; for these being subdued, the rest would easily follow.

But he, induced by the *Messenians*, whom he favoured, but especially because he thought, without the Forces of the People of *Athens*, with the Confederates onely of the Continent, and with the *Ætolians*, to invade *Bæotia* by Land, going first through the *Locri Ozolæ*, and so to *Cytinium* of *Doris*, having *Parnassus* on the right hand, till the descent thereof into the Territory of the *Phocæans*, (which People, for the friendship they ever bore to the *Athenians*, would he thought, be willing to follow his Army, and if not might be forced) and upon the *Phocæans* bordereth *Bæotia*. Putting off therefore with his whole Army, against the minds of the *Acarnanians* from *Leucas*, he sailed unto *Solium* by the Shore, and there having communicated his conceit with the *Acarnanians*, when they would not approve of it, because of his refusal to besiege *Leucas*, he himself with the rest of his Army, *Cephalonians*, *Zacynthians*, and 300 *Athenians*, the Souldiers of his own Fleet, (for the fifteen Gallies of *Corcyra* were now gone away) warred on the *Ætolians*, having *Oenon* a City of *Locris*, for the seat of his War. Now these *Locrians* called *Ozolæ*, were Confederates of the *Athenians*, and were to meet them with their whole power in the heart of the Country. For being Confiners on the *Ætolians*, and using the same manner of arming, it was thought it would be a matter of great utility in the War, to have them in their Armie; for that they knew their manner of fight, and were acquainted with the Country. Having lain the night with his whole Army in

The severity of the *Lacedæmonians* Government, dispeopled the City of *Heraclea*, and frightened men from it.

The *Lacedæmonians* always severe, not always just. *Demosthenes* warred on *Leucas*.

Demosthenes invadeth *Ætolia* at the perswasion of the *Messenians*.

The ambition of *Demosthenes* the chief cause of his unfortunate Enterprize in *Ætolia*.

* *Isop.* The whole consecrated ground where in the Temple stood, not the Church onely. *Hesiod* the Poet said to have died in this Temple of *Jupiter Nemeius*.

Potidania.

Crocylum.

Tichium.

Ophionei.

The *Ætolians* unite against the Invasion of *Demosthenes*.

Bornians.

Callians.

Ægitium.

The *Ætolians* give *Demosthenes* a great overthrow.

the * Temple of *Jupiter Nemeius*, (wherein the Poet *Hesiodus* is reported by them that dwell thereabout to have died, foretold by an Oracle, that he should die in *Nemea*) in the morning betimes he dislodged and marched into *Ætolia*.

The first day he took *Potidania*, the second day *Crocylum*, the third *Tichium*. There he staid, and sent the booty he had gotten to *Empolium* in *Locris*. For he purposed, when he had subdued the rest, to invade the *Ophionians* afterwards, (if they submitted not) in his return to *Naupactus*.

But the *Ætolians* knew of this preparation when it was first resolved on; and afterwards when the Army was entered, they were united into a mighty Army to make head. Insomuch as that the farthest off of the *Ophionians*, that reach out to the *Melian Gulf*, the *Bornians* and *Callians* came in with their aids.

The *Messenians* gave the same advice to *Demosthenes* that they had done before; and alledging that the Conquest of the *Ætolians* would be but easie, willed him to march with all speed against them, Village after Village, and not to stay while they were all united, and in order of Battel against him, but to attempt always the place which was next to hand. He, perswaded by them, and confident of his fortune, because nothing had crossed him hitherto, without tarrying for the *Locrians* that should have come in with their aids, (for his greatest want was of Darters light-armed) marched to *Ægitium*, which approaching, he won by force, the men having fled secretly out, and encamped themselves on the Hills above it: for it stood in a Mountainous place, and about eighty Furlongs from the Sea. But the *Ætolians*, (for by this time they were come with their Forces to *Ægitium*) charged the *Athenians* and their Confederates, and running down upon them, some one way some another from the Hills, plied them with their Darts. And when the Army of the *Athenians* assaulted them, they retired; and when it retired, they assaulted. So that the Fight for a good while, was nothing but alternate chase and retreat; and the *Athenians* had the worst in both.

Nevertheless, as long as their Archers had Arrows and were able to use them, (for the *Ætolians*, by reason they were not armed, were put back still with the shot) they held out. But when upon the death of their Captain, the Archers were dispersed, and the rest were also wearied, having a long time continued the said labour of pursuing and retiring, and the *Ætolians* continually afflicting them with their Darts, they were forced at length to flie; and lighting into Hollows without issue, and into places they were not acquainted withall, were destroyed. For *Chromon* a *Messenian*, who was their Guide for the ways, was slain. And the *Ætolians* pursuing them still with Darts, slew many of them quickly, whilest they fled, being swift of foot, and without Armour. But the most of them missing their way, and entring into a Wood which had no passage through, the *Ætolians* set it on fire, and burnt it about them.

All kinds of shifts to flie, and all kinds of destruction were that day in the Army of the *Athenians*. Such as remained, with much ado got to the Sea, and to *Oeneon*, a City of *Locris*, from whence they first set forth.

There died very many of the Confederates, and a hundred and twenty men of Arms of the *Athenians*; that was their number, and all of them

them able men. These men of the very best died in this War: *Procles* also was there slain, one of the Generals. When they had received the bodies of their dead from the *Ætolians* under *Truce*, and were gotten again to *Naupactus*, they returned with the Fleet to *Athens*. But they left *Demosthenes* about *Naupactus*, and those parts, because he was afraid of the *Athenian* People, for the loss that had happened.

Demosthenes afraid to come home.

About the same time the *Athenians* that were on the Coast of *Sicily*, sailed unto *Locris*, and landing, overcame such as made head; and took in *Peripolium*, situate on the River *Halex*.

The *Athenian* Fleet in *Sicily* sail to *Locris*, and take *Peripolium*.

The same Summer the *Ætolians* having sent their Ambassadors, *Telephus* an *Ophionian*, *Boryades* an *Eurytanean*, and *Tisander* an *Apodotian*, to *Corinth* and *Lacedæmon*, perswaded them to send an Army against *Naupactus*, for that it harboured the *Athenians* against them. And the *Lacedæmonians* towards the end of Autumn, sent them three thousand men of Arms, of their Confederates; of which five hundred were of *Heraclea*, the new-built City of *Trachinia*. The General of the Army was *Eurylochus* a *Spartan*, with whom **Massarius* and *Menedæus* went also along *Spartans* likewise.

The *Ætolians* and *Peloponnesians* make a journey against *Naupactus*.

* These are afterwards called *Macarius* and *Menedæus*.

When the Army was assembled at *Delphi*, *Eurylochus* sent a Herald to the *Locrians* of *Ozole*, both because their way lay through them to *Naupactus*, and also because he desired to make them revolt from the *Athenians*. Of all the *Locrians* the *Amphissians* cooperated with him most, as standing most in fear for the enmity of the *Phocæans*. And they first giving Hostages, induced others (who likewise were afraid of the coming in of the Army) to do the like: the *Myonians* first, being their neighbours, (for this way is *Locris* of most difficult access) then the *Iphæans*, *Messapians*, *Triteans*, *Challeans*, *Tolophonians*, *Hessians*, and the *Oeantheans*. All these went with them to the War. The *Olpeans* gave them Hostages, but followed not the Army. But the *Hyeans* would give them no Hostages till they had taken a Village of theirs called *Polis*.

Whenever thing was ready, and he had sent the Hostages away to *Cytinium* in *Doris*, he marched with his Army towards *Naupactus*, through the Territory of the *Locrians*. And as he marched he took *Oeneon*, a Town of theirs, and *Eupolium*, because they refused to yield unto him.

When they were come into the Territory of *Naupactus*, the *Ætolians* being there already to join with them, they wasted the Fields about, and took the Suburbs of the City, being unfortified. Then they went to *Molychrium*, a Colony of the *Corinthians*, but subject to the People of *Athens*, and took that. Now *Demosthenes* the *Athenian*, (for ever since the *Ætolian* business, he abode about *Naupactus*) having been præ-advertised of this Army, and being afraid to lose the City, went amongst the *Acarnanians*, and with much ado, because of his departure from before *Iucas*, perswaded them to relieve *Naupactus*, and they sent along with him in his Gallies 1000 men of Arms, which entering were the preservation of the City; for there was danger, the Walls being of a great compass, and the defendants few, that else they should not have been able to make them good. *Eurylochus*, and those that were with him, when they perceived that those Forces were entered, and that it was impossible to take the City by assault, departed thence, not into *Peloponnesus*, but to *Æolis*, now called *Calydon*, and to *Pleuron*, and to other places thereabouts, and also to *Proschion* in *Ætolia*. For the *Ambraciots*

Demosthenes relievethe *Naupactus*.

ciots coming to them, perswaded them to undertake, together with themselves, the enterprize against *Argos* and the rest of *Amphiloekia* and *Acarmania*, saying withall, that if they could overcome these, the rest of that Continent would enter into the League of the *Lacedæmonians*. Whereunto *Eurylochus* assented, and dismissing the *Ætolians*, lay quiet in those parts with his Army, till such time as the *Ambraciots* being come with their Forces before *Argos*, he should have need to aid them. And so this Summer ended.

The end of the sixth Summer.

The *Athenians* in *Sicily* assault *Nessa*.
* *Σίναιοι*.

† *Nessa*, rather *Inessa*. The Inhabitants be called *Inessai*, lib. 6.

The *Athenians* that were in *Sicily* in the beginning of Winter, together with the *Grecians* of their League, and as many of the * *Siculi* as having obeyed the *Syracusians* by force, or being their Confederates before, had now revolted, warred jointly against † *Nessa* a Town of *Sicily*, the Citadel whereof was in the hands of the *Syracusians*; and they assaulted the same, but when they could not win it, they retired. In the retreat the *Syracusians* that were in the Citadel sallied out upon the Confederates that retired later then the *Athenians*, and charging, put a part of the Army to flight, and killed not a few.

After this, *Laches* and the *Athenians* landed sometime at *Locris*, and overcame in battel by the River *Caicinus*, about 300 *Locrians*, who with *Proxenus* the son of *Capiton*, came out to make resistance; and when they had stripped them of their Arms, departed.

Delos hallowed.

The same Winter also the *Athenians* hallowed the Isle of *Delos*, by the admonition indeed of a certain Oracle. For *Pisistratus* also the Tyrant hallowed the same before, not all, but onely so much as was within the prospect of the Temple. But now they hallowed it all over in this manner: They took away all Sepulchres whatsoever, of such as had died there before; and for the future made an Edict that none should be suffered to die, nor any Woman to bring forth child in the Island; but when they were near the time, either of the one or the other, they should be carried over into *Rhenea*.

An Edict that none should be suffered to be born or die in *Delos*.

This *Rhenea* is so little a way distant from *Delos*, that *Polycrates* the Tyrant of *Samos*, who was once of great power by Sea, and had the dominion of the other Islands, when he won *Rhenea*, dedicated the same to *Apollo* of *Delos*, tying it unto *Delos* with a Chain. And now after the hallowing of it, the *Athenians* instituted the keeping every fifth year of the *Delian Games*.

Rhenea an Island tied to *Delos* with a chain, and dedicated to *Apollo* of *Delos*. The *Athenians* institute the quinquennial Games at *Delos*.

There had also in old time been great concourse in *Delos*, both of *Ionians* and of the Islanders round about. For they then came to see the Games, with their Wives and Children, as the *Ionians* do now the Games at *Ephesus*.

There were likewise Matches set of bodily Exercise, and of Musick; and the Cities did severally set forth Dances. Which things to have been so, is principally declared by *Homer*, in these Verses of his Hymn to *Apollo*.

Hom. Hym. ad Apoll.
Vers. 146.

But thou, *Apollo*, takest most delight
In *Delos*. There assemble in thy sight,
The long-coat Ions, with their Children dear,
And venerable Bedfellows; and there,
In Matches set, of Buffets, Song, and Dance,
Both slew thee pastime, and thy Name advance.

That

That there were also Matches of Musick, and that men resorted thither to contend therein, he again maketh manifest in these Verses of the same Hymn. For after he hath spoken of the *Delian Dance* of the Women, he endeth their praise with these Verses, wherein also he maketh mention of himself.

*But well: let Phœbus and Diana be
Propitious; and farewell you each one;
But yet remember me when I am gone:
And if of earthly men you chance to see
Any toil'd Pilgrim, that shall ask you, Who,
O Damsels, is the man that living here,
Was sweet'st in Song, and that most had your ear?
Then all, with a joint murmur, thereunto
Make answer thus; A man depriv'd of seeing,
In th' Isle of Sandie Chios is his being.*

*Hom. Hym. ad Apoll.
ver. 163.*

So much hath *Homer* witnessed touching the great meeting, and solemnity celebrated of old in the Isle of *Delos*. And the Islanders, and the *Athenians*, since that time, have continued still to send Dancers along with their Sacrificers, but the Games and things of that kind were worn out, as is likely, by adversity, till now that the *Athenians* restored the Games, and added the Horse-race, which was not before.

The same Winter the *Ambraciots*, (according to their promise made to *Eurylochus*) when they retained his Army, made War upon *Argos* in *Amphilochia*, with three thousand men of Arms, and invading *Argia*, they took *Olpe*, a strong Fort on a Hill by the Sea side which the *Acar-nanians* had fortified, and used for the place of their common Meetings for matters of Justice, and is distant from the City of *Argos*, which stands also on the Sea side, about twenty five furlongs. The *Acar-nanians* with part of their Forces came to relieve *Argos*, and with the rest they encamped in that part of *Amphilochia* which is called *Crenæ*, to watch the *Peloponnesians* that were with *Eurylochus*, that they might not pass through to the *Ambraciots* without their knowledge; and sent to *Demos-thenes*, who had been Leader of the *Athenians* in the Expedition against the *Ætolians*, to come to them and be their General.

*The Ambraciots and
Peloponnesians make
War against the A-
car-nanians and Am-
philochians unfortu-
nately.
They take Olpe.*

They sent also to the twenty *Athenian* Gallies that chanced to be then on the Coast of *Peloponnesus*, under the Conduct of *Aristoteles* the son of *Timocrates*, and *Jerophon* the son of *Antimnestus*. In like manner the *Ambraciots* that were at *Olpe*, sent a messenger to the City of *Ambracia*, willing them to come to their aid with their whole power; as fearing that those with *Eurylochus* would not be able to pass by the *Acar-nanians*, and so they should be either forced to fight alone, or else have an unsafe Retreat.

*The Acarnanians
make Demosthenes
their General.*

But the *Peloponnesians* that were with *Eurylochus*, as soon as they understood that the *Ambraciots* were come to *Olpe*, dislodging from *Proschion*, went with all speed to assist them. And passing over the River *Achelous*, marched through *Acar-nania*, (which by reason of the aids sent to *Argos*, was now disfurnished) on their right hand they had the City of *Stratus*, and that Garrison; on the left, the rest of *Acar-nania*. Having past the Territory of the *Stratians*, they marched through *Phytia*, and again by the utmost limits of *Medeon*, then through *Limnæa*, then they went into the Territory of the *Agræans*, which are out of *Acar-nania*;

*The Ambraciots at
Olpe send to the
Ambraciots at home
to come to their aid*

nia, and their friends, and getting to the Hill *Thiamus*, which is a desert Hill, they marched over it, and came down into *Argia*, when it was now night; and passing between the City of the *Argives*, and the *Acar-nans* that kept Watch at the Wells, came unseen, and joyned with the *Ambraciots* at *Olpe*.

Demosthenes chosen
General.

The Battel between
the *Ambraciots* and
the *Acar-nans*.

When they were all together, they sat down about break of day, at a place called *Metropolis*, and there encamped. And the *Athenians* not long after with their 20 Gallies, arrived in the *Ambracian* Gulf, to the aid of the *Argives*. To whom also came *Demosthenes* with 200 *Messenian* Men of Arms, and threescore *Athenian* Archers. The Gallies lay at Sea, before the Hill upon which the Fort of *Olpe* standeth. But the *Acar-nanians*, and those few *Amphilockians* (for the greatest part of them the *Ambraciots* kept back by force) that were come already together at *Argos*, prepared themselves to give the Enemy Battel, and chose *Demosthenes* with their own Commanders, for General of the whole League. He, when he had brought them up near unto *Olpe*, there encamped. There was between them a great Hollow, and for five days together they stirred not; but the sixth day both sides put themselves into array for the Battel. The Army of the *Peloponnesians* reached a great way beyond the other, for indeed it was much greater; but *Demosthenes*, fearing to be encompassed, placed an Ambush in a certain hollow way, and fit for such a purpose, of armed and unarmed Souldiers, in all to the number of 400, which in that part where the number of the Enemies over-reached, should in the heat of the Battel rise out of Ambush, and charge them on their backs. When the Battels were in order on either side, they came to Blows. *Demosthenes* with the *Messenians*, and those few *Athenians* that were there, stood in the right Wing; and the *Acar-nanians* (as they could one after another be put in order) and those *Amphilockian* Darters which were present, made up the other. The *Peloponnesians* and *Ambraciots* were ranged promiscuously, except onely the *Mantineans*, who stood together, most of them in the left Wing, but not in the utmost part of it, for *Eurylochus* and those that were with him, made the extremity of the left Wing against *Demosthenes* and the *Messenians*.

The *Ambraciots* and
Peloponnesians fly.

When they were in fight, and that the *Peloponnesians* with that Wing over-reached, and had encircled the right Wing of their Enemies, those *Acar-nanians* that lay in ambush coming in at their backs, charged them, and put them to flight in such sort as they endured not the first brunt; and besides, caused the greatest part of the Army through afright to run away. For when they saw that part of it defeated which was with *Eurylochus*, which was the best of their Army, they were a great deal the more afraid. And the *Messenians* that were in that part of the Army with *Demosthenes* pursuing them, dispatched the greatest part of the execution. But the *Ambraciots* that were in the right Wing, on that part, had the Victory, and chased the Enemy unto the City of *Argos*; but in their Retreat, when they saw that the greatest part of the Army was vanquished, the rest of the *Acar-nanians* setting upon them, they had much ado to recover *Olpe* in safety; and many of them were slain, whilst they ran into it out of array, and in disorder: save onely the *Mantineans*; for these made a more orderly Retreat than any part of the Army. And so this Battel ended, having lasted till the Evening.

* called before Mene-
datus and Masiarius.

The next day, * *Menedaius* (*Eurylochus* and * *Macarius* being now slain) taking the Command upon him, and not finding how, if he staid,
he

he should be able to sustain a Siege, wherein he should both be shut up by Land, and also with those *Attique* Gallies by Sea; or if he should depart, how he might do it safely, had speech with *Demosthenes* and the *Acarnian* Captains, both about a Truce for his departure, and for the receiving of the bodies of the slain. And they delivered unto them their dead; and having erected a Trophie, took up their own dead, which were about three hundred; but for their departure they would make no Truce openly, nor to all: but secretly *Demosthenes* with his *Acarnian* fellow-Commanders, made a Truce with the *Mantineans* and with *Menedaius*, and the rest of the *Peloponnesian* Captains, and men of most worth, to be gone as speedily as they could; with purpose to disguard the *Ambraciots*, and multitude of mercenary strangers, and withall to use this as a means to bring the *Peloponnesians* into hatred with the *Grecians* of those parts, as men that had treacherously advanced their particular interest. Accordingly they took up their dead and buried them as fast as they could; and such as had leave, consulted secretly touching how to be gone.

Demosthenes and the *Acarnians* had now intelligence that the *Ambraciots* from the City of *Ambracia*, according to the Message sent to them before from *Olpe*, (which was, that they should bring their whole power through *Amphilochia* to their aid) were already on their march, (ignorant of what passed here) to join with those at *Olpe*. And hereupon he sent a part of his Army presently forth to beset the ways with Ambushment, and to præoccupate all places of strength, and prepared withall, to encounter with the rest of his Army.

In the mean time the *Mantineans*, and such as had part in the Truce, going out on pretence to gather Pot-herbs and Fire-wood, stole away by small numbers, and as they went, did indeed gather such things as they pretended to go forth for; but when they were gotten far from *Olpe* they went faster away. But the *Ambraciots* and others that came forth in the same manner, but in greater troops, seeing the others go quite away, were eager to be gone likewise, and ran out-right, as desiring to overtake those that were gone before. The *Acarnians* at first thought they had gone all without Truce alike, and pursued the *Peloponnesians*, and threw Darts at their own Captains for forbidding them, and for saying that they went away under Truce, as thinking themselves betrayed. But at last they let go the *Mantineans* and *Peloponnesians*, and slew the *Ambraciots* onely. And there was much contention and ignorance of which was an *Ambraciot*, and which a *Peloponnesian*. So they slew about 200 of them, and the rest escaped into *Agræis*, a bordering Territory, where *Salynthius* King of the *Agræans*, and their Friend, received them.

The *Ambraciots* out of the City of *Ambracia*, were come as far as *Idomene*. *Idomene* are two high Hills, to the greater whereof came first undiscovered that night, they whom *Demosthenes* had sent before from the Camp, and seized it. But the *Ambraciots* got first to the lesser, and there encamped the same night. *Demosthenes* after Supper, in the twilight, marched forward with the rest of the Army, one half whereof himself took with him for the assault of the Camp, and the other half he sent about through the Mountains of *Amphilochia*.

And the next morning before day he invaded the *Ambraciots*, whilest they were yet in their Lodgings, and knew not what was the matter, but thought rather, that they had been some of their own company. For

Demosthenes suffereth the principal *Peloponnesians* to retire from *Olpe* secretly; to disguard the *Ambraciots* of their aid, and procure the *Peloponnesians* the hatred of the Nations thereabouts.

Demosthenes sendeth part of his Army to lie in Ambush by the ways by which the *Ambraciot* supplies were to come from the City.

The *Mantineans* retire from *Olpe*.

The *Ambraciots* go after them, and are slain to the number of 200.

The rest escape to *Salynthius* King of the *Agræans*.

Demosthenes goeth out to meet the supply of *Ambraciots* that came from the City.

The *Ambraciots* surprized in their Lodgings.

The *Ambraciots* put to flight.

Demosthenes had placed the *Messenians* on purpose in the foremost ranks, and commanded them to speak unto them as they went in the *Dorique* Dialect, and to make the Sentinels secure; Especially seeing their faces could not be discerned, for it was yet night. Wherefore they put the Army of the *Ambraciots* to flight at the first onset, and slew many upon the place. The rest fled as fast as they could towards the Mountains. But the ways being beset, and the *Amphilochians* being well acquainted with their own Territories, and armed but lightly against men in Armour, unacquainted, and utterly ignorant which way to take, they light into hollow ways, and to the places fore-laid with ambushes and perished. And having been put to all manner of shift for their lives, some fled towards the Sea, and when they saw the Gallies of *Athens* sailing by the Shore, (this accident concurring with their defeat) swam to them, and chose rather in their present fear to be killed of those in the Gallies, then by the *Barbarians*, and their most mortal enemies the *Amphilochians*. The *Ambraciots* with this loss came home a few of many in safety to their City. And the *Acarnanians* having taken the spoil of the dead, and erected their Trophies, returned unto *Argos*.

The conference of the Herald from the *Ambraciots* in *Agræis*, with one of *Demosthenes* his Army, about the number of the slain.

The next day there came a Herald from those *Ambraciots* which fled from *Olpe* into *Agræis*, to demand leave to carry away the bodies of those dead which were slain after the first Battel, when without Truce they went away together with the *Mantineans*, and with those that had Truce. But when the Herald saw the Armours of those *Ambraciots* that came from the City, he wondred at the number. For he knew nothing of this last blow, but thought they had been the Armours of those with them. Then one asked him *what he wondred at, and how many he thought there was slain?* For he that asked him the question thought on the other side that he had been an Herald sent from those at *Idomene*: and he answered, *about 200.* Then he that asked, replied and said, *Then these are not the Armours of them, but of above a thousand.* Then (said he again) *they belong not to them that were in the battel with us.* The other answered, *yes, if you fought yesterday in Idomene. But we fought not yesterday at all, but the other day in our retreat. But we yet fought yesterday with those Ambraciots that came from the City to aid the rest.* When the Herald heard that, and knew that the aid from the City was defeated, he burst out into *Ah mees* and astonished with the greatness of the present loss, forthwith went his way without his errand, and required the dead bodies no further. For this loss was greater then in the like number of days happened to any one City of *Greece* in all this War. I have not written the number of the slain, because it was said to be such, as is incredible, for the quantity of the City. But this I know, that if the *Acarnanians* and *Amphilochians* as *Demosthenes* and the *Athenians* would have had them, would have subdued *Ambracia*, they might have done it even with the shout of their voices; but they feared now that if the *Athenians* possessed it, they would prove more troublesom Neighbours unto them then the other.

The *Acarnanians* will not let the *Athenians* subdue the *Ambraciots* utterly, because they thought the *Ambraciots* better Neighbours then the *Athenians*.

After this, having bestowed the third part of the spoils upon the *Athenians*, they distributed the other two parts according to the Cities. The *Athenians* part was lost by Sea. For those 300 compleat Armors which are dedicated in the Temples in *Attica*, were pickt out for *Demosthenes* himself, and he brought them away with him. His return was withall the safer for this action, after his defeat in *Ætolia*. And the *Athenians* that were in the twenty Gallies returned to *Naupactus*.

The *Acarnanians* and *Amphilochians*, when the *Athenians* and *Demosthenes*

mosthenes were gone, granted Truce at the City of the *Oeniades* to those *Ambraciots* and *Peloponnesians* that were fled to *Salynthius*, and the *Agræans* to retire, the *Oeniades* being gone over to *Salynthius*, and the *Agræans* likewise. And for the future the *Acarnanians* and *Amphilochians* made a League with the *Ambraciots* for an hundred years, upon these conditions.

League for 100 years between the *Ambraciots* and *Acarnanians*.

That neither the *Ambraciots* with the *Acarnanians* should make War against the *Peloponnesians*, nor the *Acarnanians* with the *Ambraciots* against the *Athenians*. That they should give mutual aid to one anothers Countrey. That the *Ambraciots* should restore whatsoever Towns or bordering Fields they held of the *Amphilochians*; and that they should at no time aid *Anactorium*, which was in hostility with the *Acarnanians*. And upon this composition the War ended.

After this the *Corinthians* sent a Garrison of about 300 men of Arms of their own City to *Ambracia*, under the Conduct of *Xenoclide* the son of *Euthycles*; who with much difficulty passing through *Epirus*, at length arrived. Thus passed the business in *Ambracia*.

The same Winter the *Athenians* that were in *Sicily*, invaded *Himeræa* by Sea, aided by the **Sicilians* that invaded the Skirts of the same by Land. They sailed also to the Islands of *Æolus*. Returning afterwards to *Rhegium*, they found there *Pythodorus* the son of *Isolochus*, with certain Gallies come to receive charge of the Fleet commanded by *Laches*. For the *Sicilian* Confederates had sent to *Athens*, and persuaded the People to assist them with a greater Fleet. For though the *Syracusians* were Masters by Land, yet seeing they hindered them but with few Gallies from the liberty of the Sea, they made preparation, and were gathering together a Fleet with intention to resist them. And the *Athenians* furnished out 40 Gallies to send into *Sicily*, conceiving that the War there would the sooner be at an end, and desiring withall to train their men in Naval Exercise. Therefore *Pythodorus* one of the Commanders, they sent presently away with a few of those Gallies, and intended to send *Sophocles* the son of *Sostratides*, and *Eurymedon* the son of *Thucles*, with the greatest number afterwards. But *Pythodorus* having now the command of *Laches* his Fleet, sailed in the end of Winter unto a certain Garrison of the *Locrians*, which *Laches* had formerly taken and overthrown in a Battel there by the *Locrians*, retired.

The *Athenian* Fleet in *Sicily* invade *Himeræa*.

* Σικελιώται.
Pythodorus sent to take the Fleet from *Laches*.

The same Spring there issued a great * stream of Fire out of the Mountain *Ætna*, as it had also done in former times, and burned part of the Territory of the *Cataneans* that dwell at the foot of *Ætna*, which is the highest Mountain of all *Sicily*. From the last time that the Fire brake out before, to this time, it is said to be fifty years. And it hath now broken out thrice in all, since *Sicily* was inhabited by the *Græcians*. These were the things that came to pass this Winter. And so ended the sixth year of this War, written by *Thucydides*.

The fire breaketh out of *Ætna*, burneth the Fields of *Catana*.

* Πύαξ τῆ πύρεος;
a stream of fire; and was a kind of melted stone, gushing out of the sides of the Mountain.

The end of the Third Book.

THE HISTORY OF THUCYDIDES.

BOOK IV.

THE PRINCIPAL CONTENTS.

The Athenians take and fortifie Pylus in Laconia. The Lacedæmonians, to recover it, put over 400 of their best men into the Island Sphaacteria: whom the Athenians, having overcome the Lacedæmonian Fleet, do there besiege. The Athenians and Syracusians fight in the Streight of Messana. Cleon engageth himself rashly to take or kill the Lacedæmonians in Sphaacteria within 20 days, and by good fortune performeth it. The Sedition ceaseth in Corcyra. Nicias invadeth Peloponnesus. The Sicilians agreeing, take from the Athenians their pretence of sailing upon that Coast with their Fleet. The Athenians take Nisæa, but fail of Megara. The overthrow of the Athenians at Delium. The Cities on the Confines of Thrace, upon the coming of Brasidas, revolt to the Lacedæmonians. Truce for a year. And this in three years more of the same War.

THe Spring following, when Corn began to be in the ear, ten Gallies of *Syracuse*, and as many of *Locris*, went to *Messena* in *Sicily*, called in by the Citizens themselves, and took it; and *Messana* revolted from the *Athenians*. This was done by the practice chiefly of the *Syracusians*, that saw the place to be commodious for invasion of *Sicily*, and feared lest the *Athenians* some time or other hereafter, making it the seat of their War, might come with greater Forces into *Sicily*, and invade them from thence; but partly also of the *Locrians*, as being in hostility with the *Rhegians*, and desirous to make War upon them on both sides. The *Locrians* had now also entered the Lands of the *Rhegians* with their whole power

Year VII.

Messina.

Messana revolteth from the *Athenians*.

The *Locrians* waste the Territory of *Rhegium*.

Rhegio.

power; both because they would hinder them from assisting the *Messenians*, and because they were solicited thereunto by the banished men of *Rhegium*, that were with them. For they of *Rhegium* had been long in Sedition, and were unable for the present to give them Battel, for which cause they the rather also now invaded them. And after they had wasted the Countrey, the *Locrians* withdrew their Land Forces, but their Gallies lay still at the Guard of *Messana*, and more were setting forth to lie in the same Harbour, to make the War on that side.

The fifth invasion of *Attica*.

About the same time of the Spring, and before Corn was at full growth, the *Peloponnesians* and their Confederates, under the Conduct of *Agis* the son of *Archidamus*, King of the *Lacedaemonians*, invaded *Attica*, and there lay and wasted the Countrey about.

The *Athenians* send forty Gallies into *Sicily*.

And the *Athenians* sent 40 Gallies into *Sicily*, the same which they had provided before for that purpose, and with them the other two Generals, *Eurymedon* and *Sophocles*. For *Pythodorus*, who was the third in that Commission, was arrived in *Sicily* before. To these they gave commandment also, to take order as they went by, for the state of those *Corcyraens* that were in the City, and were pillaged by the Out-laws in the Mountain: and threescore Gallies of the *Peloponnesians* were gone out to take part with those in the Mountain; who because there was a great Famine in the City, thought they might easily be Masters of the State. To *Demosthenes* also (who ever since his return out of *Acar-nania* had lived privately) they gave Authority, at his own request, to make use of the same Gallies, if he thought good so to do, about *Peloponnesus*.

Demosthenes urgeth to put in at *Pylus*.

The Fleet driven in to *Pylus* by weather

As they sailed by the Coast of *Laconia*, and had intelligence that the *Peloponnesian* Fleet was at *Corcyra* already, *Eurymedon* and *Sophocles* hasted to *Corcyra*; but *Demosthenes* willed them to put in first at *Pylus*, and when they had done what was requisite there, then to proceed in their Voyage. But whilst they denied to do it, the Fleet was driven into *Pylus* by a Tempest that then arose by chance. And presently *Demosthenes* required them to fortifie the place, alledging that he came with them for no other purpose, and shewing how there was great store of Timber and Stone, and that the place it self was naturally strong, and desert, both it, and a great deal of the Countrey about. For it lieth from *Sparta* about 400 Furlongs, in the Territory that belonging once to the *Messenians*, is called by the *Lacedaemonians*, *Coryphasion*. But they answered him, that there were many desert Promontories in *Peloponnesus*, if they were minded to put the City to charges in taking them in. But there appeared unto *Demosthenes* a great difference between this place and other places; because there was here an Haven, and the *Messenians*, the ancient Inhabitants thereof, speaking the same language the *Lacedaemonians* did, would both be able to annoy them much by excursions thence, and be also faithful Guardians of the place.

The commodity of *Pylus*.

The *Athenians* build the Fort of *Pylus*.

When he could not prevail, neither with the Generals nor with the Souldiers, having also at last communicated the same to the Captains of Companies, he gave it over, till at last the weather not serving to be gone, there came upon the Souldiers lying idle, a desire, occasioned by dissention, to Wall in the place of their own accord. And falling in hand with the Work, they performed it, not with Iron Tools to hew Stone, but picked out such Stones as they thought good, and afterwards placed them as they would severally fit. And for Morter, where it needed, for want of Vessels, they carried it on their backs, with their bodies enclining

The
Cape
of
Good
Hope
is
situated
in
the
South
Sea
at
the
entrance
of
the
Agulhas
Passage
between
Africa
and
South
America
at
the
point
where
the
Cape
of
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Hope
is
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Sea
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the
entrance
of
the
Agulhas
Passage
between
Africa
and
South
America



A. The Campe of the Lacedemaimans
 B. The Iland Sphacteria. C. The fort
 of Pyhus. D. Brasidas wth his gallies
 E. Demosthenes wth his forces on
 the Shoare. F. The battell in the
 hauen. G. The Atheiman Gallies
 watching about the Iland



ning forward, so as it might best lie, and their hands clapsed behind to stay it from falling; making all possible haste to prevent the *Lacedæmonians*, and to finish the most assailable parts before they came to succour it. For the greatest part of the place was strong by nature, and needed no fortifying at all.

The *Lacedæmonians* were that day celebrating a certain Holiday, and when they heard the news, did set lightly by it; conceiving, that whensoever it should please them to go thither, they should find them either already gone, or easily take the place by force. Somewhat also they were retarded by reason that their Army was in *Attica*. The *Athenians* having in six days finished the Wall to the Land, and in the places where was most need, left *Demosthenes* with five Gallies to defend it, and with the rest, hastened on in their course for *Corcyra* and *Sicily*.

The *Lacedæmonians* at home regard the taking of *Pylus* but lightly.

The *Peloponnesians* that were in *Attica*, when they were advertised of the taking of *Pylus*, returned speedily home. For the *Lacedæmonians* and *Agis* their King, took this accident of *Pylus* to concern their own particular. And the invasion was withall so early, (Corn being yet green) that the most of them were scantied with Victual; the Army was also much troubled with the weather, which was colder then for the season; so as for many reasons it fell out, that they returned sooner now then at other times they had done; and this Invasion was the shortest, for they continued in *Attica* in all but fifteen days.

The *Lacedæmonians* Army, and *Agis* take it more to heart.

About the sametime *Simonides* an *Athenian* Commander, having drawn a few *Athenians* together out of the Garrisons, and a number of the Confederates of those parts, took the City of *Eion* in *Thrace*, a Colony of the *Mendeans*, that was their Enemy, by Treason; but was presently again driven out by the *Chalcideans* and *Botticeans* that came to succour it, and lost many of his Souldiers.

The *Athenians* take *Eion* in *Thrace*, and lose it again.

When the *Peloponnesians* were returned out of *Attica*, they of the City of *Sparta*, and of other the next neighbouring Towns, went presently to the aid of *Pylus*; but the rest of the *Lacedæmonians* came slower on, as being newly come from the former Expedition. Nevertheless they sent about to the Cities of *Peloponnesus* to require their assistance with all speed at *Pylus*; and also to their threescore Gallies that were at *Corcyra*. Which, transported over the *Isthmus* of *Leucas* arrived at *Pylus* unseen of the *Athenian* Gallies lying at *Zacynthus*. And by this time their Army of Foot was also there. Whilest the *Peloponnesian* Gallies were coming toward *Pylus*, *Demosthenes* sent two Gallies secretly to *Enrymedon* and the *Athenian* Fleet at *Zacynthus* in all haste, to tell them that they must come presently to him, for as much as the place was in danger to be lost. And according as *Demosthenes* his message imported, so the Fleet made haste. The *Lacedæmonians* in the mean time prepared themselves to assault the Fort both by Sea and Land; hoping easily to win it, being a thing built in haste, and not many men within it. And because they expected the coming of the *Athenian* Fleet from *Zacynthus*, they had a purpose, if they took not the Fort before, to bar up the entries of the Harbour. For the Island called *Sphaacteria*, lying just before, and very near to the place, maketh the Haven safe, and the entries straight; one of them, nearest to *Pylus*, and to the *Athenian* Fortification, admitting passage for no more but two Gallies in Front; and the other which lieth against the other part of the Continent, for not above eight or nine. The Island by being desart, was all Wood, and untrodden, in bigness about fifteen Furlongs over.

The *Lacedæmonians* by Sea and Land, seek to recover *Pylus*.

Zante.

Demosthenes sends a call back the Fleet to help him.

The *Lacedæmonians* prepare themselves to assault the Fort.

The situation of the Isle *Sphaacteria*.

over. Therefore they determined with their Gallies thick set, and with the Beak-heads outward, to stop up the Entries of the Haven. And because they feared the Island, lest the *Athenians* putting men into it, should make War upon them from thence, they carried over men of Arms into the same, and placed other likewise along the Shore of the Continent. For by this means the *Athenians* at their coming should find the Island their Enemy, and no means of landing in the Continent. For the Coast of *Pylus* it self, without these two entries, being to the Sea harbourless, would afford them no place from whence to set forth to the aid of their Fellows. And they, in all probability, might by Siege, without Battel by Sea, or other danger, win the place, seeing there was no provision of Victual within it, and that the Enemy took it but on short preparation. Having thus resolved, they put over into the Island their men of Arms, out of every Band by lot, some also had been sent over by turns; but they which went over now last, and were left there, were 420, besides the *Helots* that were with them. And their Captain was *Epitadas* the son of *Molobrus*.

The *Lacedæmonians* put over 420 men of Arms, besides their servants, into the Isle of *Sphacteria* over against *Pylus*.

Demosthenes prepareth himself to keep the *Lacedæmonians* from landing on the Shore.

Demosthenes, when he saw the *Lacedæmonians* bent to assault him, both from their Gallies, and with their Army by Land, prepared also to defend the place. And when he had drawn up his Gallies, all that were left him, unto the Land, he placed them athwart the Fort, and armed the Mariners that belonged to them with Bucklers, though bad ones, and for the greatest part made of Osiers. For they had no means in a desert place to provide themselves of Arms. Those they had, they took out of a Piratical Boat of thirty Oars, and a *Light-horseman of the *Messenians* which came by by chance. And the men of Arms of the *Messenians* were about 40, which he made use of amongst the rest. The greatest part therefore, both of armed and unarmed, he placed on the parts of the Wall toward the Land which were of most strength, and commanded them to make good the place against the Land Forces, if they assaulted it; and he himself with sixty men of Arms, chosen out of the whole number, and a few Archers, came forth of the Fort to the Sea-side, in that part where he most expected their landing. Which part was of troublesom access, and stony, and lay to the wide Sea. But because their Wall was there the weakest, he thought they would be drawn to adventure for that. For neither did the *Athenians* think they should ever have been mastered with Gallies, which caused them to make the place to the Sea-ward the less strong; and if the *Peloponnesians* should by force come to land, they made no other account but the place would be lost. Coming therefore in this part to the very brink of the Sea, he put in order his men of Arms, and encouraged them with words to this effect:

* Κεῖανς.

The ORATION of DEMOSTHENES

to his Souldiers.

YOU that participate with me in the present danger, let not any of you in this extremity, go about to seem wise, and reckon every peril that now besetteth us; but let him rather come up to the Enemy with little circumspection, and much hope and look for his safety by that. For things that are come once to a pinch, as these are, admit not debate, but a speedy hazard. And yet if we stand it out, and betray not our advantages with fear of the number of the Enemy, I see well enough that most things are with us. For I make account the difficulty of their landing makes for us: which, as long as we abide our selves, will help us; but if we retire, though the place be difficult, yet when there is none to impeach them, they will land well enough. For whilest they are in their Gallies, they are most easie to be fought withal, and in their disbarquing being but on equal terms, their number is not greatly to be feared; for though they be many, yet they must fight but by few, for want of room to fight in. And for an Army to have odds by Land, is another matter then when they are to fight from Gallies, where they stand in need of so many accidents to fall out opportunely from the Sea. So that I think their great difficulties do but set them even with our small number. And for you, that be Athenians, and by experience of disbarquing against others, know, that if a man stand it out, and do not for fear of the sowsing of a Wave, or the menacing approach of a Gally, give back of himself, he can never be put back by violence; I expect that you should keep your ground, and by fighting it out upon the very Edge of the Water, preserve both your selves and the Fort.

Upon this Exhortation of Demosthenes, the Athenians took better heart, and went down, and arranged themselves close by the Sea. And the Lacedemonians came and assaulted the Fort, both with their Army by Land, and with their Fleet, consisting of three and forty Gallies, in which was Admiral, *Thrasymelidas* the Son of *Cratesicles*, a Spartan; and he made his approach where Demosthenes had before expected him. So the Athenians were assaulted on both sides, both by Sea and by Land.

The Athenians take heart.

The Lacedemonians assault the Fort by Land, and seek to force landing from their Gallies.

The Peloponnesians dividing their Gallies into small numbers, because they could not come near with many at once, and resting between, assailed them by turns; using all possible Valour and mutual Encouragement, to put the Athenians back, and gain the Fort.

Most eminent of all the rest was *Brasidas*: For having the Command of a Gally, and seeing other Captains of Gallies and Steersmen (the place being hard of access) when there appeared sometimes possibility of putting ashore to be afraid, and tender of breaking their Gallies, he would crie out unto them, saying, *They did not well for sparing of Wood, to let the Enemy fortifie in their Conntrey.*

The Valour of *Brasidas*.

And to the Lacedemonians he gave advice, to force landing with the breaking of their Gallies; and prayed the Confederates,

that in requital of many benefits, they would not stick to bestow their Gallies at this time upon the Lacedæmonians, and running them ashore, to use any means whatsoever to Land, and to get into their hands both the men in the Isle, and the Fort.

* *Ἀποβάσας*, Ladders or Planks to disembark by.

Βράσιδας frowneth by reason of his wounds.

† *Παρεξέσπαστα Φορί*. The place on the outside of the Gally for Soldiers to stand and fight on, between the Rowers and the Water.

Thus he urged others; and having compelled the Steersman of his own Gally to run her ashore, he came to the *Ladders, but attempting to get down, was by the *Athenians* put back, and after he had received many wounds, frowneth, and falling upon the † ledges of the Gally, his Buckler tumbled over into the Sea, which brought to Land, the *Athenians* took up, and used afterwards in the Trophy which they set up for this assault. Also the rest endeavoured with much courage to come on Land; but the place being ill to land in, and the *Athenians* not boudging, they could not do it. So that at this time Fortune came so much about, that the *Athenians* fought from the Land, *Laconique* Land, against *Lacedæmonians* in Gallies; and the *Lacedæmonians* from their Gallies fought against the *Athenians*, to get landing in their own now hostile Territory. For at that time there was an opinion far spread, that these were rather Land men, and expert in a Battel of Foot; and that in maritime and naval actions the other excelled.

The *Lacedæmonians* after three days assault, without effect, give over that course.

This day then, and a part of the next, they made sundry assaults, and after that gave over. And the third day they sent out some Gallies to *Asine* for Timber wherewith to make Engines, hoping with Engines to take that part of the Wall that looketh into the Haven; which, though it were higher, yet the landing to it was easier.

The *Athenian* Fleet return from *Zacynthus*, to aid the *Athenians* in *Pylus*.

In the mean time arrive the forty *Athenian* Gallies from *Zacynthus*; for there were joined with them certain Gallies of the Garrison of *Naupactus*, and four of *Chios*. And when they saw both the Continent and the Island full of men of Arms, and that the Gallies that were in the Haven would not come forth, not knowing where to cast Anchor, they failed for the present to the Isle *Prote*, being near, and desert, and there lay for that night.

The *Athenians* overcome the *Peloponnesian* fleet in the Haven of *Pylus*.

The next day, after they had put themselves in order, they put to Sea again, with purpose to offer them Battel, if the other would come forth into the wide Sea against them, if not, to enter the Haven upon them. But the *Peloponnesians* neither came out against them, nor had stopped up the entries of the Haven, as they had before determined, but lying still on the shoar, manned out their Gallies, and prepared to fight, if any entered, in the Haven it self, which was no small one. The *Athenians* understanding this, came in violently upon them, at both the mouths of the Haven, and most of the *Lacedæmonian* Gallies, which were already set out, and opposed them, they charged, and put to flight. And in following the chase, which was but short, they brake many of them, and took five, whereof one with all her men in her; and they fell in also, with them that fled to the shoar; and the Gallies which were but in manning out, were torn and rent, before they could put off from the Land. Others they tyed to their own Gallies, and towed them away empty. Which the *Lacedæmonians* perceiving, and extremely grieved with the loss, because their fellows were hereby intercepted in the Island, came in with their aid from the Land, and entering armed into the Sea, took hold of the Gallies with their hands, to have pulled them back again; every one conceiving the business to proceed the worse, wherein himself was not present. So there arose a great affray about the Gallies, and such as was contrary to the

the manner of them both. For the *Lacedæmonians* out of eagerness and out of fear, did (as one may say) nothing else but make a Sea-fight from the Land; and the *Athenians*, who had the victory, and desired to extend their present fortune to the utmost, made a Land-fight from their Gallies. But at length, having wearied and wounded each other, they fell asunder; and the *Lacedæmonians* recovered all their Gallies, save only those which were taken at the first onset. When they were on both sides retired to their Camps, the *Athenians* erected a Trophie, delivered to the Enemy their dead, and possessed the wreck, and immediately went round the Island with their Gallies, keeping watch upon it, as having intercepted the men within it. the *Peloponnesians* in the mean time, that were in the Continent, and were by this time assembled there with their succours from all parts of *Peloponnesus*, remained upon the place at *Pylus*.

The *Athenians* getting the Victory, besiege the men cut off from the Army, in the Island.

As soon as the news of what had passed was related at *Sparta*, they thought fit, in respect the loss was great, to send the Magistrates down to the Camp, to determine, upon view of the state of their present affairs there, what they thought requisite to be done. These, when they saw there was no possibility to relieve their men, and were not willing to put them to the danger either of suffering by Famine, or of being forced by multitude, concluded amongst themselves, to take Truce with the *Athenian* Commanders, as far as concerned the particulars of *Pylus*, if they also would be content, and to send Ambassadors to *Athens*, about agreement, and to endeavour to fetch off their men as soon as they could. The *Athenian* Commanders accepting the proposition, the Truce was made, in this manner.

The Magistrates of *Sparta* come to view the State of the Camp, and conclude there to send to *Athens* about Peace.

Truce between the Armies, till Ambassadors might be sent to *Athens*.

The Articles of the Truce.

That the *Lacedæmonians* should deliver up, not only those Gallies wherein they fought, but also bring to *Pylus*, and put into the *Athenians* hands, whatsoever Vessels of the * long form of building were any where else in *Laconia*.

forms, long and round. The long, which principally used the Oar, served for the wars; the round, which used only the sail, served for Merchants uses and transportation of Provision. Of the first sort were all Gallies, whether of one, two, or three, or more tire of Oars; of the latter were the Ships called * *Ολγυδες*.

* Out of this and other places it appears, that the Shipping of those times was of two

That they should not make any assault upon the Fort, neither by Sea nor Land. That the *Athenians* should permit the *Lacedæmonians* that were in the Continent, to send over to those in the Island, a portion of ground corn, agreed on, to wit, to every one two Attique † Chœnicks of Meale, and two ∴ Cotyles of Wine, and a piece of Flesh; and to every of their servants half that quantity.

† A Chœnix, a measure of about three pints of ours.

That they should send this, the *Athenians* looking on, and not send over any Vessel by stealth.

∴ Κοῦαν, a quarter of a Chœnix.

That the *Athenians* should nevertheless continue guarding the Island, provided that they landed not in it; and should not invade the *Peloponnesian* Army neither by Land nor Sea.

That if either side transgressed in any part thereof, the truce was then immediately to be void, otherwise to hold good till the return of the *Lacedæmonian* Ambassadors from *Athens*.

That the *Athenians* should convoy them in a Gallie unto *Athens*, and back. That at their return the Truce should end, and the *Athenians* should restore them their Gallies, in as good estate as they had received them.

Thus was the Truce made, and the Gallies were delivered to the Athenians, to the number of about threescore: and the Ambassiadours were sent away, who arriving at Athens, said as followeth:

The Oration of the LACEDÆMONIAN Ambassadors.

* Brevity of speech was so customary and natural to the the Lacedæmonians, that it grew to a proverb.

MEN of Athens, the Lacedæmonians have sent us hither concerning our men in the Island, to see if we can perswade you to such a course, as being most profitable for you, may in this misfortune, be the most honorable for us, that our present condition is capable of. We will not be longer in discourse then standeth withour custom, being the * fashion with us, where few words suffice, there indeed not to use many; but yet to use more, when the occasion requireth that by words we should make plain that which is to be done in actions of importance. But the words we shall use, we pray you to receive, not with the mind of an Enemy, nor as if we went about to instruct you, as men ignorant, but for a remembrance to you, of what you know, that you may deliberate wisely therein. It is now in your power to assure your present good fortune with reputation, holding what you have, with the addition of honour and glory besides; and to avoid that which befalleth men upon extraordinary success, who through hope, aspire to greater fortune, because the fortune they have already, came unhoped for. Whereas they that have felt many changes of both fortunes, ought indeed to be most suspicious of the good. So ought your City, and ours especially, upon experience in all reason to be. Know it, by seeing this present misfortune fallen on us, who being of greatest dignity of all the Grecians, come to you to ask that which before we thought chiefly in our own hands to give. And yet we are not brought to this through weakness, nor through insolence upon addition of strength, but because it succeeded not with the power we had, as we thought it should, which may as well happen to any others as to our selves. So that you have no reason to conceive, that for your power, and purchases, Fortune also must be therefore always yours. Such wise men as safely reckon their prosperity in the account of things doubtful, do most wisely also address themselves towards adversity; and not think that War will so far follow, and no further, as one shall please more or less to take it in hand; but rather so far as Fortune shall lead it. Such men also seldom miscarrying, because they be not puffed up with the confidence of success, choose then principally to give over, when they are in their better fortune. And so it will be good for you, Men of Athens, to do with us; and not, if rejecting our advice, you chance to miscarry (as many ways you may) to have it thought hereafter that all your present successes were but meer Fortune.

Whereas, on the contrary, it is in your hands without danger to leave a reputation to posterity both of Strength and Wisdom. The Lacedæmonians call you to a Peace, and end of the War, giving you Peace, and Alliance, and much other friendship and mutual familiarity, requiring for the same, onely those their men that are in the Island; though also we think it better for both sides, not to trie the chance of War, whether it fall out that by some occasion of safety offered, they escape by force, or being expunged by siege, they should be more in your power then they be. For we are of this mind, that great hatred is most safely cancelled, not when one that having beaten his enemy, and gotten much the better in the War, brings him through necessity to take an Oath, and to make peace on unequal terms; but when having it in his power lawfully so to do if he please, he overcome him likewise in goodness,

and

and contrary to what he expects be reconciled to him on moderate conditions. For in this case, his Enemy being obliged not to seek revenge as one that had been forced, but to requite his goodness will (for shame) be the more inclined to the conditions agreed on. And naturally, to those that relent of their own accord, men give way reciprocally, with content; but against the arrogant they will hazard all, even when in their own judgments they be too weak. But for us both, if ever it were good to agree, it is surely so at this present, and before any irreparable accident be interposed. Whereby we should be compelled besides the common, to bear you a particular eternal hatred, and you be deprived of the commodities we now offer you. Let us be reconciled while matters stand undecided, and whilst you have gained reputation, and our friendship, and we not suffered dishonour, and but indifferent loss. And we shall not only our selves prefer Peace before War, but also give a cessation of their miseries to all the rest of the Grecians, who will acknowledge it rather from you than us. For they make War, not knowing whether side began; but if an end be made, (which is now for the most part in your hands) the thanks will be yours.

And by decreeing the Peace you may make the Lacedæmonians your sure Friends, in as much as they call you to it, and are therein not enforced, but gratified. Wherein consider how many commodities are like to ensue; for if we and you go one way, you know the rest of Greece, being inferiour to us, * will honour us in the highest degree.

* Τα μέγιστα τιμάσθαι.
will give us highest
honour. Conveying to
the understanding of

the wiser sort of the hearers, the consideration of tyrannizing the rest of Greece; for by the highest honour he means tyranny, but avoiding the envy of the word; because if he had said it plainly, the Confederates would see, that they which termed themselves, The Deliverers of Greece, would now out of private interest, be content to join with the Athenians to tyrannize it.

Thus spake the Lacedæmonians, thinking that in times past the Athenians had coveted Peace, and been hindred of it by them, and that being now offered, they would gladly accept of it.

But they, having these men intercepted in the Island, thought they might compound at pleasure, and aspired to greater matters. To this they were set on for the most part by Cleon the son of Cleonetus, a popular man at that time, and of greatest sway with the multitude. He perswaded them to give this answer:

That they in the Island ought first to deliver up their Arms, and come themselves to Athens, and when they should be there, if the Lacedæmonians would make restitution of Nisæa, and Pegæ, and Træzen, and Achaia, (the which they had not won in War, but had received by former Treaty, when the Athenians, being in distress, and at that time in more need of Peace than now, yielded them up into their hands) then they should have their men again, and Peace should be made for as long as they both should think good.

The insolent demand of the people of Athens, by the advice of Cleon.

To this Answer they replied nothing, but desired that Commissioners might be chosen to treat with them, who by alternate speaking and hearing, might quietly make such an agreement as they could perswade each other unto. But then Cleon came mightily upon them, saying, he knew before that they had no honest purpose, and that the same was now manifest, in that they refused to speak before the People, but sought to fit in consultation onely with a few; and willed them if they had ought to say that was real, to speak it before them all. But the Lacedæmo-

The Lacedæmonians desire to speak before a private Committee.

nians

* Viz. For buying Peace at the cost of the Confederates Subjection; for the thing they durst not pre-pound before the People

nians finding, that although they had a mind to make Peace with them upon this occasion of adversity, yet it would not be fit to speak in it before the multitude, lest speaking and not obtaining, they should incur *calumny with their Confederates, and seeing withall that the *Athenians* would not grant what they sued for upon reasonable conditions, they went back again without effect.

was this, That by the amity of these two great States, the rest of Greece would be forced to serve them; which they touched also but obscure'y in the last words of their Oration, as I have noted before.

The Ambassadors return without effect, and the Truce endeth.

The *Athenians* cavil, and keep the Gallies of the *Lacedæmonians*.

The War at *Pylus* goes on.

Upon their return, presently the Truce at *Pylus* was at an end, and the *Lacedæmonians*, according to agreement, demanded restitution of their Gallies. But the *Athenians* laying to their charge an assault made upon the Fort, contrary to the Articles, and other matters of no great importance, refused to render them; standing upon this, that it was said that the accord should be void, upon whatsoever the least transgression of the same. But the *Lacedæmonians* denying it, and protesting this detention of their Gallies for an injury, went their ways and betook themselves to the War. So the War at *Pylus* was on both sides renewed with all their power.

The *Athenians* went every day about the Island with two Gallies, one going one way, another another way, and lay at Anchor about it every night with their whole Fleet, except on that part which lieth to the open Sea, and that onely when it was windy. From *Athens* also there came a supply of thirty Gallies more to guard the Island, so that they were in the whole threescore and ten. And the *Lacedæmonians* made assaults upon the Fort, and watched every opportunity that should present itself to save their men in the Island.

The *Syracusians* and *Athenians* fight in the Streight between *Messana* and *Rhegium*.

Messana.

* *Sphaacteria*.

* *Rhegium* being a Promontory, and derived from *ῥήγνυμι*, which signifies to break, makes it probable that Sicily was once a part of Italy, and there broken off by some Earthquake, but yet *Scylla* is nearer to Sicily then *Rhegium*.

† *Charybdis*, here taken for the name of the whole Streight, is but a part near to *Messana*, between it and *Pelorus*, subject to extraordinary agitation in stormy weather, but nothing to that it was, or was fained to be of old.

The *Syracusians* and *Athenians* fight at *Sea*.

Whilest these things passed, the *Syracusians* and their Confederates in *Sicily* adding to those Gallies that lay in Garrison at *Messana* the rest of the Fleet which they had prepared, made War out of *Messana*, instigated thereto chiefly by the *Locrians*, as enemies to the *Rhegians*, (whose Territory they had also invaded with their whole Forces by Land) and seeing the *Athenians* had but a few Gallies present, and hearing that the greater number which were to come to them, were employed in the siege of the *Island, desired to trie with them a Battel by Sea; for if they could get the better with their Navy, they hoped, lying before *Rhegium*, both with their Land Forces on the Field side, and with their Fleet by Sea, easily to take it into their hands, and thereby strengthen their affairs. For *Rhegium* a *Promontory of *Italy*, and *Messana* in *Sicily* lying near together they might both hinder the *Athenians* from lying there at Anchor against them, and make themselves Masters of the Streight. This Streight is the Sea between *Rhegium* and *Messana*, where *Sicily* is nearest to the Continent, and is that which is called † *Charybdis*, where *Ulysses* is said to have passed through; which for that it is very narrow, and because the Sea falleth in there from two great Mains, the *Tyrrhene* and *Sicilian*, and is rough, hath therefore not without good cause been esteemed dangerous.

In this Straight then, the *Syracusians* and their Confederates, with somewhat more then 30 Gallies, were constrained in the latter end of the day to come to a Sea-fight, having been drawn forth about the passage of

of a certain Boat to undertake 16 Gallies of *Athens* and 8 of *Rhegium*; and being overcome by the *Athenians* fell off with the loss of one Gally, and went speedily each side to their own Camp at *Messana* and *Rhegium*, and the night overtook them in the action. After this the *Locrians* departed out of the Territory of the *Rhegians*; and the Fleet of the *Syracusians* and their Confederates came together to an Anchor at * *Peloris*, and had their Land Forces by them. But the *Athenians* and *Rhegians* came up to them, and finding their Gallies empty of men, fell in amongst them, and by means of a Grapnel † cast into one of their Gallies, they lost that Gally, but the men swam out. Upon this the *Syracusians* went aboard, and whilst they were towed along the Shore towards *Messana*, the *Athenians* came up to them again, and the *Syracusians* opening themselves, charged first, and sunk another of their Gallies; so the *Syracusians* passed on to the Port of *Messana*, having had the better in their passage by the Shore, and in the Sea-fight, which were both together in such manner as is declared.

The *Athenians* upon news that *Chamerina* should by *Archias* and his Complices be betrayed to the *Syracusians*, went thither. In the mean time the *Messanians* with their whole power by Land, and also with their Fleet, warred on *Naxos* a * *Chalcidique* City, and their Borderer. The first day having forced the *Naxians* to retire within their Walls, they spoiled their Fields; the next day they sent their Fleet about into the River *Acesine*, which spoiled the Countrey as it went up the River, and with their Land Forces assaulted the City. In the mean time many of the *Siculi*, Mountainers, came down to their assistance against the *Messanians*; which when they of *Naxos* perceived, they took heart, and encouraging themselves with an opinion that the *Leontines* and all the rest of the Grecians their Confederates, had come to succour them, sallied suddenly out of the City, and charged upon the *Messanians*, and put them to flight, with the slaughter of a thousand of their Souldiers, the rest hardly escaping home. For the *Barbarians* fell upon them and slew the most part of them in the High-ways. And the Gallies that lay at *Messana* not long after divided themselves, and went to their * several homes.

Hereupon the *Leontines* and their Confederates, together with the *Athenians* marched presently against *Messana*, as being now weakned, and assaulted it, the *Athenians* with their Fleet by the Haven, and their Land Forces at the Wall to the Field. But the *Messanians* and certain *Locrians* with *Demoteles*, who after this loss had been left there in Garrison, issuing forth, and falling suddenly upon them, put a great part of the *Leontines* Army to flight, and slew many; but the *Athenians* seeing that, disbarqued and relieved them: and coming upon the *Messanians* now in disorder, chased them again into the City. Then they erected a Trophy, and put over to *Rhegium*. After this the *Grecians* of *Sicily* warred one upon another, without the *Athenians*.

All this while the *Athenians* at *Pylus* besieged the *Lacedemonians* in the Island; and the Army of the *Peloponnesians* in the Continent remained still upon the place. This keeping of Watch was exceeding painful to the *Athenians*, in respect of the want they had both of Corn and Water; for there was no Well but one, and that was in the Fort it self of *Pylus*, and no great one. And the greatest number turned up the Gravel, and drunk such Water as they were * like to find there. They

strained, and so purged of the saltness in the passage of the water through the sand, but not so good as farther off from the Sea were

* A Promontory of Sicily, hard by *Messana*.

† Cast in by the Souldiers on Shore.

The *Messanians* war on the City of *Naxos*, and receive a great loss.

* Of those which were founded by the *Chalcideans* of Greece.

* *Syracusa* and *Locris*.

The *Athenians* and *Leontines* attempt to take *Messana*.

The *Athenians* are much troubled to watch the Island.

* The water which is found by digging in the Sea-sands is commonly fresh, being

The Shift of the *Lacedæmonians* to relieve the besieged with Victual.

* To the people of the Country about.

■ A medicine for hunger and thirst, not meat. Scholiastes.

The *Athenians* are angry, that their Army is detained so long in the Siege of the Island.

Cleon to avoid the envie of hindering the peace, engageth himself ere he was aware, to fetch those that were besieged in the Island home to *Athens*.

were also scanted of room for their Camp; and their Gallies not having place to ride in, they were forced by turns, some to stay ashore, and others to take their Victual, and lie off at Anchor. But their greatest discouragement was, the time which they had staid there longer then they had thought to have done; for they thought to have famished them out in a few days, being in a desert Island, and having nothing to drink but salt Water. The cause whereof were the *Lacedæmonians*, who had * proclaimed that any man that would, should carry in Meal, Wine, Cheese, and all other esculents necessary for a Siege into the Island, appointing for the same a great reward of Silver: and if any *Helot* should carry in any thing, they promised him liberty. Hereupon divers with much danger imported Victual; but especially the *Helots*, who putting off from all parts of *Peloponnesus*, wheresoever they chanced to be, came in at the parts of the Island that lay to the wide Sea. But they had a care above all, to take such a time as to be brought in with the Wind. For when it blew from the Sea, they could escape the watch of the Gallies easily; for they could not then lie round about the Island at Anchor. And the *Helots* were nothing tender in putting ashore, for they ran their Gallies on ground, valued at a price in money, and the men of Arms also watched at all the Landing places of the Island. But as many as made attempt when the weather was calm, were intercepted. There were also such as could dive that swam over into the Island through the Haven, drawing after them in astring Bottles filled with * Poppy, tempred with Honey and pounded Lintseed; whereof some at the first passed unseen, but were afterwards watched. So that on either part they used all possible art one side to send over food, the other to apprehend those that carried it.

The People of *Athens* being advertised of the state of their Army, how it was in distress, and that Victual was transported into the Island, knew not what they should do to it, and feared lest Winter should overtake them in their Siege; fearing not onely that to provide them of necessaries about *Peloponnesus*, and in a desert place withall, would be a thing impossible, but also that they should be unable to send forth so many things as were requisite, though it were Summer; and again, that the parts thereabout being without Harbour, there would be no place to lie at Anchor in against them, but that the Watch there ceasing of it self, the men would by that means escape, or in some foul weather be carried away in the same Boats that brought them meat. But that which they feared most, was that the *Lacedæmonians* seemed to have some assurance of them already, because they sent no more to negotiate about them. And they repented now that they had not accepted of the Peace. But *Cleon* knowing himself to be the man suspected for hindring the agreement, said, that they who brought the news reported not the truth. Whereupon they that came thence, advising them, if they would not believe it, to send to view the estate of the Army, he and *Theogenes* were chosen by the *Athenians* to view it. But when he saw that he must of force either say as they said, whom he before calumniated, or saying the contrary be proved a liar, he advised the *Athenians*, seeing them inclined of themselves to send thither greater Forces then they had before thought to do, that it was not fit to send to view the place, nor to lose their opportunity by delay, but if the report seemed unto them to be true, they should make a Voyage against those men, and glanced at *Nicias* the son of *Niceratus*, then

* General,

* General, upon malice, and with language of reproach. Saying it was easie, if the Leaders were men, to go and take them there in the Island. And that himself, if he had the Command, would do it. But *Nicias*, seeing the *Athenians* to be in a kind of tumult against *Cleon*, for that when he thought it so easie a matter, he did not presently put it in practice, and seeing also he had upbraided him, willed him to take what strength he would, that they could give him, and undertake it. *Cleon* supposing at first that he gave him this leave but in words, was ready to accept it; but when he knew he would give him the authority in good earnest, then he shrunk back, and said, that not he, but *Nicias* was General; being now indeed afraid, and hoping that he durst not have given over the office to him. But then, *Nicias* again bade him do it, and gave over his command to him, for so much as concerned *Pylus*, and called the *Athenians* to witness it. They (as is the fashion of the multitude) the more *Cleon* declined the Voyage, and went back from his word, pressed *Nicias* so much the more to resign his* power to him, and cried out upon *Cleon* to go. Inasmuch as not knowing how to disengage himself of his word, he undertook the Voyage; and stood forth, saying, that he feared not the *Lacedemonians*, and that he would not carry any man with him out of the City, but onely the *Leminians* and *Imbrians* that then were present, and those Targettiers that were come to them from *Aenus*, and 400 Archers out of other places; and with these he said, added to the Souldiers that were at *Pylus* already, he would within twenty days, either fetch away the *Lacedemonians* alive; or kill them upon the place.

This vain Speech moved amongst the *Athenians* some laughter, and was heard with great content of the wiser sort. For of two benefits, the one must needs fall out; either to be rid of *Cleon*, (which was their greatest hope) or if they were deceived in that, then to get those *Lacedemonians* into their hands.

Now when he had dispatched with the Assembly, and the *Athenians* had by their Voices decreed him the Voyage, he joined unto himself *Demosthenes*, one of the Commanders at *Pylus*, and presently put to Sea. He made choice of *Demosthenes* for his Companion, because he heard that he also of himself had a purpose to set his Souldiers on land in the Isle. For the Army having suffered much by the straightness of the place, and being rather the Besieged, then the Besieger, had a great desire to put the matter to the hazard of a Battel: confirmed therein the more, for that the Island had been burnt. For having been for the most part Wood, and (by reason it had lien ever desart) without path, they were before the more afraid, and thought it the advantage of the Enemy; for assaulding them out of sight, they might annoy a very great Army that should offer to come on Land. For their Errours, being in the Wood, and their preparation could not so well have been discerned: whereas all the faults of their own Army should have been in sight. So that the Enemy might have set upon them suddenly, in what part soever they had pleased, because the onset had been in their own election. Again, If they should by force come up to fight with the *Lacedemonians* at hand in the thick Woods, the fewer, and skilful of the ways, he thought would be too hard for the many and unskilful. Besides their own Army being great, it might receive an overthrow before they could know of it, because they could not see where it was needful to relieve one another.

* *Στρατηγός*, The Magistrate to whose authority was committed the levying and mustering of Souldiers. *Cleon* undertaketh to fetch those in the Island, prisoners to *Athens*.

Cleon taken at his word, would have declined the employment, but cannot.

* His power to levy Souldiers.

A glorious boast of *Cleon* well taken.

The reason why *Demosthenes* durst not land in the Island to subdue the besieged by fight.

The Athenian Souldiers.

The Wood of the Island burnt by accident.

Cleon arriveth at Pylus.

The Athenians invade the Island:

And kill those that were in the first and most remote Watch from Pylus.

* *Viz.* The light-armed.

* *Thalamii.* There were three ranks of Rowers amongst the Athenians, the uppermost called *Thranitæ*, the second *Zygitæ*, and the last *Thalamitæ*, or *Thalamii*. In the Gally called a *Bireme* there were no *Zeugitæ*, in a *Tireme* were all three ranks, in a *Quadrireme* and upwards, all the middle ranks were *Zeugitæ*: onely the uppermost were *Thranitæ*, and the nethermost *Thalamitæ*.

The Athenians divide themselves into many troops against the main Body of the *Lacedæmonian* Souldiers.

These things came into his head, especially from the loss he received in *Ætolia*; which in part also happened by occasion of the Woods. But the Souldiers, for want of room, having been forced to put in at the outside of the Island to dress their dinners, with a Watch before them, and one of them having set fire on the Wood, it burnt on by little and little, and the Wind afterwards rising, the most of it was burnt before they were aware. By this accident, *Demosthenes* the better discerning that the *Lacedæmonians* were more then he had imagined, having before, by Victual sent unto them, thought them not so many, did now prepare himself for the Enterprize, as a matter deserving the *Athenians* utmost care, and as having better commodity of landing in the Island, then before he had; and both sent for the forces of such Confederates as were near, and put in readiness every other needful thing. And *Cleon*, who had sent a Messenger before to signify his coming, came himself also with those Forces which he had required, unto *Pylus*. When they were both together, first they sent a Herald to the Camp in the Continent, to know if they would command those in the Island to deliver up themselves and their Arms without Battel, to be held with easie imprisonment, till some agreement were made touching the main War. Which when they refused, the *Athenians* for one day held their hands; but the next day, having put aboard upon a few Gallies, all their men of Arms they put off in the night, and landed a little before day on both sides of the Island, both from the Main, and from the Haven, to the number of about 800 men of Arms, and marched upon high speed towards the foremost Watch of the Island. For thus the *Lacedæmonians* lay quartered. In the foremost Watch were about thirty men of Arms. The midst and evenest part of the Island, and about the Water, was kept by *Epitadas* their Captain, with the greatest part of the whole number. And another part of them, which were not many, kept the last Guard towards *Pylus*, which place to the Sea-ward was on a Cliff, and least assailable by Land. For there was also a certain Fort which was old and made of chosen, not of hewn stones, which they thought would stand the in stead in case of violent retreat. Thus they were quartered. Now the *Athenians* presently killed those of the foremost Guard, (which they so ran to) in their Cabins, and as they were taking Arms. For they knew not of their landing, but thought those Gallies had come thither to Anchor in the night according to custom, as they had been wont to do. As soon as it was morning the *rest of the Army also landed, out of somewhat more then 70 Gallies, every one with such Arms as he had; being all that rowed (except onely the **Thalamii*) eight hundred Archers, Targettiers as many, all the *Messenians* that came to aid them, and as many of them besides, as held any place about *Pylus*, except onely the Garrison of the Fort it self. *Demosthenes* then disposing his Army by two hundred and more in a Company, and in some less, at certain distances, seized on all the higher grounds, to the end that the Enemies compassed about on every side, might the less know what to do, or against what part to set themselves in Battel, and be subject to the shot of the multitude from every part; and when they should make head against those that fronted them, be charged behind; and when they should turn to those that were opposed to their Flanks, be charged at once both behind and before. And which way soever they marched, the light-armed, and such as were meanliest provided of Arms, followed them at the back, with Arrows, Darts,

Darts, Stones, and Slings, who have courage enough afar off, and could not be charged, but would overcome flying, and also press the Enemies when they should retire. With this design *Demosthenes* both intended his landing at first, and afterwards ordered his Forces accordingly in the Action. Those that were about *Epitadas*, who were the greatest part of those in the Island, when they saw that the formost Guard was slain, and that the Army marched towards them, put themselves in array, and went towards the men of Arms of the *Athenians*, with intent to charge them; for these were opposed to them in Front, and the light-armed Souldiers on their Flanks and at their backs. But they could neither come to join with them, nor any way make use of their * skill: For both the light-armed Souldiers kept them off with shot from either side, and the men of Arms advanced not. Where the light-armed Souldiers approached nearest, they were driven back, but returning, they charged them afresh, being men armed lightly, and that easily got out of their reach by running, especially the ground being uneasie and rough, by having been formerly desert; so that the *Lacedæmonians* in their Armour could not follow them. Thus for a little while they skirmished one against another afar off. But when the *Lacedæmonians* were no longer able to run out after them where they charged, these light-armed Souldiers seeing them less earnest in chasing them, and taking courage chiefly from their fight, as being many times their number, and having also been used to them so much, as not to think them now so dangerous as they had done, for that they had not received so much hurt at their hands, as their subdued minds, because they were to fight against the *Lacedæmonians*, had at their first landing pre-judged, contemned them, and with a great cry ran all at once upon them, casting stones, arrows, and darts, as to every man came next to hand. Upon this cry and assault they were much terrified, as not accustomed to such kind of fight; and withall a great dust of the Woods lately burnt, mounted into the air, so that by reason of the arrows and Stones that together with the dust flew from such a multitude of men, they could hardly see before them. Then the Battel grew sore on the *Lacedæmonians* side, for their * Jacks now gave way to the arrows and the Darts that were thrown, stuck broken in them, so as they could not handle themselves, as neither seeing before them, nor hearing any direction given them, for the greater noise of the Enemy; but (danger being on all sides) were hopeless to save themselves upon any side by fighting. In the end, many of them being now wounded, for that they could not shift their ground, they made their retreat in close order, to the last Guard of the Island, and to the Watch that was there. When they once gave ground, then were the light-armed Souldiers much more confident then before, and pressed upon them with a mighty noise. And as many of the *Lacedæmonians* as they could intercept in their retreat they slew; but the most of them recovered the Fort, and together with the Watch of the same, put themselves in order to defend it in all parts that were subject to assault. The *Athenians* following could not now encompass and hem them in, for the strong situation of the place, but assaulting them in the face, sought onely how to put them from the Wall. And thus they held out a long time, the better part of a day, either side tired with the fight, and with thirst, and with the Sun, one endeavouring to drive the Enemy from the top, the other to keep their ground. And the *Lacedæmonians* defended themselves easilier now

The fight between the *Arbenians* and the *Lacedæmonians* in the middle of the Island.

* The skill of fighting a standing fight was thought a peculiar virtue of the *Lacedæmonians*, as the Sea-fight was thought to the *Athenians*.

* Πίλοι. A kind of quilted Armour, or of stuff close beaten like felt.

The *Lacedæmonians* retire to the Fort, where the last guard was placed.

The *Athenians* assault them there:

then before, because they were not now encompassed upon their Flanks. When there was no end of the business, the Captain of the *Messenians* said unto *Cleon* and *Demosthenes* that they spent their labour there in vain, and that if they would deliver unto him a part of the Archers, and light-armed Souldiers, to get up by such a way as he himself should find out, and come behind upon their backs, he thought the entrance might be forced. And having received the Forces he asked, he took his way from a place out of fight to the *Lacedæmonians*, that he might not be discovered; making his approach under the Cliffs of the Island, where they were continual; in which part, trusting to the natural strength thereof, they kept no watch, and with much labour, and hardly unseen, came behind them; and appearing suddenly from above at their backs, both terrified the Enemies with the sight of what they expected not, and much confirmed the *Athenians* with the sight of what they expected. And the *Lacedæmonians* being now charged with their shot both before and behind, were in the same case (to compare small matters with great) that they were in at **Thermopylae*. For then they were slain by the *Persians*, shut up on both sides in a narrow path. And these now being charged on both sides, could make good the place no longer, but fighting few against many, and being weak withall for want of food, were at last forced to give ground, and the *Athenians* by this time were also Masters of all the Entrances.

But *Cleon* and *Demosthenes*, knowing that the more they gave back, the faster they would be killed by their Army, staid the fight, and held in the Souldiers, with desire to carry them alive to *Athens*, in case their spirits were so much broken, and their courage abated by this misery, as upon Proclamation made, they would be content to deliver up their Arms. So they proclaimed that they should deliver up their Arms and themselves to the *Athenians*, to be disposed of as to them should seem good.

Upon hearing hereof the most of them threw down their Bucklers, and shook their hands above their heads, signifying their acceptance of what was proclaimed. Whereupon a Truce was made, and they came to Treat, *Cleon* and *Demosthenes* of one side, and *Styphon* the son of *Pharax*, on the other side. For of them that had Command there, *Epitadas*, who was the first, was slain; and *Hippagretes*, who was chosen to succeed him, lay amongst the dead though yet alive; and this man was the third to succeed in the Command by the **Law*, in case the others should miscarry. *Styphon* and those that were with him, said that they would send over to the *Lacedæmonians* in the Continent, to know what they there would advise them to; but the *Athenians* letting none go thence, called for Heralds out of the Continent; and the question having been twice or thrice asked, the last of the *Lacedæmonians* that came over from the Continent brought them this Answer: *The Lacedæmonians bid you take advice touching your selves, such as you shall think good, provided you do nothing dishonourably.* Whereupon having consulted, they yielded up themselves and their Arms; and the *Athenians* attended them that day and the night following, with a Watch. But the next day after they had set up their Trophy in the Island, they prepared to be gone, and committed the Prisoners to the custody of the Captains of the Gallies. And the *Lacedæmonians* sent over a Herald, and took up the bodies of their dead. The number of them that were slain and taken alive in the Island, was thus. There went

Some of the *Athenians* climb up behind the *Lacedæmonians* unseen, and appear at their backs.

* 5000 *Lacedæmonians* under their King *Leonidas* in the Streight of *Thermopylae*, withstood 300000 *Persians*, till they were circumvented, and charged both before and behind, and so all slain. Herod. lib. 7.

The *Lacedæmonians* yield.

* This manner of subordinating divers Commanders to be chief in succession, was in those times much used.

The *Lacedæmonians* yield up their Arms, and are carried Prisoners to *Athens*.

went over into the Island in all, four hundred and twenty men of Arms; of these were sent away alive, three hundred wanting eight, and the rest slain. Of those that lived, that were of the City it self of *Sparta*, one hundred and twenty. Of the *Athenians* there died not many, for it was no standing fight.

The number of the slain, and of the prisoners.

The whole time of the Siege of these men in the Island from the fight of the Gallies to the fight in the Island, was 72 days; of which for 20 days Victual was allowed to be carried to them, that is to say in the time that the Ambassadors were away that went about the Peace: in the rest they were fed by such onely as put in thither by stealth, and yet there was both Corn and other food left in the Island. For their Captain *Epitadas* had distributed it more sparingly then he needed to have done. So the *Athenians* and *Peloponnesians* departed from *Pylus*, and went home both of them with their Armies. And the promise of *Cleon*, as senseless as it was, took effect: For within 20 days he brought home the men, as he had undertaken.

Of all the accidents of this War, this same fell out the most contrary to the opinion of the *Grecians*. For they expected that the *Lacedæmonians* should never, neither by Famine, nor whatsoever other necessity, have been constrained to deliver up their Arms, but have died with them in their hands, fighting as long as they had been able; and would not believe that those that yielded, were like to those that were slain: and when one afterwards, of the *Athenian* Confederates, asked one of the Prisoners by way of insulting, if they which were slain were valiant men; he answered that a Spindle (meaning an Arrow) deserved to be valued at a high rate, if it could know who was a good man; signifying that the slain were such as the Stones and Arrows chanced to light on.

The yielding of the *Lacedæmonians* was contrary to the opinion had of their virtue.

After the arrival of the men, the *Athenians* ordered that they should be kept in bonds till there should be made some agreement; and if before that the *Peloponnesians* should invade their Territory, then to bring them forth and kill them. They took order also in the same Assembly, for the settling of the Garrison at *Pylus*. And the *Messenians* of *Naupactus*, having sent thither such men of their own as were fittest for the purpose, as to their native Countrey, (for *Pylus* is in that Countrey which belonged once to the *Messenians*) infested *Laconia* with Robberies, and did them much other mischief, as being of the same Language.

The *Lacedæmonian* prisoners kept in bonds at *Athens*, to be made use of in making the Peace, or else upon the first invasion of *Attica* to be slain.

The *Lacedæmonians*, not having in times past been acquainted with Robberies, and such War as that, and because their *Helots* ran over to the Enemy, fearing also some greater innovation in the Countrey, took the matter much to heart; and though they would not be known of it to the *Athenians*, yet they sent Ambassadors, and endeavoured to get the restitution both of the Fort of *Pylus* and of their men. But the *Athenians* aspired to greater matters; and the Ambassadors, though they came often about it, yet were always sent away without effect. These were the proceedings at *Pylus*.

Presently after this, the same Summer, the *Athenians* with 80 Gallies, 2000 men of Arms of their own City, and 200 Horse, in Boats built for transportation of Horses, made War upon the Territory of *Corinth*. There went also with them, *Milesians*, *Andrians*, and *Carystians* of their Confederates. The General of the whole Army was *Nicias* the son of *Niceratus*, with two others in Commission with him. Betimes in a morning

Nicias warreth in the Territory of *Corinth* with good fortune.

The *Corinthians*, hearing of their coming, assemble their Forces to hinder their landing.

The *Athenians* and *Corinthians* fight.

* A Hymn accustomed to be sung, one before Battel, another after Victory.

The *Corinthians* are put to flight.

* It was said before that all the *Corinthians* of military age were come forth.

ning, they put in at a place between *Chersonesus* and *Rheitus*, on that shore, above which standeth the Hill *Solygius*, whereon the *Dorians* in old time sat down, to make War on the *Corinthians* in the City of *Corinth*, that were then *Æolians*, and upon which there standeth now a Village, called also *Solygia*. From the shore where the Gallies came in, this Village is distant twenty furlongs, and the City of *Corinth*, sixty, and the *Isthmus* twenty. The *Corinthians* having long before from *Argos* had intelligence, that an Army of the *Athenians* was coming against them, came all of them with their forces to the *Isthmus*, (save only such as dwelt without the *Isthmus*, and five hundred Garrison Souldiers, absent in *Ambracia* and *Lencadia*) all the rest of military age came forth, to attend the *Athenians*, where they should put in. But when the *Athenians* had put to shore in the night unseen, and that advertisement thereof was given them by signs put up into the air, they left the one half of their Forces in *Cenchrea*, lest the *Athenians* should go against *Crommyon* and with the other half made haste to meet them. *Battus*, one of their Commanders, (for there were two of them present at the Battel) with one Squadron, went toward the Village of *Solygia*, being an open one, to defend it; and *Lycophron* with the rest charged the Enemy. And first they gave the onset on the right wing of the *Athenians*, which was but newly landed before *Chersonesus*, and afterwards they charged likewise the rest of the Army. The Battel was hot, and at hand-strokes: And the right wing of the *Athenians* and *Carystians* (for of these consisted their utmost Files) sustained the charge of the *Corinthians*, and with much ado drave them back. But as they retired, they came up, (for the place was all rising ground) to a dry Wall, and from thence, being on the upper ground, threw down stones at them; and after having sung the * *Paan*, came again close to them; whom when the *Athenians* abode, the Battel was again at hand-strokes. But a certain Band of *Corinthians* that came in, to the aid of their own left wing, put the right wing of the *Athenians* to flight, and chased them to the Sea side. But then from their Gallies they turned head again, both the *Athenians* and the *Carystians*. The other part of their Army continued fighting on both sides, especially the right wing of the *Corinthians*; where *Lycophron* fought against the left wing of the *Athenians*: for they expected that the *Athenians* would attempt to go to *Solygia*; so they held each other to it a long time, neither side giving ground. But in the end (for that the *Athenians* had Horse-men, which did them great service, seeing the other had none) the *Corinthians* were put to flight, and retired to the Hill, where they laid down their Arms, and descended no more, but there rested. In this retreat, the greatest part of their right wing was slain, and amongst others, *Lycophron*, one of the Generals. But the rest of the Army being in this manner, neither much urged, nor retiring in much haste, when they could do no other, made their Retreat up the Hill, and there sate down. The *Athenians* seeing them come no more down to Battel, rifled the dead bodies of the Enemy, and took up their own, and presently erected a Trophie on the place. That half of the *Corinthians* that lay at *Cenchrea*, to watch the *Athenians*, that they went not against *Crommyon*, saw not this Battel, for the Hill *Oneius*; but when they saw the dust, and so knew what was in hand, they went presently to their aid: so did also the * old men of *Corinth* from the City, when they understood how the matter had succeeded. The *Athenians*, when all these were coming upon them together, imagining them to have been

been the succours of the neighbouring Cities of *Peloponnesus*, retired speedily to their Gallies; carrying with them the booty, and the bodies of their dead all save two, which not finding they left. Being aboard, they crossed over to the Islands on the other side, and from thence * sent a Herald, and fetched away those two dead bodies which they left behind. There were slain in this Battel, *Corinthians* two hundred and twelve, and *Athenians* somewhat under fifty.

* To fetch off the dead by a Herald, was a confession of being the weaker; but yet *Nicias* chooseth rather to renounce the reputation of Victory, than

omit an Act of Piety. Besides, the People took marvellously ill the neglect of the dead bodies, as may appear by their sentence on the Captains after the Battel at Arginuse.

The *Athenians* putting off from the Islands, sailed the same day to *Crommyon*, in the Territory of *Corinth*, distant from the City a hundred and twenty Furlongs: where anchoring, they wasted the Fields, and staid all that night. The next day they sailed along the Shore, first to the Territory of *Epidaurus*, whereinto they made some little incursion from their Gallies, and then went to *Methone*, between *Epidaurus* and *Træzen*, and there took in the *Isthmus* of *Chersonesus* with a Wall, and placed a Garrison in it, which afterwards exercised robberies in the Territories of *Træzen*, *Halias*, and *Epidaurus*; and when they had fortified this place, they returned home with their Fleet.

The *Athenians* wasted other parts of the same Coast.

About the same time that these things were in doing, *Eurymedon* and *Sophocles*, after their departure from *Pylus* with the *Athenian* Fleet towards *Sicily*, arriving at *Corcyra*, joined with those of the City, and made War upon those *Corcyraens* which lay encamped upon the Hill *Istone*, and which after the Sedition had come over, and both made themselves Masters of the Field, and much annoyed the City: and having assaulted their Fortification, took it. But the men all in one Troop, escaped to a certain high ground, and thence made their Composition, which was this; That they should deliver up the Strangers that aided them; and that they themselves, having rendred their Arms, should stand to the judgment of the People of Athens. Hereupon the Generals granted them Truce, and transported them to the Island of *Ptychia*, to be there in custody till the *Athenians* should send for them; with this condition, That if any one of them should be taken running away, then the Truce to be broken for them all.

The execution of the *Corcyraean* banished men, and end of that Sedition.

Truce granted to the banished men, with condition that the same should be void if any of them offered to make an escape.

But the Patrons of the Commons of *Corcyra*, fearing lest the *Athenians* would not kill them when they came thither, devise against them this Plot. To some few of those in the Island they secretly send their Friends, and instruct them to say, as if forsooth, it were for good will, that it was their best course with all speed to get away, (and withall to offer to provide them of a Boat) for that the *Athenian* Commanders intended verily to deliver them to the *Corcyraean* people.

The fraud of the *Corcyraens* to entrap the banished men.

When they were perswaded to do so, and that a Boat was treacherously prepared, as they rowed away, they were taken, and the Truce being now broken, were all given up into the hands of the *Corcyraens*. It did much further this Plot, that to make the Pretext seem more serious, and the Agents in it less fearful, the *Athenian* Generals gave out, that they were nothing pleased that the men should be carried home by others, whilst they themselves were to go into *Sicily*, and the honour of it be ascribed to those that should convoy them. The *Corcyraens* having received them into their hands, imprisoned them in a certain Edifice

The Truce broken, and the Outlaws put into the hands of the Commons.

The *Corcyraens* take the Outlaws out by scores, and make them pass the Pikes.

Edifice, from whence afterwards they took them out by twenty at a time, and made them pass through a Lane of men of Arms, bound together, and receiving strokes and thrusts from those on either side, according as any one espied his Enemy. And to hasten the pace of those that went slowliest on, others were set to follow them with Whips.

They had taken out of the Room in this manner, and slain, to the number of threescore, before they that remained knew it, who thought they were but removed, and carried to some other place. But when they knew the truth, some or other having told them, they then cried out to the *Athenians*, and said, that if they would themselves kill them, they should do it, and refused any more to go out of the Room, nor would suffer, they said, as long as they were able, any man to come in. But neither had the *Corcyraeans* any purpose to force entrance by the door, but getting up to the top of the House, uncovered the roof, and threw Tiles, and shot Arrows at them. They in prison defended themselves as well as they could, but many also slew themselves with the Arrows shot by the Enemy, by thrusting them into their throats, and strangled themselves with the cords of certain beds that were in the Room, and with ropes made of their own garments rent in pieces. And having continued most part of the night, (for night overtook them in the action) partly strangling themselves by all such means as they found, and partly shot at from above, they all perished. When day came, the *Corcyraeans* laid them one * across another in Carts, and carried them out of the City. And of their Wives, as many as were taken in the Fortification, they made bond-women. In this manner were the *Corcyraeans* that kept the * Hill, brought to destruction by the Commons. And thus ended this far-spread sedition, for so much as concerned this present War: for of other seditions there remained nothing worth the relation. And the *Athenians* being arrived in *Sicily*, whither they were at first bound, prosecuted the War there, together with the rest of their Confederates of those parts.

In the end of this Summer, the *Athenians* that lay at *Naupactus*, went forth with an Army, and took the City of * *Anactorium*, belonging to the *Corinthians*, and lying at the mouth of the *Ambracian* Gulf, by Treason. And when they had put forth the *Corinthians*, the *Acarnanians* held it with a Colony sent thither from all parts of their own Nation. And so this Summer ended.

** This City belonged to the Corcyraeans and Corinthians in common, but a little before this war, the Corinthians carry away Captives the men that were in it, and possess it alone: and those Corcyraeans wrought the Sedition before related.*

The end of the seventh Summer.

Artaphernes, an Ambassador from the King of Persia to the Lacedaemonians intercepted, and brought to Athens, and his Letters read

The King of Persia's Letters to the Lacedaemonians translated into Greek, and read at Athens.

The next Winter, *Aristides* the son of *Archippus*, one of the Commanders of a Fleet which the *Athenians* had sent out to gather Tribute from their Confederates, apprehended *Artaphernes* a *Persian*, in the Town of *Eion*, upon the River *Strimon*, going from the King to *Lacedaemon*. When he was brought to *Athens*, the *Athenians* translated his Letters out of the *Assyrian* Language into *Greek*, and read them: wherein, amongst many other things that were written to the *Lacedaemonians*, the principal was this, *That he knew not what they meant, for many Ambassadors came, but they spake not the same things. If therefore they had anything to say certain, they should send some body to him, with this Persian.* But *Artaphernes* they send afterwards away in a Gally, with Ambassadors of their own, to *Epheesus*. And there encountering the news, that King *Artaxerxes*, the son of *Xerxes* was lately dead, (for about that time he died) they returned home.

The

The same Winter also the *Chians* demolished their new Wall, by command of the *Athenians*, upon suspicion that they intended some innovation, notwithstanding they had given the *Athenians* their Faith, and the best security they could, to the intent they should let them be as they were. Thus ended this Winter, and the seventh year of this War, written by *Thucydides*.

The *Chians* are suspected, and forced to pull down their new built Walls.

The next Summer, in the very beginning, at a change of the Moon the Sun was eclipsed in part; and in the beginning of the same Moneth happened an Earthquake.

Year VIII.

At this time the *Mitylenian* and other *Lesbian* Outlaws, most of them residing in the Continent, with mercenary Forces out of *Peloponnesus*, and some which they levied where they were, seize on *Rhoetium*, and for two thousand *Phocæan* Staters, render it again, without doing them other harm. After this they came with their Forces to *Antander*, and took that City also by Treason. They had likewise a Design to set free the rest of the Cities called **Acææ*, which were in the occupation formerly of the *Mitylenians*, but subject to the *Athenians*: but above all the rest, *Antander*, which when they had once gotten, (for there they might easily build Gallies, because there was store of Timber; and Mount *Ida* was above their heads) they might issue from thence with other their preparation, and infest *Lesbos* which was near, and bring into their power the *Æolique* Towns in the Continent. And this were those men preparing.

The *Lesbian* Outlaws make War upon the *Athenians* Dominions in the Continent near *Lesbos*.

* *Littorales. Cities situate on the Sea-shore*

The *Athenians* the same Summer with sixty Gallies, 2000 men of Arms, and a few Horsemen, taking also with them the *Milesians*, and some other of their Confederates, made War upon *Cythera*, under the Conduct of *Nicias* the son of *Niceratus*, *Nicostratus* the son of *Diotrephes*, and *Antocles* the son of *Tolmaus*. This **Cythera* is an Island upon the Coast of *Laconia*, over against *Malea*. The Inhabitants be *Lacedæmonians*, of the same that dwell about them.

The *Athenians* led by *Nicias*, subdue *Cythera*, an Island over against *Laconia*, and inhabited by *Lacedæmonians*.

* *Nom Cerigo.*

And every year there goeth over unto them from *Sparta* a Magistrate called **Cytherodices*. They likewise sent over men of Arms from time to time, to lie in Garrison there, and took much care of the place. For it was the place where their *Ships used to put in from *Ægypt* and *Libia*, and by which *Laconia* was the less infested by Thieves from the Sea, being that way onely subject to that mischief. For the Island lieth wholly out, into the *Sicilian* and *Cretick* Seas: The *Athenians* arriving with their Army, with ten of their Gallies, and 2000 men of Arms of the *Milesians*, took a Town lying to the Sea, called *Scandea*, and with the rest of their Forces having landed in the parts of the Island towards *Malea*, marched into the City it self of the *Cythereans*, lying likewise to the Sea. The *Cythereans* they found standing all in Arms prepared for them; and after the battel began, the *Cythereans* for a little while made resistance; but soon after turned their backs and fled into the higher part of the City; and afterwards compounded with *Nicias* and his fellow-Commanders, That the **Athenians* should determine of them whatsoever they thought good, but death. *Nicias* had had some conference with certain of the *Cythereans* before, which was also a cause that those things which concerned the accord both now and afterwards, were both the sooner, and with the more favor dispatched. For the *Athenians* did but remove the *Cythereans*, and that also because they were *Lacedæmonians*, and because the Island lay in that manner upon the Coast of *Laconia*. After this composition, having as they went by, received *Scandea*, a Town lying upon the

* The Judge of *Cythera*.

* *Onxades. Ships of the round form of building, Merchants Ships.*

The *Cythereans* yield to *Nicias*, referring themselves to the People of *Athens* for any thing but death. * The *Athenian* People.

The *Athenians* remove them from their seats.

The Lacedæmonians begin to be dejected with their great losses.

* Sphaſteria, where their men were taken and carried to Athens

* The Lacedæmonians relied onely on their armed footmen, or men of Arms, in whose valour and skill in fight, they gloried much, as a peculiar vertue, and as for horsemen and light-armed Souldiers, they made less reckoning, and onely used such of them as were brought in by their Confederates.

* Sphaſteria.
The Athenians waste the Coast of Laconia.

* So called from λιμνῶν, a Haven, because it is full of Havens.

Malvasia.

The Athenians burn Thyrea, slay and make prisoners of all the Inhabitants being Æginetæ.

Haven, and put a Guard upon the *Cythreans*, they sailed to *Asine* and most of the Towns upon the Sea-side. And going sometimes on Land, and staying where they saw cause, wasted the Countrey for about seven days together. The *Lacedæmonians*, though they saw the *Athenians* had *Cythera*, and expected withall that they would come to Land, in the same manner, in their own Territory, yet came not forth with their united Forces to resist them; but distributed a number of men of Arms into sundry parts of their Territory to guard it wheresoever there was need, and were otherwise also exceeding watchful, fearing lest some innovation should happen in the State; as having received a very great and unexpected loss in the * *Island*, and the *Athenians* having gotten *Pylus* and *Cythera*, and as being on all sides encompassed with a busie and unavoidable War; Insomuch that contrary to their custom they ordained 400 * *Horsemen*, and some *Archers*. And if ever they were fearful in matter of War, they were so now, because it was contrary to their own way, to contend in a Naval War, and against *Athenians* who thought they lost whatsoever they attempted not. Withall their so many misfortunes in so short a time, falling out so contrary to their own expectation, exceedingly affrighted them. And fearing lest some such calamity should again happen as they had received in the * *Island* they durst the less to hazard Battel; and thought that whatsoever they should go about would miscarry, because their minds not used formerly to losses, could now warrant them nothing. As the *Athenians* therefore wasted the Maritime parts of the Countrey, and disbarqued near any Garrison, those of the Garrison for the most part stirred not, both as knowing themselves singly to be too small a number, and as being in that manner dejected. Yet one Garrison fought about *Cortyta* and *Aphrodisia*, and frighted in the stragling rabble of light-armed Souldiers; but when the men of Arms had received them, it retired again with the loss of a few, whom they also rifled of their Arms. And the *Athenians*, after they had erected a Trophy, put off again and went to *Cythera*. From thence they sailed about to *Epidaurus*, called * *Limera*, and having wasted some part of that Territory, came to *Thyrea*, which is of the Territory called *Cynuria*, but is nevertheless the middle border between *Argia* and *Laconia*. The *Lacedæmonians* possessing this City, gave the same for an habitation to the *Æginetæ* after they were driven out of *Ægina*, both for the benefit they had received from them about the time of the Earthquake, and of the insurrection of the *Helots*, and also for that being subject to the *Athenians*, they had nevertheless gone ever the same way with the *Lacedæmonians*. When the *Athenians* were coming towards them, the *Æginetæ* left the Wall which they happened to be then building toward the Sea-side, and retired up into the City above where they dwelt, and which was not above ten Furlongs from the Sea. There was also with them one of those Garrisons which the *Lacedæmonians* had distributed into the several parts of the Countrey; and these, though they helped them to build the Fort below, yet would not now enter with them into the Town, (though the *Æginetæ* intreated them) apprehending danger in being coopt up within the Walls; and therefore retiring into the highest ground, lay still there, as finding themselves too weak to give them Battel. In the mean time the *Athenians* came in, and marching up presently with their whole Army, won *Thyrea*, and burnt it, and destroyed whatsoever was in it. The *Æginetæ*, as many as were not slain in the affray, they carried

ried Prisoners to *Athens*; amongst whom *Tantalus* also the son of *Patroclus*, Captain of such *Lacedæmonians* as were amongst them, was wounded and taken alive. They carried likewise with them some few men of *Cythera*, whom for safeties sake they thought good to remove into some other place. These therefore, the *Athenians* decreed, should be placed in the * *Islands*. And the rest of the *Cythereans*, at the Tribute of four Talents, should inhabit their own Territory. That the *Æginetæ*, as many as they had taken, (out of former inveterate hatred) should be put to death. And that *Tantalus* should be put in bonds amongst those *Lacedæmonians* that were taken in the * *Island*.

In *Sicily* the same Summer was concluded a Cessation of Arms, first between the *Camarineans* and the *Geloans*. But afterwards the rest of the *Sicilians*, assembling by their Ambassadors out of every City at *Gela*, held a Conference amongst themselves, for making of a Peace: wherein, after many opinions delivered by men disagreeing, and requiring satisfaction every one as he thought himself prejudiced, *Hermocrates* the son of *Hermon* a *Syracusan*, who also prevailed with them the most, spake unto the Assembly to this effect:

Tantalus a *Lacedæmonian* Captain carried prisoner to *Athens*.

The Decree of the *Athenian* people concerning the *Cythereans*, the *Æginetæ* taken in *Thyrea*, and *Tantalus* a *Lacedæmonian* that was amongst them.

* *Cyclades*.

The *Æginetæ* put to death.

* *Sphaacteria*.

The *Sicilians* make a general peace, by the advice of *Hermocrates*, and so dismiss the *Athenians*, that waited to take advantage of their discord.

THE ORATION OF HERMOCRATES for P E A C E.

MEN of *Sicily*, I am neither of the least City, nor of the most afflicted with War, that am now to speak and to deliver the opinion which I take to conduce most to the common benefit of all *Sicily*. Touching War, how calamitous a thing it is, to what end should a man, particularizing the evils thereof, make a long speech before men that already know it? For neither doth the not knowing of them necessitate any man to enter into War, nor the fear of them divert any man from it when he thinks it will turn to his advantage. But rather it so falls out, that the one thinks the gain greater than the danger; and the other prefers danger before present loss. But lest they should, both the one and the other, do it unseasonably, exhortations unto peace are profitable, and will be very much worth to us if we will follow them, at this present. For it was out of a desire that every City had to assure their own, both that we fell our selves into the War, and also that we endeavour now, by reasoning the matter, to return to mutual Amity. Which if it succeed not so well, that we may depart satisfied every man with reason, we will be at Wars again. Nevertheless, you must know that this Assembly, if we be wise, ought not to be onely for the commodity of the Cities in particular, but how to preserve *Sicily* in general, now sought to be subdued (at least in my opinion) by the *Athenians*. And you ought to think that the *Athenians* are more urgent perswaders of the Peace than any words of mine; who having, of all the *Græcians*, the greatest power, lie here with a few Gallies to observe our errors, and by a lawful title of alliance, handsomely to accommodate their natural hostility to their best advantage. For if we enter into a War, and call in these men, who are apt enough to bring their Army in uncalled, and if we weaken our selves at our own charges, and withall cut out for them the dominion here, it is likely when they shall see us spent, they will some time hereafter come upon us with a greater Fleet, and attempt to bring all these States into their subjection. Now, if we were wise, we ought rather

* The Dorians and Ionians are two Nations, out of which almost all the people of Greece were descended.

The Chalcideans and Athenians were Ionians, and the Lacedæmonians and most of Peloponnesus were Dorians. Hence it is that the Chalcideans might be thought safe, though the Athenians invaded Sicily, but the Dorians not.

to call in Confederates, and undergo dangers for the winning of somewhat that is none of ours, then for the impairing of what we already have; and to believe, that nothing so much destroys a City as Sedition; and that Sicily, though we the Inhabitants thereof be insidiated by the Athenians, as one body, is nevertheless City against City in Sedition within it self. In contemplation whereof, we ought, Man with Man, and City with City, to return again into Amity, and with one consent, to endeavour the safety of all Sicily; and not to have this conceit, that though the * Dorians be the Athenians enemies, yet the * Chalcideans are safe, as being of the race of the Ionians. For they invade not these divided races upon hatred of a side, but upon a covetous desire of those necessities which we enjoy in common. And this they have proved themselves, in their coming hither to aid the Chalcideans. For though they never received any aid by vertue of their League from the Chalcideans, yet have they on their part been more forward to help them than by the League they were bound unto. Indeed the Athenians that covet and meditate these things are to be pardoned. I blame not those that are willing to foreign, but those that are most willing to be subject. For it is the nature of man, everywhere to command such as give way, and to be shie of such as assail. We are too blame that know this, and do not provide accordingly, and make it our first care of all, to take good order against the common fear. Of which we should soon be delivered if we would agree amongst our selves. For the Athenians come not against us out of their own Country, but from theirs here that have called them in. And so not War by War, but all our Quarrels shall be ended by Peace without trouble. And those that have been called in, as they came with fair pretence to injure us, so shall they with fair reason be dismissed by us without their errand. And thus much for the profit that will be found by advising wisely concerning the Athenians. But when Peace is confessed by all men to be the best of things, why should we not make it also in respect of our selves? Or do you think perhaps, if any of you possess a good thing, or be pressed with an evil, that Peace is not better then War, to remove the latter, or preserve the former, to both? or that it hath not honours, and eminence more free from danger? or whatsoever else one might discourse at large concerning War? Which things considered, you ought not to make light of my advice, but rather make use of it, every one to provide for his own safety. Now if some man be strongly conceited to go through with some design of his, be it by right or by violence, let him take heed that he fail not, so much the more to his grief, as it is contrary to his hope; knowing that many men ere now, hunting after revenge on such as had done them injury, and others trusting by some strength they have had, to take away anothers right, have the first sort, in stead of being revenged been destroyed, and the other in stead of winning from others, left behind them what they had of their own. For revenge succeeds not according to justice, as that because an injury hath been done, it should therefore prosper; nor is strength therefore sure, because hopeful. It is the instability of Fortune that is most predominant in things to come, which though it be the most deceivable of all things yet appears to be the most profitable. For whilest every one fear it alike, we proceed against each other with the greater providence. Now therefore terrified doubly, both with the implicate fear of the incertainty of events, and with the terrour of the Athenians present, and taking these for hindrances sufficient to have made us come short of what we had severally conceived to effect, let us send away our Enemies that hover over us, and make an eternal Peace amongst our selves, or if not that, then a Truce at least, for as long as may be, and put off our private quarrels to some other time. In sum, let us know this, that follow-

following my counsel, we shall every of us have our Cities free, whereby being Masters of our selves, we shall be able to remunerate according to their merit, such as do us good or harm. Whereas rejecting it and following the counsel of others, our contention shall no more be how to be revenged, or at the best, if it be, we must be forced to become friends to our greatest enemies, and enemies to such as we ought not. For my part, as I said in the beginning I bring to this the greatest City, and which is rather an assailant then assailed; and yet foreseeing these things, I hold it fit to come to an agreement, and not so to hurt our Enemies, as to hurt our selves more. Nor yet through foolish* spight will I look to be followed as absolute in my will, and Master of Fortune, which I cannot command; but will also give way where it is reason. And so I look the rest should do as well as I; and that of your selves, and not forced to it by the Enemy. For it is no dishonour to be overcome Kinsmen of Kinsmen, one Dorian of another Dorian, and one Chalcidean of another of his own race; or in sum, any one by another of us, being neighbours, and cohabiters of the same Region, encompassed by the Sea, and all called by one name Sicilians. Who, as I conceive, will both war when it happens, and again by common conferences make peace, by our own selves. But when Foreigners invade us, we shall (if wise) unite all of us to encounter them, in as much as being weakned singly, we are in danger universally. As for Confederates, let us never hereafter call in any, nor Arbitrators. For so shall Sicily attain these two benefits, to be rid of the Athenians, and of Domestick War for the present, and to be inhabited by our selves with liberty, and less insidiated by others for the time to come.

Hermocrates having thus spoken, the Sicilians followed his advice, and agreed amongst themselves, That the War should cease, every one retaining what they then presently enjoyed. And that the Camarinæans should have Morgantina, paying for the same unto the Syracusians, a certain sum of money then assessed.

They that were Confederates with the Athenians, calling such of the Athenians unto them as were in authority, told them that they also were willing to compound, and be comprehended in the same Peace; And the Athenians approving it, they did so; and hereupon the Athenians departed out of Sicily. The people of Athens, when their Generals came home banished two, namely Pythadorus, and Sophocles; and laid a Fine upon the third, which was Eurymedon, as men that might have subdued the estates of Sicily, but had been* bribed to return. So great was their fortune at that time, that they thought nothing could cross them, but that they might have atchieved both easie, and hard enterpiises with great and slender forces alike. The cause whereof, was the unreasonable prosperity of most of their designs, subministring strength unto their hope.

The same Summer the Megareans in the City of Megara, pinched both by the War of the Athenians, who invaded their Territory, with their whole forces, every year twice, and by their own Outlaws from Pega, who in a sedition driven out by the Commons, grievously afflicted them with robberies, began to talk one to another, how it was fit to call them home again, and not to let their City by both these means be ruined. The friends of those without, perceiving the rumour, they also, more openly now then before, required to have it brought to Counsel. But the Patrons of the Commons, fearing that they with the Commons, by reason of the miseries they were in, should not be able to carry it against the

The substance of the conditions of the Peace in Sicily.

Camarana.

The Athenians depart Sicily, and their Commanders punished as suspected to have left Sicily for a bribe.

* Nothing was more frequent in the Athenian Assemblies at this time, then when things went amiss, to accuse one another of Bribery: for it was a sure way to win favour with the people, who thought that nothing was able to resist their power.

The Athenians attempt to take Megara by treason.

The heads of the Commons do hinder the return of the Outlaws plot, the betraying of the City to the Athenians.

other

The plot laid by the Traitors for the putting of the Athenians into the Town.

* This island lying before the Haven Nisæa, made the Port, and the Athenians kept in it an ordinary Garrison ever since they took it first, and could see all the Haven and what Vessels lay in it, but could not enter.

The Plot of the Traitors to give the Athenians the Long-walls.

* To get booty from the Athenians.

* Not the Gates of Megara, but the Gates in the Long-walls near unto Nisæa, as appears by the Narration.

* Ἀμφίγυς.

* To take it in, for it was almost morning.

The Athenians win the Long-walls.

* Those that watched in that part of Nisæa which was nearest to this Gate of the Long-walls.

The Traitors give advice to open the Gates and give Battel.

other side, made an offer to *Hippocrates the son of Aripbron*, and *Demosthenes the son of Alcisthenes*, Commanders of the *Athenian Army*, to deliver them the City, as esteeming that course less dangerous for themselves, then the reduction of those whom they had before driven out. And they agreed, that first, the *Athenians* should possess themselves of the *Long-walls*, (these were about eight furlongs in length, and reached from the City to *Nisæa*, their Haven) thereby to cut off the aid of the *Peloponnesians*, in *Nisæa*, in which (the better to assure *Megara* to the side) there lay no other Souldiers in Garrison, but they. And then afterwards, that these men, would attempt to deliver them the City above, which would the more easily succeed, if that were effected first. The *Athenians* therefore, after all was done, and said on both sides, and every thing ready, sailed away by night to * *Minoa*, an Island of the *Megareans*, with 600 men of Arms led by *Hippocrates*, and fate down in a certain pit, out of which Bricks had been made for the walls, and which was not far off. But they that were with the other Commander *Demosthenes*, light-armed *Plateans*, and others called *Peripoli*, lay in ambush at the *Temple of Mars*, not so far off as the former. And none of the City perceived any thing of this, but onely such as had peculiar care to know the passages of this same night. When it was almost day, the *Megarean* Traitors did thus. They had been accustomed long, as men that went out for * booty, with leave of the Magistrates, of whom they had obtained by good Offices, the opening of the * Gates, to carry out a little * Boat, such as wherein the Watermen used an Oar in either hand, and to convey it by night, down the Ditch to the Sea-side in a Cart; and in a Cart to bring it back again, and set it within the Gates; to the end that the *Athenians* which lay in *Minoa*, might not know where to watch for them, no Boat being to be seen in the Haven. At this time was that Cart at the Gates, which was opened according to custom, as for the * Boat. And the *Athenians*, seeing it (for so it was agreed on) arose from their Ambush, and ran with all speed, to get in before the Gates should be shut again, and to be there whilst the Cart was yet in the Gates and kept them open. And first those *Plateans*, and *Peripoli*, that were with *Demosthenes*, ran in, in that same place where the Trophie is now extant; and fighting presently within the Gates (for those *Peloponnesians* that were * nearest heard the stir) the *Plateans* overcame those that resisted, and made good the Gates for the *Athenian* men of Arms, that were coming after.

After this, the *Athenian* Souldiers, as they entred, went up every one to the wall, and a few of the *Peloponnesians* that were of the Garrison, made head, at first and fought, and were some of them slain, but the most of them took their heels; fearing in the night, both the enemy that charged them, and also the traitors of the *Megareans* that fought against them, apprehending that all the *Megareans* in general had betrayed them. It chanced also that the *Athenian* Herald, of his own discretion, made Proclamation, that if any *Megarean* would take part with the *Athenians*, he should come and lay down his Arms. When the *Peloponnesians* heard this, they staid no longer, but seriously believing that they jointly warred upon them, fled into *Nisæa*. As soon as it was day, the Walls being now taken, and the *Megareans* being in a tumult within the City, they that had treated with the *Athenians*, and with them, the rest, as many as were conscious, said it was fit to have the Gates opened, and to go out and give the Enemy Battel. Now it was agreed on between them, that

when

when the * Gates were open, the *Athenians* should rush in. And that themselves would be easily known from the rest, to the end they might have no harm done them, for that they would besmear themselves with some ointment. And the opening of the Gates would be for their greater safety. For the 4000 men of Arms of *Athens*, and 600 horsemen which according to the appointment were to come to them, having marched all night, were already arrived. When they had besmeared themselves and were now about the Gates one of those who were privy discovered the conspiracy to the rest that were not. These joining their strength, came all together to the Gates, denying that it was fit to go out to fight; (For that neither in former times when they were stronger then now; durst they do so) or to put the City into so manifest a danger. And said, that if they would not be satisfied, the battel should be there right. Yet they discovered not that they knew of the practise, but only, as having given good advice, meant to maintain it. And they staid at the Gates, insomuch as the traitors could not perform what they intended. The *Athenian* Commanders, knowing some cross accident had happened, and that they could not take the City by assault, fell to enclosing *Nisæa* with a wall, which if they could take before aid came, they thought *Megara* would the sooner yield. Iron was quickly brought unto them from *Athens*, and Masons, and whatsoever else was necessary. And beginning at the * wall they had won, when they had built cross over to the other side, from thence both ways they drew it on to the Sea on either side *Nisæa*, and having distributed the work amongst the Army, as well the Wall as the Ditch, they served themselves of the stones and bricks of the suburbs, and having felled trees, and timber, they supplied what was defective, with a strong Palissado; the houses also themselves of the suburbs, when they had put on battlements, served them for a Fortification. All that day they wrought, the next day about Evening they had within a very little finished. But then, they that were in *Nisæa*, seeing themselves to want victual, (for they had none but what came day by day from the City above) and without hope that the *Peloponnesians* could quickly come to relieve them, conceiving also that the *Megareans* were their enemies, compounded with the *Athenians* on these terms, To be dismissed every one at a certain ransom in money; to deliver up their arms; and the *Lacedæmonians*, both the Captain, and whosoever of them else was within, to be at discretion of the *Athenians*. Having thus agreed, they went out. And the *Athenians* when they had * broken off the Long-walls from the City of *Megara*, and taken in *Nisæa*, prepared for what was further to be done. *Brasidas* the son of *Tellis*, a *Lacedæmonian*, happened at this time to be about *Sicyon* and *Corinth*, preparing of an army to go into *Thrace*. And when he heard of the taking of the Long-walls, fearing what might become of the *Peloponnesians* in *Nisæa*, and lest *Megara* should be won, sent unto the *Bœotians*, willing them to meet him speedily with their forces at *Tripodiscus* (a village of *Megaris*, so called, at the foot of the hill *Geranea*) and marched presently himself with 2700 men of arms of *Corinth*, 400 of *Phlius*, 600 of *Sicyon*, and those of his own, all that he had yet levied; thinking to have found *Nisæa* yet untaken. When he heard the contrary (for he set first towards *Tripodiscus* in the night) with 300 men chosen out of the whole army, before news should arrive of his coming, he came unseen of the *Athenians* that lay by the Sea side, to the City of *Megara*, pretending in word, and intending also in good earnest, if he could have done it, to attempt upon *Nisæa*, but desiring to get into

* Of the City it self of *Megara*.

The Treason discovered.

The *Athenians* failing of *Megara*, take *Nisæa*, and demolish the long walls.

* Viz. that part of the long wall which they seized.

* Not pulled them down quite, but only so far, as not to be a defence to any part of the City it self, nor to join to the walls of the City. *Brasidas* saveth *Megara* from being rendered to the *Athenians*.

Brasidas desireth to put himself into the City.

into *Megara* to confirm it, and required to be let in, for that he was, he said, in hope to recover *Nisæa*. But the *Megarean* Factions being afraid, * one, lest he should bring in the Outlaws, and cast out them; the * other, lest the Commons, out of this very fear, should assault them, whereby the City (being at battel within it self, and the *Athenians* lying in wait so near) would be lost, received him not, but resolved on both sides to sit still, and attend the success. For both the one faction and the other expected, that the *Athenians*, and these that came to succour the City, would join battel, and then they might with more safety, such as were the favoured side, turn unto them that had the victory. And *Brasidas*, not prevailing, went back to the rest of the * Army. Betimes in the morning, arrived the *Bæotians*, having also intended to come to the aid of *Megara*, before *Brasidas* sent as esteeming the danger to concern themselves, and were then with their whole forces come forward as far as *Platæa*. But when they had received also this message, they were a great deal the more encouraged; and sent 2200 men of Arms, and 200 horse, to *Brasidas*, but went back with the greater part of their Army. The whole Army being now together of no less then 6000 men of Arms. And the *Athenian* men of Arms lying indeed in good order, about *Nisæa*, and the Sea side, but the light-armed straggling in the Plains, the *Bæotian* horsemen came unexpected upon the light-armed Souldiers, and drove them towards the Sea. For in all this time till now, there had come no aid at all to the *Megareans* from any place. But when the *Athenian* horse went likewise out to encounter them, they fought, and there was a battel between the horsemen of either side, that held long, wherein both sides claimed the victory. For the *Athenians* slew the General of the *Bæotian* horse, and some few others, and rifled them, having themselves been first chased by them to *Nisæa*. And having these dead bodies in their power, they restored them upon truce, and erected a Trophie. Nevertheless, in respect of the whole action, neither side went off with assurance, but parting asunder, the *Bæotians* went to the Army, and the *Athenians* to *Nisæa*.

* The Patrons of the Commons.

* The Nobility.

Brasidas goeth back to *Tripodiscus*.

* At *Tripodiscus*.

The *Bæotians* come with their forces, and join with *Brasidas*.

The *Bæotian*, and *Athenian* horse skirmish.

The whole Army on either side, face one another, but neither side willing to begin.

* *Brasidas* if he saved the Town from the *Athenians* had his end. Therefore by shewing himself ready if the *Athenians* would not fight, he gained this, that he should be let into the Town, which was all he came for, and therefore might justly be counted Victor.

* *Ἀκέρων*, without a ft.

* The period is somewhat long, and seems to be one of them that gave occasion to *Dionysius Halicarnaseus*, to censure the Authors elocution.

After this, *Brasidas* with his Army, came down nearer to the Sea, and to the City of *Megara*; and having seized on a place of advantage, set his Army in battel array, and stood still. For they thought the *Athenians* would be assailants, and knew the *Megareans* stood observing whether side should have the Victory; and that it must needs fall out well for them both ways; first, because they should not be the assailant, and voluntarily begin the battel and danger; since having shewed themselves ready to fight, the victory must also * justly be attributed to them * without their labour. And next it must fall out well in respect of the *Megareans*. For if they should not have come in sight, the matter had not been any longer in the power of fortune, but they had without all doubt been presently deprived of the City, as men conquered. Whereas now, if haply, the *Athenians* declined battel likewise, they should obtain what they came for without stroak stricken. Which also indeed came to pass. * For the *Megareans*, when the *Athenians* went out and ordered their Army without the Long-walls, but yet (because the enemy charged not) stood also still, (their Commanders likewise, considering that if they should begin the battel, against a number greater then their own, after the greatest part of their enterprize was already achieved, the danger would be unequal; For if they should overcome, they could win but *Megara*, and if they were vanquished, must lose the best part

part of their men of Arms: whereas the Enemy, who out of the whole power and number that was present in the Field, did adventure but every one a part, would in all likelihood put it to the hazard, and so for a while affronted each other, and neither doing any thing, withdrew again, the *Athenians* first into *Nisæa*, and afterwards the *Peloponnesians* to the place from whence they had set forth; then, I say, the *Megareans* (such as were the friends of the Outlaws) taking heart, because they saw the *Athenians* were unwilling to fight, set open the Gates to *Brasidas* as Victor, and to the rest of the Captains of the several Cities: and when they were in, (those that had practised with the *Athenians*, being all the while in a great fear) they went to Council. Afterwards *Brasidas* having dismissed his Confederates to their several Cities, went himself to *Corinth*, in pursute of his former purpose of levying an Army for *Thrace*. Now the *Megareans* that were in the City, (when the *Athenians* also were gone home) all that had chief hand in the practice with the *Athenians*, knowing themselves discovered, presently slipt away; but the rest, after they had conferred with the friends of the Outlaws, recalled them from *Pegæ*, upon great Oaths administred unto them, no more to remember former quarrels, but to give the City their best advice.

The *Megareans* receive *Brasidas* and his Army.

The *Megarean* Outlaws recalled, and sworn to forget former quarrels.

These, when they came into Office, took a view of the Arms, and disposing Bands of Souldiers in divers quarters of the City, picked out of their Enemies, and of those that seemed most to have co-operated in the Treason with the *Athenians*, about an hundred persons; and having constrained the People to give their sentence upon them * openly; when they were condemned, slew them; and established in the City, the Estate almost of an *Oligarchy*. And this change of Government, made by a few, upon Sedition, did nevertheless continue for a long time after.

The Outlaws being in authority, put to death 100 of the adverse Faction.

* Because they should not dare but to condemn them, which they would not have done, if their sentence had past by secret suffrage.

The same Summer, when *Antandrus* was to be furnished by the *Mitylenians* as they intended, *Demodocus* and *Aristides*, Captains of certain Gallies set forth by the *Athenians* to fetch in Tribute, being then about *Hellepont* (for *Lamachus* that was the third in that Commission, was gone with 10 Gallies into *Pontus*) having notice of the preparation made in that place; and thinking it would be dangerous to have it happen there, as it had done in *Anea* over against *Samos*, in which the *Samian* Outlaws having settled themselves, aided the *Peloponnesians* in matters of the Sea, by sending them Steersmen; and both bred trouble within the City, and entertained such as fled out of it, levied an Army amongst the Confederates, and marched to it, and having overcome in fight those that came out of *Antandrus* against them, recovered the place again. And not long after, *Lamachus*, that was gone into *Pontus*, as he lay at Anchor in the River *Calex*, in the Territory of *Heraclea*, much rain having fallen above in the Countrey, and the stream of a Land Flood coming suddenly down, lost all his Gallies, and came himself and his Army through the Territory of the *Bithinians*, (who are *Thracians* dwelling in *Asia*, on the other side) to *Chalcedon*, a Colony of the *Megareans* in mouth of *Pontus Euxinus*, by Land.

The *Mitylenian* Outlaws lose the City of *Antandrus*, which they had intended to fortifie and make the seat of their War.

Lamachus loseth his ten Gallies by a sudden Land Flood in *Pontus*.

The same Summer likewise, *Demosthenes*, General of the *Athenians*, with fortie Gallies, presently after his departure out of *Megaræ*, sailed to *Naupactus*. For certain men in the Cities thereabouts, desiring to change the form of the *Bæotian* Government, and to turn it into a *Democracie*, according to the Government of *Athens*, practised with

Demosthenes goeth to *Naupactus* upon design against the *Bæotians*.

The Plot laid between certain *Bœotians*, and the *Athenians*, how to bring *Bœotia* into the power of the *Athenians*.

him and *Hippocrates*, to betray unto him the Estates of *Bœotia*: induced thereunto principally by *Ptæodorus* a *Theban* Outlaw. And they ordered the design thus: Some had undertaken to deliver up *Siphæ*, (*Siphæ* is a City of the Territory of *Thespiæ*, standing upon Sea side, in the *Crissean* Gulf) and *Charonea* (which was a Town that paid duties to *Orchomenus*, called heretofore *Orchomenus* in *Minyeia*, but now *Orchomenus* in *Bœotia*) some others, of *Orchomenus*, were to surrender into their hands, and the *Orchomenian* Outlaws had a principal hand in this and were hiring Souldiers to that end out of *Peloponnesus*. This *Charonea* is the utmost Town of *Bœotia* towards *Phanocis* in the Countrey of *Phocis*, and some *Phocians* also dwelt in it. On the other side, the *Athenians* were to sieze on *Delium*, a place consecrated to *Apollo*, in the Territory of *Tanagra*, on the part toward *Eubœa*. All this ought to have been done together upon a day appointed, to the end that the *Bœotians* might not oppose them with their Forces united, but might be troubled every one to defend his own. And if the attempt succeeded, and that they once fortified *Delium*, they easily hoped, though no change followed in the State of the *Bœotians* for the present, yet being possessed of those places, and by that means continually fetching in prey out of the Countrey, because there was for every one a place at hand to retire unto, that it could not stand long at a stay; but that the *Athenians* joyning with such of them as rebelled, and the *Bœotians* not having their Forces united, they might in time order the State to their own liking. Thus was the Plot laid.

* Towards *Delium*.

And *Hippocrates* himself, with the Forces of the City, was ready when time should serve to * march; but sent *Demosthenes* before with forty Gallies to *Naupactus*, to the end that he should levy an Army of *Acarnanians*, and other their Confederates in these quarters, and sail to *Siphæ* to receive it by treason. And a day was set down betwixt them, on which these things should have been done together.

Demosthenes, when he arrived and found the *Oeniades* by compulsion of the rest of *Acarnania*, entered into the *Athenian* Confederation, and had himself raised all the Confederates thereabouts, made War, first upon *Salynthus* and the *Agræans*, and having taken in other places thereabouts, stood ready when the time should require, to go to *Siphæ*.

Brasidas passeth through *Thessaly* with 1500 men of Arms, to aid the *Chalcidians* that deliberated a revolt.

About the same time of this Summer, *Brasidas* marching towards the Cities upon *Thrace*, with 1500 men of Arms, when he came to *Heraclea* in *Trachinia*, sent a Messenger before him to his friends at * *Pharsalus*, requiring them to be guides unto him, and to his Army. And when there were come unto him, *Panærus*, and *Dorus*, and *Hippolochidas*, and *Torylaus*, and *Strophacus*, (who was the publick Hoste of the *Chalcidians*) all which met him at *Melitia*, a Town of *Achaia*, he marched on. There were other of the *Thessalians* also that convoyed him; and from *Larissa* he was convoyed by *Niconidas* a friend of *Perdiccas*. For it had been hard to pass *Thessaly* without a guide howsoever, but especially with an Army. And to pass through a neighbour Territory without leave, is a thing that all *Grecians* alike are jealous of. Besides, that the people of *Thessaly* had ever born good affection to the *Athenians*. Insomuch, as if by custom, the Government of that Countrey had not been * Lordly rather than a † Commonwealth, he could never have gone on. For also now as he marched forward, there met him at the River *Enipeus*, others of a contrary mind to the former, that forbad him, and told him that he did unjustly to go on without the common consent of all. But those that convoyed him answered, that they would not bring him through against their wills; but

* *Δυναστεία*, Absolute Government under one part.

† *Ἰσονομία*, Equality of priviledge in the whole.

but that coming to them on a sudden, they conducted him as friends. And *Brasidas* himself said, he came thither a friend, both to the Country and to them; and that he bore Arms, not against them, but against the *Athenians* their Enemies. And that he never knew of any enmity between the *Thessalians* and *Lacedæmonians*, whereby they might not use one another's ground; and that even now he would not go on without their consent; for neither could he, but only entreated them not to stop him. When they heard this they went their ways. And he, by the advice of his guides, before any greater number should unite to hinder him, marched on with all possible speed, staying no where by the way; and the same day he set forth from *Melinia*, he reached *Pharsalus*, and encamped by the River *Apidanus*. From thence he went to *Phacium*: from thence into *Peræbia*. The *Peræbians*, though subject to the *Theſſalonians*, set him at *Dion*, in the Dominion of *Perdiccas*, a little City of the *Macedonians*, situate at the foot of *Olympus*, on the side toward *Theſſaly*. In this manner *Brasidas* ran through *Theſſaly* before any there could put in readiness to stop him; and came into the Territory of the *Chalcideans*, and to *Perdiccas*. For *Perdiccas* and the *Chalcideans*, all that had revolted from the *Athenians*, when they saw the affairs of the *Athenians* prosper, had drawn this Army out of *Peloponnesus* for fear: the *Chalcideans* because they thought the *Athenians* would make War on them first, as having been also incited thereto, by those Cities amongst them that had not revolted; and *Perdiccas*, not that he was their open Enemy, but because he feared the *Athenians* for ancient quarrels; but principally because he desired to subdue *Arrhibæus* King of the *Lyncestæans*. And the ill success which the *Lacedæmonians* in these times had, was a cause that they obtained an Army from them the more easily.

For the *Athenians* vexing *Peloponnesus*, and their particular * Territory *Laconia* most of all, they thought the best way to divert them was to send an Army to the Confederates of the *Athenians*, so to vex them again. And the rather because *Perdiccas* and the *Chalcideans* were content to maintain the Army, having called it thither to help the *Chalcideans* in their revolt. And because also they desired a pretence to send away part of their * *Helots*, for fear they should take the opportunity of the present state of their affairs, the enemies lying now in *Pylus* to innovate. For they did also this further: Fearing the Youth, and multitude of their *Helots*, (for the *Lacedæmonians* had ever many Ordinances concerning how to look to themselves against the *Helots*,) they caused Proclamation to be made, that as many of them as claimed the estimation to have done the *Lacedæmonians* best service in their Wars should be made free; feeling them in this manner, and conceiving, that as they should every one out of pride deem himself worthy to be first made free, so they would soonest also rebel against them. And when they had thus preferred about two thousand, which also with Crowns on their heads went in procession about the Temples, as to receive their liberty, they not long after made them away, and no man knew how they perished. And now at this time with all their hearts they sent away seven hundred men of Arms more of the same men, along with *Brasidas*. The rest of the Army were Mercenaries hired by *Brasidas*, out of *Peloponnesus*. But *Brasidas* himself the *Lacedæmonians* sent out, chiefly, because it was his own desire. Notwithstanding the *Chalcideans* also longed to have him, as one esteemed also in *Sparta*, every way an active man. And when he was

The first answer of *Brasidas*, notwithstanding he was resolved to pass.

Brasidas goeth apace through *Theſſaly*.

The cause why *Perdiccas* and the *Chalcideans* called in the *Lacedæmonians* into those parts.

The cause why the *Lacedæmonians* so willingly sent an Army to them.

* By incursions and foraging the Country from *Pylus* and the Island *Cythera*.

* Their Servants.

An impious Policy of the *Lacedæmonians* in destroying their *Helots*.

The praise of *Brasidas*.

out, he did the *Lacedæmonians* very great service. For by shewing himself at that present just, and moderate towards the Cities, he caused the most of them to revolt, and some of them he also took by Treason. Whereby it came to pass, that if the *Lacedæmonians* pleased to come to composition (as also they did) they might have Towns to render and receive reciprocally.

And also long after, after the *Sicilian War*, the vertue and wisdom which *Brasidas* shewed now, to some known by experience, by others, believed upon from report, was the principal cause that made the *Athenian Confederates* affect the *Lacedæmonians*: For being the * first that went out, and esteemed in all points for a worthy man, he left behind him an assured hope, that the rest also were like him.

Being now come into *Thrace*, the *Athenians* upon notice thereof declared *Perdiccas* an Enemy, as imputing to him this expedition, and reinforced the Garrisons in the parts thereabouts.

Perdiccas with *Brasidas* and his Army together with his own Forces, marched presently against *Arrhibæus* the son of *Bromerus* King of the *Lyncestheans*, a people of *Macedonia*, confining on *Perdiccas* his dominion, both for a quarrel they had against him, and also as desiring to subdue him.

When he came with his Army, and *Brasidas* with him, to the place where they were to have fallen in, *Brasidas* told him that he desired, before he made War, to draw *Arrhibæus* by parley, if he could, to a League with the *Lacedæmonians*. For *Arrhibæus* had also made some proffer by a Herald, to commit the matter to *Brasidas* arbitrement. And the *Chalcidean* Ambassadors being present, gave him likewise advice, not to thrust himself into danger in favour of *Perdiccas*, to the end they might have him more prompt in their own affairs. Besides, the Ministers of *Perdiccas*, when they were at *Lacedæmon*, had spoken there, as if they had meant to bring as many of the places about him as they could, into the *Lacedæmonian League*. So that *Brasidas* favoured *Arrhibæus*, for the publick good of their own State. But *Perdiccas* said that he brought not *Brasidas* thither, to be a Judge of his Controversies, but to destroy those enemies which he should shew him. And that it will be an injury, seeing he pays the half of his Army, for *Brasidas* to parley with *Arrhibæus*. Nevertheless, *Brasidas* whether *Perdiccas* would, or not, and though it made a quarrel, had conference with *Arrhibæus*, by whom also he was induced to withdraw his Army. But from that time forward, *Perdiccas* in stead of half, paid but a third part of his Army, as conceiving himself to have been injured.

The same Summer a little before the Vintage, *Brasidas* having joined to his own, the forces of the *Chalcideans*, marched to *Acanthus*, a Colony of the *Andrians*. And there arose sedition about receiving him, between such as had joined with the *Chalcideans* in calling him thither, and the common people. Nevertheless, for fear of their fruits which were not yet gotten in, the multitude was won by *Brasidas* to let him enter alone, and then (after he had said his mind) to advise what to do amongst themselves. And presenting himself before the multitude, (for he was not uneloquent, though a *Lacedæmonian*,) he spake to this effect.

* The first that went abroad for Governour into other States since this war. For fifty years before this war, *Paufanias* having the Government of the Grecian Confederates at *Bizantium*, behaved himself insolently, and then *Cimon* an Athenian by the virtues now praised in *Brasidas*, got the Confederates to leave the *Lacedæmonians* and affect the Athenians. *Brasidas* joined with *Perdiccas*, marcheth towards *Lincus*. *Brasidas* refusing to make War on *Arrhibæus*. For the offer of *Arrhibæus*, And through the advice of the *Chalcideans*.

Giveth therein distaste to *Perdiccas*.

Brasidas cometh before *Acanthus*,

And is received without his Army.

The Oration of BRASIDAS.

MEN of Acanthus, The reason why the Lacedæmonians have sent me, and this Army abroad, is to make good what we gave out in the beginning for the cause of our War against the Athenians, which was, that we meant to make a War for the Liberty of Greece. But if we be come late, as deceived by the War there, in the opinion we had, that we ourselves should soon have pulled the Athenians down, without any danger of yours, no man hath reason therefore to blame us. For we are come as soon as occasion served, and with your help will do our best, to bring them under. But I wonder why you shut me forth of your gates, and why I was not welcome. For we Lacedæmonians have undergone this great danger, of passing many days journey through the Territory of Strangers, and shewed all possible zeal, because we imagined that we went to such Confederates, as before we came, had us present in their hearts, and were desirous of our coming. And therefore it were hard, that you should now be otherwise minded, and withstand your own, and the rest of the Grecians liberty; not only in that your selves resist us, but also because others whom I go to, will be the less willing to come in; making difficulty, because you to whom I came first, having a flourishing City, and being esteemed wise, have refused us: For which I shall have no sufficient excuse to plead, but must be thought either to pretend to set up liberty unjustly, or to come weak, and without power to maintain you against the Athenians. And yet against this same Army I now have, when I went to encounter the Athenians at Nisæa, though more in number, they durst not hazard battel. Nor is it likely that the Athenians will send forth so great a number against you, as they had in their Fleet there at Nisæa. I come not hither to hurt, but to set free the Grecians, and I have the Lacedæmonian Magistrates bound unto me by great Oaths, that whatsoever Confederates shall be added to their side, at least by me, shall still enjoy their own Laws. And that we shall not hold you as Confederates to us, brought in either by force, or fraud, but on the contrary, be Confederates to you, that are kept in servitude by the Athenians. And therefore I claim not only that you be not jealous of me, especially having given you so good assurance, or think me unable to defend you, but also that you declare your selves boldly with me. And if any man be unwilling so to do, through fear of some particular man, apprehending that I would put the City into the hands of a few, let him cast away that fear; for I came not to side, nor do I think I should bring you an assured liberty, if neglecting the ancient use here, I should enthral, either the Multitude, to the Few, or the Few to the Multitude. For to be governed so, were worse then the domination of a Forreigner. And there would result from it to us Lacedæmonians, not thanks for our labours, but in stead of honour and glory, an imputation of those * crimes for which we make War amongst the Athenians, and which would be more odious in us then in them, that never pretended the * vertue. For it's more dishonourable, at least, to men in dignity, to amplify their estate by specious fraud, then by open violence. For the later assaileth with a certain right of power given us by Fortune, but the other, with the treachery of a wicked conscience.

But besides the oath which they have sworn already, the greatest further assurance you can have, is this, That our actions weighed with our words, you must needs believe, that it is to our profit to do, as I have told you. But if after these promises of mine, you shall say, you cannot, and yet for as much as your affection is with us, will claim impunity for rejecting us; Or shall say that
this

* Ambition and desire to subdue other States.

* The desire to assert other States.

* Semi-gods fained by the Poets to have been gotten between a god and a mortal.

* The Title of a Free City.

The revolt of *Acanthians*.

The revolt of *Stagyrus*.

The end of the eighth Summer. *Demosthenes* approached *Siphæ* by Sea, to take it by Treason, but failed.

* Before *Hippocrates* went to *Delium*, whereas it ought to have been at the same time.

The Treason detected.

Hippocrates marched to *Delium*.

* After *Demosthenes* had been at *Siphæ*, which was too late, He fortified *Delium*.

this liberty I offer you seems to be accompanied with danger, and that it were well done to offer it to such as can receive it, but not to force it upon any. Then will I call to witness the Gods, and * Heroes of this place, that my counsel which you refuse, was for your good, and will endeavour by wasting of your Territory to compel you to it. Nor shall I think I do you therein, any wrong; but have reason for it from two necessities, one, of the *Lacedæmonians*, lest whilst they have your affections, and not your society, they should receive hurt from your contribution of money to the *Athenians*; another, of the *Grecians*, lest they should be hindered of their liberty by your example; for otherwise indeed we could not justly do it; nor ought we *Lacedæmonians* to set any at liberty against their wills, if it were not for some common good. We covet not dominion over you, but seeing we haste to make others lay down the same, we should do injury to the greater part, if bringing liberty to the other States in general, we should tolerate you to cross us. Deliberate well of these things, strive to be the beginners of Liberty in Greece, to get your selves eternal glory, to preserve every man his private estate from damage, and to invest the whole City with a most honourable * Title. Thus spake *Brasidas*.

The *Acanthians*, after much said on either side, partly for that which *Brasidas* had effectually spoken, and partly for fear of their fruits abroad, the most of them decreed to revolt from the *Athenians*, having given their votes in secret. And when they had made him take the same oath, which the *Lacedæmonian* Magistrates took, when they sent him out; namely, that what Confederates soever he should join to the *Lacedæmonians*, should enjoy their own Laws, they received his Army into the City. And not long after revolted *Stagyrus*, another Colony of the *Andrians*. And these were the Acts of this Summer.

In the very beginning of the next Winter, when the *Bæotian* Cities should have been delivered to *Hippocrates* and *Demosthenes*, Generals of the *Athenians*, and that *Demosthenes* should have gone to *Siphæ*, and *Hippocrates* to *Delium*, having mistaken the days, on which they should have both set forward, *Demosthenes* went to *Siphæ* * first, and having with him the *Acarnans*, and many Confederates of those parts in his Fleet, yet lost his labour. For the Treason was detected by one *Nicomachus* a *Phocean*, of the Town of *Phanotis*, who told it unto the *Lacedæmonians*, and they again unto the *Bæotians*. Whereby the *Bæotians* concurring universally to relieve those places, (for *Hippocrates* was not yet gone to trouble them in their own several Territories) preoccupied both *Siphæ*, and *Charonea*. And the Conspirators knowing the error, attempted in those Cities no further.

But *Hippocrates* having raised the whole power of the City of *Athens*, both Citizens and others that dwelt amongst them, and all strangers, that were then there, arrived * afterwards at *Delium*, when the *Bæotians* were now returned from *Siphæ*, and there staid, and took in *Delium* a Temple of *Apollo* with a wall; in this manner. Round about the Temple, and the whole consecrated ground, they drew a Ditch, and out of the Ditch, in stead of a wall, they cast up the earth, and having driven down piles on either side, they cast thereinto the matter of the Vineyard about the Temple, which to that purpose they cut down, together with the Stones and Bricks of the ruined buildings. And by all means heightened the fortification, and in such places as would give leave, erected Turrets of wood upon the same. There was no Edifice of the

Temple

Temple standing, for the Cloyster that had been was fallen down. They began the work, the third day after they set forth from *Athens*, and wrought all the same day, and all the fourth and the fifth day, till dinner. And then being most part of it finished, the Camp came back from *Delium*, about ten Furlongs homewards. And the light-armed Souldiers went most of them presently away, but the men of Arms, laid down their Arms there, and rested. *Hippocrates* staid yet behind, and took order about the Garrison, and about the finishing of the remainder of fortification. The *Bæotians* took the same time to assemble at *Tanagra*; and when all the Forces were come in, that from every City were expected, and when they understood that the *Athenians* drew homewards, though the rest of the * *Bæotian* Commanders, which were eleven, approved not giving battel, because they were not now in *Bæotia* (for the *Athenians*, when they laid down their Arms, were in the Confines of *Oropia*) yet *Pagondas* the son of *Aioladas*, being the * *Bæotian* Commander * for *Thebes*, whose turn it was to have the leading of the Army, was, together with *Arianthidas* the son of *Lyismachidas*, of opinion to fight, and held it the best course to try the fortune of a battel; wherefore calling them unto him every Company by it self, that they might not be all at once from their Arms, he exhorted the *Bæotians* to march against the *Athenians*, and to hazard battel, speaking in this manner.

The Army of the *Athenians* having taken *Delium*, begin to retire.

The *Bæotians* follow them.

* Βοιωτῶν ἑνὲς, eleven in number.

* It seems that the several States of *Bæotia* being free of themselves, and holding all together, were united under Governours sent from them severally, at least in the wars, and then they had the leading of the common Forces by turns.

THE ORATION OF PAGONDAS to his Souldiers.

MEN of *Bæotia*, it ought never to have so much as entred into the thought of any of us the Commanders, that because we find not the *Athenians* now in *Bæotia*, it should therefore be unfit to give them battel. For they, out of a bordering Countrey have entred *Bæotia*, and fortified in it, with intent to waste it, and are indeed enemies in whatsoever ground we find them, or whencesoever they come, doing the acts of hostility. But now if any man think it also unsafe, let him henceforth be of another opinion. For providence in them that are invaded, endureth not such deliberation concerning their own, as may be used by them, who retaining their own, out of desire to enlarge, voluntarily invade the estate of another. And it is the custom of this Countrey of yours, when a foreign enemy comes against you, to fight with him, both on your own, and on your neighbours ground alike; but much more you ought to do it, against the *Athenians*, when they be borderers. * For liberty with all men, is nothing else but to be a match for the Cities that are their neighbours. With these then that attempt the subjugation, not onely of their neighbours, but of estates far from them, why should we not try the utmost of our fortune? We have for example, the estate that the *Eubœans* over against us, and also the greatest part of the rest of *Greece* do live in under them. And you must know, that though others fight with their neighbours, about the bounds of their Territories, we if we be vanquished shall have but one bound amongst us all; so that we shall no more quarrel about limits. For if they enter, they will take all our several states into their own possession by force. So much more dangerous is the neighbourhood of the *Athenians*, then of other people. And such as upon confidence in their strength invade their neighbours, (as the *Athenians* now do) use to be bold in warring on those that sit still, de-

* So that so soon as a State hath a neighbour strong enough to subdue it, it is no more to be thought a Free State.

feeding

fending themselves onely in their own Territories; whereas they be less urgent to those that are ready to meet them without their own limits, or also to begin the War when opportunity serveth. We have experience hereof in these same men; for after we had overcome them at Coronea, at what time through our own sedition, they held our Countrey in subjection, we established a great security in Bœotia, which lasted till this present. Remembring which, we ought now, the elder sort to imitate our former acts there, and the younger sort, who are the children of those valiant Fathers, to endeavour not to disgrace the vertue of their Houses; but rather with confidence that the God, whose Temple fortified they unlawfully dwell in, will be with us, the Sacrifices we offered him appearing fair, to march against them, and let them see, that though they nay gain what they covet, when they invade such as will not fight, yet men that have the generosity to hold their own in liberty by battel, and not invade the state of another unjustly, will never let them go away unfoughten.

* It was the fashion in those times for the Souldiers to sit down with their Arms by them, when they staid any where in the Field

Pagondas with this exhortation perswaded the Bœotians to march against the Athenians, and making them * rise, led them speedily on, for it was drawing towards night, and when he was near to their Army, in a place, from whence by the interposition of a Hill they saw not each other, making a stand, he put his Army into order, and prepared to give Battel. When it was told Hippocrates, who was then at Delium, that the Bœotians were marching after them, he sends presently to the Army, commanding them to be put in array, and not long after he came himself, having left some 300 Horse about Delium, both for a guard to the place, if it should be assaulted, and withall to watch an opportunity to come upon the Bœotians when they were in fight. But for these, the Bœotians appointed some Forces purposely to attend them. And when all was as it should be, they shewed themselves from the top of the Hill. Where they sate down with their Arms, in the same order they were to fight in; being about seven thousand men of Arms, of light-armed Souldiers above ten thousand, a thousand Horsemen, and five hundred Targettiers. Their right Wing consisting of the Thebans, and their partakers; In the middle battel were the Haliartians, Coroneans, Copeans, and the rest that dwell about the * Lake; In the left were the Thessians, Tanagraeans, and Orchomenians. The Horsemen, and light-armed Souldiers were placed on either wing. The Thebans were ordered by twenty five in File, but the rest, every one as it fell out. This was the preparation and order of the Bœotians.

The order of the Army of the Bœotians.

* The Lake Copais.

The order of the Army of the Athenians.

The Athenian men of Arms, in number, no fewer then the enemy, were ordered by eight in File throughout. Their Horse they placed on either Wing; but for light-armed Souldiers, armed as was fit, there were none, nor was there any in the City. Those that went out, followed the Camp, for the most part without Arms, as being a general expedition both of Citizens and Strangers; and after they once began to make homeward, there staid few behind. When they were now in their order, and ready to join battel, Hippocrates the General came into the Army of the Athenians, and encouraged them, speaking to this effect.

THE ORATION OF HIPPOCRATES
to his Souldiers.

MEN of Athens, my exhortation shall be short, but with valiant men it hath as much force as a longer, and is for a remembrance, rather than a command. Let no man think, because it is in the Territory of another, that we therefore precipitate our selves into a great danger that did not concern us. For in the Territory of these men you fight for your own: If we get the Victory the Peloponnesians will never invade our Territories again, for want of the Bœotian Horsemen: So that in one Battel you shall both gain this Territory, and free your own. Therefore march on against the Enemy, every one as becometh the dignity both of his natural City, (which he glorieth to be chief of all Greece) and of his ancestors, who having overcome these men at Oenophyta, under the Conduct of Myronides, were in times past Masters of all Bœotia.

Whilest Hippocrates was making this Exhortation, and had gone with it over half the Army, but could proceed no further, the Bœotians (for Pagondas likewise made but a short Exhortation, and had there sung the Pæan) came down upon them from the Hill. And the Athenians likewise went forward to meet them, so fast, that they met together running. The utmost parts of both the Armies never came to join, hindered both by one and the same cause, for certain currents of Water kept them asunder. But the rest made sharp Battel, standing close and striving to put by each others Bucklers. The left Wing of the Bœotians to the very middle of the Army was overthrown by the Athenians, who in this part had to deal amongst others principally with the Thespians. For whilest they that were placed within the same Wing, gave back, and were circled in by the Athenians in a narrow compass, those Thespians that were slain, were hewed down in the very fight. Some also of the Athenians themselves, troubled with enclosing them, through ignorance slew one another. So that the Bœotians were overthrown in this part and fled to the other part, where they were yet in fight. But the right Wing wherein the Thebans stood, had the better of the Athenians, and by little and little, forced them to give ground, and followed upon them from the very first. It happened also that Pagondas, whilest the left Wing of his Army was in distress, sent two Companies of Horse secretly about the Hill, whereby that Wing of the Athenians which was victorious, apprehending upon their sudden appearing that they had been a fresh Army, was put into a fright, and the whole Army of the Athenians, now doubly terrified by this accident, and by the Thebans that continually won ground, and brake their ranks, betook themselves to flight; some fled toward Delium and the Sea, and some towards Oropus; others toward the Mountain Parneus, and others other ways, as to each appeared hope of safety. The Bœotians, especially their Horse, and those Locrians that came in, after the Enemy was already defeated, followed, killing them. But night surprising them, the multitude of them that fled was the easier saved. The next day, those that were gotten to Oropus and Delium, went thence by Sea to Athens, having left a Garrison in Delium, which place, notwithstanding this defeat, they yet retained.

The Bœotians interrupt the Oration.

The Athenians flee.

Dispute about giving leave to the Athenians to take up their dead.

The Message of the Bœotians to the Athenians.

* Δαίμονες.

The Message of the Athenians to the Bœotians, by a friend of their own.

The Bœotians, when they had erected their Trophy, taken away their own dead, rifled those of the Enemy, and left a Guard upon the place, returned back to Tanagra, and there entered into consultation for an assault to be made upon Delium. In the mean time a Herald sent from the Athenians to require the bodies, met with a Herald by the way, sent by the Bœotians, which turned him back, by telling him he could get nothing done, till himself was returned from the Athenians. This Herald, when he came before the Athenians, delivered unto them what the Bœotians had given him in charge; namely,

*That they had done unjustly to transgress the universal Law of the Grecians; being a constitution received by them all, that the Invader of another's Country shall abstain from all holy places in the same. That the Athenians had fortified Delium, and dwelt in it, and done whatsoever else men use to do in places profane, and had drawn that water to the common use, which was unlawful for themselves to have touched, save onely to wash their hands for the Sacrifice. That therefore the Bœotians, both in the behalf of the god, and of themselves, invoking Apollo, and all the interested * spirits did warn them to be gone, and to remove their stuff out of the Temple.*

After the Herald had said this, the Athenians sent a Herald of their own to the Bœotians: Denying, *That either they had done any wrong to the Holy Place already, or would willingly do any hurt to it hereafter. For neither did they at first enter into it to such intent; but to requite the greater injuries which had been done unto them. As for the Law which the Grecians have, it is no other, but that they which have the dominion of any Territory great or small, have ever the Temples also, and besides the accustomed Rites, may superinduce what other they can. For also the Bœotians and most men else, all that having driven out another Nation, possess their Territory, did at first invade the Temples of others, and make them their own. That therefore, if they could win from them more of their Land, they would keep it; and for the part they were now in, they were in it with a good will, and would not out of it, as being their own. That for the water, they meddled with it upon necessity, which was not to be ascribed to insolence, but to this, that fighting against the Bœotians that had invaded their Territory first, they were forced to use it. For whatsoever is forced by War, or danger, hath in reason, a kind of pardon even with the god himself. For the Altars, in cases of involuntary offences, are a refuge; and they are said to violate Laws, that are evil without constraint, not they that are a little bold upon occasion of distress. That the Bœotians themselves, who require restitution of the Holy Places, for a redemption of the dead, are more irreligious by far, than they, who rather than let their Temples go, are content to go without that which were fit for them to receive.*

* Δόρυ, by the Spear.

The Reply of the Bœotians.

And they bad him say plainly, *That they would not depart out of the Bœotian Territory, for that they were not now in it, but in a Territory which they had made their own by the * Sword; and nevertheless required True according to the Ordinances of the Countrey, for the fetching away of the dead.*

To this the Bœotians answered, *That if the dead were in Bœotia, they should quit the ground, and take with them whatsoever was theirs. But if the dead were in their own Territory, the Athenians themselves knew best what to do.*

For

For they thought, that though *Oropia*, wherein the dead lay, (for the Battel was fought in the Border between *Attica* and *Bœotia*) by subjection belonged to the *Athenians*, yet they could not fetch them off by force; and for Truce, that the *Athenians* might come safely on *Athenian* ground, they would give none, but conceived it was a handsome answer, to say, *That if they would quit the ground, they should obtain whatsoever they required.* Which when the *Athenian* Herald heard, he went his way without effect. The *Bœotians* presently sent for Darters and Slingers from the Towns on the *Melian* Gulf, and with these, and with two thousand men of Arms of *Corinth*, and with the *Peloponnesian* Garrison that was put out of *Nisæa*, and with the *Megareans*, all which arrived after the Battel, they marched forthwith to *Delium*, and assaulted the Wall; and when they had attempted the same many other ways, at length they brought to it an Engine, wherewith the also took it, made in this manner: Having slit in two a great Mast, they made hollow both the sides, and curiously set them together again in form of a Pipe. At the end of it in Chains they hung a Caldron, and into the Caldron from the end of the Mast they conveyed a snout of Iron, having with Iron also armed a great part of the rest of the Wood. They carried it to the Wall (being far off) in Carts, to that part where it was most made up, with the matter of the Vineyard, and with Wood. And when it was to, they applied a pair of great Bellows to the end next themselves, and blew. The blast passing narrowly through into the Caldron, in which were coals of fire, brimstone, and pitch, raised an exceeding great flame, and set the Wall on fire; so that no man being able to stand any longer on it, but abandoning the same, and betaking themselves to flight, the Wall was by that means taken.

The form of an Engine, wherewith they set the Wall on fire.

Delium recovered by the *Bœotians*.

Of the Defendants some were slain, and 200 taken prisoners. The rest of the number recovered their Gallies, and got home. *Delium* thus taken on the seventeenth day after the Battel, and the Herald, which not long after was sent again about the fetching away of the dead, not knowing it, the *Bœotians* let him have them, and answered no more as they had formerly done. In the Battel there died *Bœotians* few less than five hundred; *Athenians* few less than a thousand, with *Hippocrates* the General; but of light-armed Souldiers, and such as carried the provisions of the Army, a great number.

The *Bœotians* deliver to the *Athenians* their dead.

Not long after this Battel, *Demosthenes* that had been with his Army at *Siphæ*, seeing the Treason succeeded not, having aboard his Gallies his Army of *Acaruanians*, and *Agræans*, and 400 men of Arms of *Athens*, landed in *Sicyonia*. But before all his Gallies came to Shore, the *Sicyonians*, who went out to defend their Territory, put to flight such as were already landed, and chased them back to their Gallies; having also slain some, and taken some alive. And when they had erected a Trophy, they gave Truce to the *Athenians* for the fetching away of their dead.

Demosthenes landing in *Sicyonia*, is beaten back by the Inhabitants.

About the time that these things past at *Delium*, died *Sitalces* King of the *Odrysians*, overcome in Battel in an expedition against the *Triballians*, and *Senthes* the son of *Spadocus* his brothers son succeeded him in the Kingdom both of the *Odrysians* and of the rest of *Thrace*, as much as was before subject to *Sitalces*.

Sitalces King of *Thrace* dieth, and *Senthes* his brothers son succeedeth him.

The same Winter *Brasidas* with the Confederates in *Thrace*, made War upon *Amphipolis*, a Colony of the *Athenians* situate on the River *Strymon*. The place whereon the City now standeth, *Aristagoras* of *Miletus*, had formerly attempted to inhabit when he fled from King

Brasidas goeth to *Amphipolis*. The Original of *Amphipolis*.

Darius, but was beaten away by the *Edonians*. Two and thirty years after this, the *Athenians* assayed the same, and sent thither ten thousand of their own City, and of others as many as would go. And these were destroyed all by the *Thracians* at *Drabescus*.

Agnon Founder of *Amphipolis*.

In the 29 year after, conducted by *Agnon* the son of *Nisias*, the *Athenians* came again, and having driven out the *Edonians*, became Founders of this place, formerly called the *Nine-ways*. This Army lay then at *Eion*, a Town of Traffique by the Sea-side, subject to the *Athenians*, at the mouth of the *Strymon*; five and twenty Furlongs from the City; *Agnon* named this City *Amphipolis*, because it was surrounded by the River *Strymon*, that runs on either side it. When he had taken it in, with a long wall from River to River, he put Inhabitants into the place, being conspicuous round about, both to the Sea, and Land.

The *Argilians* conspire to betray *Amphipolis*.

Against this City marched *Brasidas* with his Army, dislodging from *Arna* in *Chalcidea*. Being about twilight come as far as *Aulon* and *Bromiscus*, where the Lake *Bolbe* entreth into the Sea, he caused his Army to sup, and then marched forward by night. The weather was foul, and a little it snowed, which also made him to march the rather, as desiring that none of *Amphipolis*, but onely the Traitors, should be aware of his coming. For there were both *Argilians* that dwelt in the same City, (now *Argilus* is a Colony of the *Andrians*) and others, that contrived this, induced thereunto, some by *Perdiccas*, and some by the *Chalcideans*. But above all, the *Argilians* being of a City near unto it, and ever suspected by the *Athenians*, and secret enemies to the place, as soon as opportunity was offered, and *Brasidas* arrived, (who had also long before dealt underhand with as many of them as dwelt in *Amphipolis*, to betray it) both received him into their own City, and revolting from the *Athenians*, brought the Army forward the same night, as far as to the bridge of the River. The Town stood not close to the River, nor was there a Fort at the Bridge then, as there is now, but they kept it onely with a small guard of Souldiers. Having easily forced this guard, both in respect of the Treason, and of the weather, and of his own unexpected approach, he passed the Bridge, and was presently master of whatsoever the *Amphipolitans* had, that dwelt without. Having thus suddenly passed the Bridge, and many of those without being slain, and some fled into the City, the *Amphipolitans*, were in very great confusion at it, and the rather, because they were jealous one of another. And it is said, that if *Brasidas* had not sent out his Army to take booty, but had marched presently to the City, he had in all likelihood taken it then. But so it was, that he pitched there, and fell upon those without, and seeing nothing succeeded by those within, lay still upon the place. But the contrary Faction to the Traitors, being superiour in number, whereby the Gates were not opened presently, both they and *Eucles* the General, who was then there for the *Athenians*, to keep the Town, sent unto the other General, *Thucydides* the son of *Olorus*, the Writer of this History, who had charge in *Thrace*, and was now about *Thasus* (which is an Island, and a Colony of the *Parians*, distant from *Amphipolis*, about half a days sail) requiring him to come and relieve them.

Argilus revolteth.

Brasidas winneth the Bridge, and is Master of all between it and the City.

The *Amphipolitans* send for aid to *Thucydides*, the Author of this History.

When he heard the news, he went thitherwards in all haste, with seven Gallies which chanced to be with him at that time. His purpose principally was, to prevent the yielding up of *Amphipolis*, but if he should fail of that, then to possess himself of *Eion*, before *Brasidas* his coming.

Bra-

Brasidas in the men time fearing the aid of the Gallies, to come from *Thasus*, and having also been informed that *Thucydides* possessed mines of gold in the parts of *Thrace* thereabouts, and was thereby of ability amongst the principal men of the Continent, hastened by all means to get *Amphipolis*, before he should arrive; lest otherwise at his coming, the Commons of *Amphipolis*, expecting that he would levy Confederates, both from the Sea-side, and in *Thrace*, and relieve them, should thereupon refuse to yield. And to that end, offered them a moderate composition, causing to be proclaimed, *That whosoever Amphipolitan, or Athenian would, might continue to dwell there, and enjoy his own, with equal and like form of government. And that he that would not, should have five days respite to be gone, and carry away his goods.*

Brasidas fearing to be prevented by *Thucydides*, hasteth by easie conditions to procure the Town to yield.

When the Commons heard this, their minds were turned; and the rather, because the *Athenians* amongst them were but few, and the most, were a promiscuous multitude; And the kinsmen of those that were taken without, flocked together within, and in respect of their fear, they all thought the Proclamation reasonable. The *Athenians* thought it so, because they were willing to go out, as apprehending their own danger to be greater, then that of the rest, and withall, not expecting aid in haste; and the rest of the multitude, as being thereby both delivered of the danger, and withall to retain their City, with the equal form of government. Infomuch, that they which conspired with *Brasidas*, now openly justified the offer to be reasonable, and seeing the minds of the Commons were now turned, and that they gave ear no more to the words of the *Athenian* General, they compounded, and upon the conditions proclaimed, received him. Thus did these men deliver up the City.

Amphipolis yielded.

Thucydides with his Gallies, arrived in the evening of the same day at *Eion*. *Brasidas* had already gotten *Amphipolis*, and wanted but a night of taking *Eion* also, for if these Gallies had not come speedily to relieve it, by next morning it had been had.

Thucydides cometh too late to relieve *Amphipolis*, and putteth himself into *Eion*.

After this, *Thucydides* assured *Eion*, so as it should be safe, both for the present, though *Brasidas* should assault it, and for the future; and took into it, such as according to the Proclamation made, came down from *Amphipolis*. *Brasidas*, with many Boats came suddenly down the River to *Eion*, and attempted to seize on the point of the ground lying out from the wall into the Sea, and thereby to command the mouth of the River; he assayed also the same, at the same time by Land, and was in both beaten off; but *Amphipolis* he furnished with all things necessary.

And defendeth it against *Brasidas*.

Then revolted to him *Myrcinus*, a City of the *Edonians*, (*Pittacus*, the King of the *Edonians*, being slain by the sons of *Goaxis*, and by *Braure* his own wife.) And not long after, *Gapselus* also, and *Oesyne*, Colonies of the *Thasians*. *Perdiccas* also, after the taking of these places, came to him, and helped him in assuring of the same. After *Amphipolis* was taken, the *Athenians* were brought into great fear; especially, for that it was a City that yielded them much profit, both in Timber which is sent them for the building of Gallies, and in revenue of money; and because also, though the *Lacedaemonians* had a passage open to come against their Confederates (the *Thessalians* convoying them) as far as to *Strymon*, yet if they had not gotten that Bridge, the River being upwards, nothing but a vast Fen, and towards *Eion*, well guarded with their Gallies, they could have gone no further, which now they

Great inclination of the people of those parts to come into *Brasidas*.

The *Athenians* begin to fear.

they thought they might easily do ; and therefore feared lest their Confederates should revolt. For *Brasidas* both shewed himself otherwise very moderate, and also gave out in speech, that he was sent forth to recover the liberty of *Greece*. And the Cities, which were subject to the *Athenians*, hearing of the taking of *Amphipolis*, and what assurance he brought with him, and of his gentleness besides, were extremely desirous of innovation ; and sent Messengers privily to bid him draw near, every one striving who should first revolt. For they thought they might do it boldly, falsely estimating the power of the *Athenians* to be less then afterwards it appeared, and making a judgment of it according to blind wilfulness, rather then safe forecast. It being the fashion of men, what they wish to be true to admit, even upon an ungrounded hope, and what they wish not, with a * Magistral kind of arguing to reject. Withall, because the *Athenians* had lately received a blow from the *Bœotians*, and because *Brasidas* had said, not as was the truth, but as served best to allure them, that when he was at *Nisæa*, the *Athenians* durst not fight with those forces of his alone, they grew confident thereon, and believed not that any man would come against them. But the greatest cause of all was, that for the delight they took at this time to innovate, and for that they were to make trial of the *Lacedæmonians*, not till now angry, they were content by any means to put it to the hazard. Which being perceived, the *Athenians* sent Garrison Souldiers into those Cities, as many as the shortness of the time, and the season of Winter would permit. And *Brasidas* sent unto *Lacedæmon*, to demand greater forces ; and in the mean time prepared to build Gallies on the River of *Strymon*. But the *Lacedæmonians*, partly through envy of the principal men, and partly, because they more affected the redemption of their men taken in the * Island, and the ending of the War, refused to furnish him.

* Λογισμῷ ἀντιπαρ-
τεῖ.

The *Athenians* send
Garrisons to the pla-
ces thereabouts.

Brasidas envied at
home.

* *Sphaacteria*.

The *Megareans* de-
molish their Long
walls, which were
before but disjoined
from the City, by
the *Athenians*.
Brasidas invadeth the
Territory of *Acte*,
where *Athos* stand-
eth.

* *Xerxes* when he in-
vaded *Greece*.

* The Greek, and
their own Barbarian.

Torone revolteth to
Brasidas.
The manner how
the Town was be-
trayed.

The same Winter, the *Megareans* having recovered their Long walls, holden by the *Athenians*, rased them to the very ground.

Brasidas after the taking of *Amphipolis*, having with him the Confederates, marched with his Army into the Territory called *Acte*. This *Acte* is that prominent Territory, which is disjoined from the Continent, by a Ditch made by the * King. And *Athos* a high mountain in the same, determineth at the *Ægean* Sea. Of the Cities it hath, one is *Sane*, a Colony of the *Andrians*, by the side of the said Ditch, on the part which looketh to the Sea, towards *Eubœa* ; The rest are *Thyssus*, *Cleo-ne*, *Acrothoi*, *Olophixus*, and *Dion*, and are inhabited by promiscuous Barbarians of * two languages ; some few there are also of the *Chalcidean* Nation, but the most are *Pelægique*, of those *Tyrrhene* Nations that once inhabited *Athens*, and *Lemnos* ; and of the *Bisaltique* and *Chrestonique* Nations, and *Edonians* ; and dwell in small Cities, the most of which yielded to *Brasidas*. But *Sane*, and *Dion* held out ; for which cause he staid with his Army and wasted their Territory. But seeing they would not hearken unto him, he led his Army presently against *Torone* of *Chalcidea*, held by the *Athenians*. He was called in by the *Few*, who were ready withall to deliver him the City, and arriving there a little before break of day, he sate down with his Army at the Temple of *Castor* and *Pollux*, distant about three furlongs from the City. So that to the rest of the City, and to the *Athenian* Garrison in it, his coming was unperceived. But the Traitors knowing he was to come, (some few of them, being also privly gone to him) attended his approach, and when they

they perceived he was come, they took in unto them seven men, armed onely with Daggers, (for of twenty appointed at first to that service, seven onely had the courage to go in, and were led by *Lysistratus* of *Olynthus*) which getting over the wall towards the main Sea unseen, went up (for the Town standeth on a hills side) to the watch that kept the upper end of the Town, and having slain the Watchmen, brake open the Postern Gate towards *Canastrea*. *Brasidas* this while, with the rest of his Army, lay still, and then coming a little forward, sent 100 Targettiers before, who when the Gates should be opened, and sign agreed on be set up, should run in first. These men expecting long, and wondering at the matter, by little and little were at length come up close to the City. Those *Toroneans* within, which helped the men that entred to perform the enterprize, when the postern Gate was broken open, and the Gate leading to the Market-place opened likewise, by cutting asunder the Bar, went first and fetcht some of them about to the Postern, to the end that they might suddenly affright such of the Town as knew not the matter, both behind and on either side; and then they put up the sign appointed, which was fire, and received the rest of the Targettiers by the Gate that leadeth to the Market-place.

Brasidas, when he saw the sign, made his Army rise, and with a huge cry of all at once, to the great terrour of those within, entred into the City running. Some went directly in by the Gate, and some by certain squared Timber trees, which lay at the wall (which having been lately down, was now again in building) for the drawing up of Stone. *Brasidas* therefore, with the greatest number, betook himself to the highest places of the City, to make sure the winning of it by possessing the places of advantage.

The Town taken.

But the rest of the Rabble ran dispersed here and there, without difference. When the Town was taken, the most of the *Toroneans* were much troubled, because they were not acquainted with the matter, but the Conspirators, and such as were pleased with it, joined themselves presently with those that entred. The *Athenians* (of which there were about fifty men of Arms asleep in the Market-place) when they knew what had happened, fled all, except some few that were slain upon the place, some by Land, some by water in two Gallies that kept watch there, and saved themselves in *Lecythus*; which was a Fort which they themselves held, cut off from the rest of the City to the Sea-ward, in a narrow *Isthmus*. And thither also fled all such *Toroneans* as were affected to them. Being now day, and the City strongly possessed, *Brasidas* caused a Proclamation to be made, that those *Toroneans* which were fled with the *Athenians*, might come back, as many as would, to their own, and inhabite there in security. To the *Athenians* he sent a Herald, bidding them depart out of *Lecythus*, under Truce, with all that they had, as a Place that belonged to the *Chalcideans*. The *Athenians* denied to quit the place, but the Truce they desired for one day, for the taking up of their dead. And *Brasidas* granted it for two. In which two days, he fortified the buildings near, and so also did the *Athenians* theirs. He also called an Assembly of the *Toroneans*, and spake unto them, as he had done before to the *Acanthians*, adding, That there was no just cause, why either they that had practised to put the City into his hands, should be the worse thought of, or accounted Traitors for it, seeing that they did it, with no intent to bring the City into servitude, nor were hired thereunto with money, but for the benefit, and liberty of the City;

The *Athenians* escape into a Castle of the same called *Lecythus*.

Brasidas his speech to the *Toroneans*.

or that they which were not made acquainted with it, should think, that themselves were not to reap as much good by it as the others. For he came not to destroy either City, or man. But had therefore made that Proclamation touching those that fled with the Athenians; because he thought them never the worse for that friendship, and made account when they had made trial of the Lacedæmonians, they would shew as much good will also unto them, or rather more, in as much as they would behave themselves with more equity; and that their present fear, was only upon want of trial. Withall, he wished them to prepare themselves to be true Confederates for the future; and from hence forward, to look to have their faults imputed. For, for what was past he thought they had not done any wrong, but suffered it rather from other men that were too strong for them and therefore were to be pardoned, if they had in ought been against him.

Brasidas taketh Lecythus.

When he had thus said, and put them again into heart, the truce being expired, he made divers assaults upon *Lecythus*. The Athenians fought against them from the Wall, though a bad one, and from the houses such as had Battlements, and for the first day, kept them off. But the next day, when the enemies were to bring to the Wall a great Engine, out of which they intended to cast fire upon their Wooden Fences, and that the Army was now coming up to the place where they thought they might best apply the Engine, and which was easiest to be assaulted. The Athenians, having upon the top of the building erected a Turret of Wood, and carried up many Buckets of Water, and many men being also gone up into it, the building overcharged with weight, fell suddenly to the ground, and that with so huge a noise, that though those which were near and saw it, were grieved more then afraid, yet such as stood further off, especially the farthest of all, supposing the place to be in that part already taken, fled as fast as they could towards the Sea, and went aboard their Gallies.

Brasidas, when he perceived the Battlements to be abandoned, and saw what had happened, came on with his Army, and presently got the Fort, and slew all that he found within it. But the rest of the Athenians, which before abandoned the place, with their Boats and Gallies, put themselves into *Pallene*.

There was in *Lecythus* a Temple of MINERVA.

* 93 pound, 15 shillings sterling.

And when *Brasidas* was about to give the assault, he had made Proclamation, that whosoever first scaled the wall, should have * 30 *Mine* of silver, for a reward. *Brasidas* now conceiving that the place was won by means not humane, gave those 30 *Mine*, to the Goddess, to the use of the Temple. And then pulling down *Lecythus*, he built it anew, and consecrated unto her the whole place. The rest of this Winter, he spent in assuring the places he had already gotten, and in contriving the conquest of more. Which Winter ended, ended the eighth year of this War.

Year IX.

Truce for a year.
The motives to
Truce on either
side.

The Lacedæmonians, and Athenians, in the Spring of the Summer following, made a cessation of Arms, presently, for a year, having reputed with themselves; the Athenians, that *Brasidas* should by this means cause no more of their Cities to revolt, but that by this leisure they might prepare to secure them; and that if this suspension liked them, they might afterwards make some agreement for a longer time; The Lacedæmonians, that the Athenians fearing what they feared, would upon the taste of this intermission of their miseries, and weary life, be the willing to compound, and with the restitution of their men, to conclude

clude a Peace for a longer time. For they would fain have recovered their men, whilst *Brasidas* his good fortune continued, and whilst, if they could not recover them, they might yet (*Brasidas* prospering, and setting them equal with the *Athenians*) try it out upon even terms, and get the Victory. Whereupon a suspension of Arms was concluded, comprehending both themselves and their Confederates, in these words:

Concerning the Temple and Oracle of *Apollo Pythius*, it seemeth good unto us, that whosoever will, may without fraud, and without fear, ask counsel thereat, according to the Laws of his Countrey. The same also seemeth good to the *Lacedæmonians* and their Confederates here present, and they promise moreover, to send Ambassadors to the *Bœotians* and *Phoceans*, and do their best to persuade them to the same.

The Articles of the Truce.

That concerning the Treasure belonging to the god, we shall take care to find out those that have offended therein, both we and you proceeding with right and equity, according to the Laws of our several States. And that whosoever else will, may do the same, every one according to the Law of his own Countrey.

If the *Athenians* will accord that each side shall keep within their own bounds, retaining what they now possess, the *Lacedæmonians* and the rest of the Confederates, touching the same, think good thus;

That the *Lacedæmonians* in *Coryphasium*, stay within the Mountains of *Buphras* and *Tomeus*, and the *Athenians* in *Cythera*, without joining together in any League, either we with them, or they with us.

That those in *Nisæa* and *Minoa* pass not the High-way, which from the Gate of *Megara*, near the Temple of *Nisus*, leadeth to the Temple of *Neptune*, and so straight forward to the Bridge that lies over into *Minoa*. That the *Megareans* pass not the same High-way, nor into the Island which the *Athenians* have taken; Neither having commerce with other.

That the *Megareans* keep what they now possess in *Trœzen*, and what they had before by agreement with the *Athenians*, and have free Navigation both upon the Coasts of their own Territories and their Confederates.

That the *Lacedæmonians* and their Confederates shall pass the Seas, not in a * long Ship, but in any other Boat rowed with Oars, of burthen not exceeding 500 Talents. That the Heralds and Ambassadors that shall pass between both sides for the ending of the War, or for Trials of Judgment, may go and come without impeachment, with as many followers as they shall think good, both by Sea and Land.

* Long Ships were of use for the War, and therefore here excluded, yet they had leave to use Vessels that went with the Oar, so they were of another form.

That during this time of Truce, neither we nor you receive one anothers Fugitives, free nor bond.

That you to us, and we to you shall afford Law according to the use of our several States, to the end our Controversies may be decided judicially without War.

This is thought good by the *Lacedæmonians* and their Confederates. But if you shall conceive any other Articles more fair, or of more equity then these, then shall you go and declare the same at *Lacedæmon*. For neither shall the *Lacedæmonians*, nor their Confederates refuse any thing that you shall make appear to be just. But let those that go, go with full Authority, even as you do now require it of us. That this Truce shall be for a year.

The People decreed it. *Acamantis* was * President of the Assembly, *Phærippus* the † Scribe, *Niciades* . Overseer, and *Laches* pronounced these words: With good fortune to the people of *Athens*, a suspension of Arms is concluded, according as the *Lacedæmonians* and their Confederates have

* *Ἐκπρωτεύων*.
† *Ἐγραυλάτης*.
.. *Ἐμισαλὴς*, *Ἐμισαλὴς*, was the name of an Officer that kept the Citadel, which Office was but for a day, and he that had it, was one of *Πρωτεύων*

agreed; And they consented before the People, that the suspension should continue for a year, beginning that same day, being the fourteenth of the moneth *Elaphebolion. In which time the Ambassadors and Heralds going from one side to the other, should treat about a final end of the Wars. And that the Commanders of the Army, and the Presidents of the City calling an Assembly, the Athenians should hold a Council touching the manner of Embassy, for ending of the War first. And the Ambassadors there present should now immediately swear this Truce for a year. The same Articles the Lacedæmonians propounded, and the Confederates agreed unto, with the Athenians and their Confederates in Lacedæmon, on the twelfth day of the Gerasion.

* Εἰσέροτο, they sacrificed at the making of all accords between Cities.

The men that agreed upon these Articles and *sacrificed, were these, viz. Of the Lacedæmonians, Taurus the son of Echetimidas, Athenæus the son of Pericleidas, and Philocharidas the son of Eryxidedas. Of the Corinthians, Æneas the son of Ocytes, and Euphamidas the son of Aristonymus. Of the Sicyonians, Damotimas the son of Naucrates, and Onesimus the son of Megacles. Of the Megareans, Nicasus the son of Cenalus, and Menecrates the son of Amphidorus. Of the Epidaurians, Amphias the son of Eupéidas. Of the Athenians, the Generals themselves, Nicostratus the son of Diotrephe, Nicias the son of Niceratus, and Autocles the son of Tolmens.

This was the Truce, and during the same, they were continually in Treaty about a longer Peace.

The revolt of Scione.

About the same time, whilst they were going to and fro, Scione a City in Pallene, revolted from the Athenians to Brasidas. The Scioneans say that they be Pellenians descended of those of Peloponnesus, and that their Ancestors passing the Seas from Troy, were driven in by a Tempest, which tossed the Achæans up and down, and planted themselves in the place they now dwell in. Brasidas upon their revolt, went over into Scione by night, and though he had a Gally with him that went before, yet he himself followed aloof in a Light-horseman. His reason was this, that if his Light-horseman should be assaulted by some greater Vessel, the Gally would defend it; but if he met with a Gally equal to his own, he made account that such a one would not assault his Boat, but rather the Gally, whereby he might in the mean time go through in safety. When he was over, and had called the Scioneans to assemble, he spake unto them as he had done before to them of Acanthus and Toronæ, adding, That they of all the rest were most worthy to be commended, in as much as Pallene, being cut off in the Isthmus by the Athenians that possess Potidæa, and being no other then Islanders, did yet of their own accord come forth to meet their liberty, and staid not through cowardliness, till they must of necessity have been compelled to their own manifest good. Which was an argument that they would valiantly undergo any other great matter to have their State ordered to their minds. And that he would verily hold them for most faithful friends to the Lacedæmonians, and also otherwise do them honour. The Scioneans were erected with these words of his; and now every one alike encouraged, as well they that liked not what was done, as those that liked it, entertained a purpose stoutly to undergo the War; and received Brasidas both otherwise honourably, and crowned him with a Crown of Gold, in the name of the City, as the Deliverer of Greece. And private persons honoured him with Garlands, and came to him, as they use to do to a Champion that hath won a prize. But he leaving there a small Garrison for the present, came back, and not long after carried over a greater Army, with design,

Brasidas goeth over in a Boat, but with a Gally before him, and his reason.

Brasidas his Speech to the Scioneans.

The honour done to Brasidas by the Scioneans.

sign by the help of those of *Scione*, to make an attempt upon *Menda* and *Potidaea*. For he thought the *Athenians* would send succours to the place, as to an Island, and desired to prevent them. Withall he had in hand a practice with some within to have those Cities betrayed. So he attended ready to undertake that Enterprize.

But in the mean time came unto him in a Gally *Aristonymus* for the *Athenians*, and *Athenaus* for the *Lacedæmonians*, that carried about the news of the Truce. Whereupon he sent away his Army again to *Torone*. And these men related unto *Brasidas* the Articles of the agreement. The Confederates of the *Lacedæmonians* in *Thrace* approved of what was done, and *Aristonymus* had in all other things satisfaction; but for the *Scioneans*, whose revolt by computation of the days, he had found to be after the making of the Truce, he denied that they were comprehended therein. *Brasidas* said much in contradiction of this, and that the City revolted before the Truce, and refused to render it. But when *Aristonymus* had sent to *Athens* to inform them of the matter, the *Athenians* were ready presently to have sent an Army against *Scione*. The *Lacedæmonians* in the mean time sent Ambassadors to the *Athenians* to tell them, that they could not send an Army against it without breach of the Truce; and, upon *Brasidas* his word, challenged the City to belong unto them, offering themselves to the decision of the Law. But the *Athenians* would by no means put the matter to judgment; but meant, with all the speed they could make to send an Army against it; being angry at the heart that it should come to this pass, that even Islanders durst revolt, and trust to the unprofitable help of the strength of the *Lacedæmonians* by Land. Besides touching the time of the revolt, the *Athenians* had more truth on their side then themselves alledged. For the revolt of the *Scioneans* was after the Truce two days. Whereupon, by the advice of *Cleon*, they made a Decree to take them by force, and to put them all to the Sword. And forbearing War in all places else, they prepared themselves onely for that.

Brasidas receiveth news of the suspension of Arms.

Difference between the *Athenians* and *Lacedæmonians* about the restitution of *Scione*, which revolted after the Truce made, but before the *Lacedæmonians* knew of it.

The *Athenians* prepare to War on *Scione*.

Decree of the *Athenians* against *Scione*.

The revolt of *Menda*

In the mean time revolted also *Menda* in *Palleme* a Colony of the *Eretrians*. These also *Brasidas* received into protection, holding it for no wrong, because they came in openly in time of Truce. And somewhat there was also, which he charged the *Athenians* with, about breach of the Truce. For which cause the *Mendeans* had also been the bolder, as* sure of the intention of *Brasidas*, which they might guess at by *Scione*, in as much as he could not be gotten to deliver it. Withall, the *Few* were they which had practised the revolt, who being once about it, would by no means give it over; but fearing lest they should be discovered, forced the multitude, contrary to their own inclination to the same. The *Athenians* being hereof presently advertised, and much more angry now then before, made preparation to War upon both, and *Brasidas* expecting that they would send a Fleet against them, received the women and children of the *Sciokeans* and *Mendeans* into *Olynthus* in *Chalcideia*, and sent over thither 500 *Peloponnesian* men of Arms, and 300 *Chalcidean* Targettiers, and for Commander of them all, *Polydamidas*. And those that were left in *Scione* and *Menda*, joined in the administration of their affairs, as expecting to have the *Athenian* Fleet immediately with them.

* Sure he would not reject them.

In the mean time *Brasidas* and *Perdiccas*, with joint Forces march into *Lyncus* against *Arrhibæus* the second time. *Perdiccas* led with him the power of the *Macedonians* his Subjects, and such *Grecian* men of Arms

Perdiccas and *Brasidas* jointly invade *Arrhibæus*.

as dwelt among them. *Brasidas* besides the *Peloponnesians* that were left him, led with him the *Chalcideans*, *Acanthians*, and the rest, according to the Forces they could severally make. The whole number of the *Grecian* men of Arms were about 3000. The Horsemen, both *Macedonians* and *Chalcideans*, somewhat less then 1000, but the other Rabble of *Barbarians* was great. Being entered the Territory of *Arrhibæus*, and finding the *Lyncestians* encamped in the Field, they also sat down opposite to their Camp. And the Foot of each side, being lodged upon a Hill, and a Plain lying betwixt them both, the Horsemen ran down into the same, and a skirmish followed, first between the Horse onely of them both; but afterwards the men of Arms of the *Lyncestians* coming down to aid their Horse from the Hill, and offering Battel first, *Brasidas* and *Perdiccas* drew down their Army likewise, and charging, put the *Lyncestians* to flight, many of which being slain, the rest retired to the Hill, top, and lay still. After this they erected a Trophy, and staid two or three days expecting the *Illyrians*, who were coming to *Perdiccas* upon hire, and *Perdiccas* meant afterwards to have gone on against the Villages of *Arrhibæus* one after another, and to have sitten still there no longer. But *Brasidas* having his thoughts on *Menda*, lest if the *Athenians* came thither before his return; it should receive some blow; seeing withall that the *Illyrians* came not, had no liking to do so, but rather to retire. Whilest they thus varied, word was brought that the *Illyrians* had betrayed *Perdiccas*, and joined themselves with *Arrhibæus*. So that now it was thought good to retire, by them both, for fear of these who were a Warlike people, but yet for the time when to march, there was nothing concluded by reason of their variance. The next night the *Macedonians*, and multitude of *Barbarians* (as it is usual with great Armies to be terrified upon causes unknown) being suddenly affrighted and supposing them to be many more in number then they were, and even now upon them, betook themselves to present flight, and went home. And *Perdiccas*, who at first knew not of it, they constrained when he knew, before he had spoken with *Brasidas*, (their Camps being far asunder) to be gone also. *Brasidas* betimes in the morning, when he understood that the *Macedonians* were gone away without him, and that the *Illyrians* and *Arrhibæans* were coming upon him, putting his men of Arms into a square Form, and receiving the multitude of his light-armed into the midst, intended to retire likewise. The youngest men of his Souldiers, he appointed to run out upon the Enemy, when they charged the Army any where with shot; and he himself with three hundred chosen men, marching in the Rere, intended as he retired, to sustain the foremost of the Enemy fighting, if they came close up. But before the Enemy approached, he encouraged his Souldiers, as the shortness of the time gave him leave, with words to this effect:

The *Lyncestians* flie.

Perdiccas expecteth
mercenary aid out
of *Illyris*.

The *Illyrians* come
and turn to *Arrhi-
bæus*.

The *Macedonians*
upon a sudden fear
run away and desert
Brasidas.

Brasidas his retreat

The ORATION of BRASIDAS

to his Souldiers.

MEN of Peloponnesus, If I did not mistrust, in respect you are thus abandoned by the Macedonians, and that the Barbarians which come upon you, are many, that you were afraid, I should not at this time instruct you, and encourage you as I do. But now against this desertion of your companions, and the multitude of your enemies, I will endeavour with a short instruction and hortative, to give you encouragement to the full. For, to be good Souldiers, is unto you natural, not by the presense of any Confederates, but by your own valour; and not to fear others for the number, seeing you are not come from a City where the Many bear rule over the Few, but the Few over Many, and have gotten this for power by no other means then by overcoming in fight. And as these Barbarians, whom through ignorance you fear, you may take notice both by the former battels fought by us against them before, in favour of the Macedonians, and also by what I my self conjecture, and have heard by others, that they have no great danger in them. For when any enemy whatsoever maketh shew of strength, being indeed weak, the truth once known doth rather serve to embolden the other side, whereas against such as have valour indeed, a man will be the boldest, when he knoweth the least. These men here, to such as have not tried them, do indeed make terrible offers; for the sight of their number, is fearful; the greatness of their cry intolerable; and the vain shaking of their weapons on high, is not without signification of menacing. But they are not answerable to this, when with such as stand them, they come to blows. For fighting without order, they will quit the place without shame, if they be once pressed, and seeing it is with them, honourable alike to fight, or run away, their valours are never called in question. And a battel wherein every one may do as he list, affords them a more handsome excuse to save themselves. But they trust rather in their standing out of danger, and terrifying us afar off, then in coming to hands with us, for else they would rather have taken that course then this. And you see manifestly, that all that was before terrible in them, is in effect little, and serves only to urge you to be going, with their shew and noise. Which if you sustain at their first coming on, and again withdraw your selves still, as you shall have leisure, in your order and places, you shall not only come the sooner to a place of safety, but shall learn also against hereafter, that such a Rabble as this, to men prepared to endure their first charge, do but make a flourish of valour, with threats from a far, before the battel; but to such as give them ground, they are eagre enough to seem courageous, where they may do it safely.

When *Brasidas* had made his exhortation, he led away his Army. And the Barbarians seeing it, pressed after them with great cries and tumult, as supposing he fled. But seeing that those who were appointed to run out upon them, did so, and met them, which way soever they came on; and that *Brasidas* himself with his chosen band sustained them where they charged close, and endured the first brunt, beyond their expectation, and seeing also that afterwards continually when they charged, the other received them and fought, and when they ceased, the other retired, then at length the greatest part of the Barbarians forbore the

Grecians,

Brasidas draweth away his army, and the Barbarians follow him.

The *Illyrians* pursue the *Macedonians*, leaving part of their army to follow *Brasidas*.

Brasidas seizeth the top of the hill by which he was to pass.

The spight of *Brasidas* Souldiers against the *Macedonians* for abandoning them.

Perdiccas and *Brasidas* fall out.

The *Mendeans* encamp without the City.

Nicias wounded.

Grecians, that with *Brasidas* were in the open field, and leaving a part to follow them with shot, therest ran with all speed after the *Macedonians* which were fled, of whom, as many as they overtook, they slew; and withall, prepossest the passage, which is a narrow one between two hills, giving entrance into the Countrey of *Arrhibæus*, knowing that there was no other passage, by which *Brasidas* could get away. And when he was come to the very strait, they were going about him, to have cut him off. He, when he saw this, commanded the 300 that were with him, to run every man as fast as he could to one of the tops, which of them they could easiliest get up to, and try if they could drive down those *Barbarians* that were now going up to the same, before any greater number was above to hem them in. These accordingly fought with, and overcame those *Barbarians* upon the hill and thereby the rest of the Army marched the more easily to the top. For this beating them from the vantage of the hill, made the *Barbarians* also afraid, so that they followed them no further, conceiving withall, that they were now at the Confines, and already escaped through. *Brasidas*, having now gotten the hills, and marching with more safety, came first the same day to *Arnissa*, of the dominion of *Perdiccas*. And the Souldiers of themselves being angry with the *Macedonians*, for leaving them behind, whatsoever teems of Oxen, or fardles fallen from any man (as was likely to happen in a retreat, made in fear, and in the night) they lighted on by the way, the Oxen they cut in pieces, and took the fardles to themselves. And from this time did *Perdiccas* first esteem *Brasidas* as his enemy, and afterwards hated the *Peloponnesians*, not with ordinary hatred for the *Athenians* sake; but being utterly fallen out with him, about his own particular interest, sought means as soon as he could, to compound with these, and to be disleagued from the other.

Brasidas at his return out of *Macedonia* to *Torone*, found that the *Athenians* had already taken *Menda*, and therefore staying there (for he thought it impossible to pass over into *Pallene*, and to recover *Menda*) he kept good watch upon *Torone*. For about the time that these things passed amongst the *Lyncestæans*, the *Athenians* after all was in a readiness, set sail for *Menda* and *Scione*, with 50 Gallies, whereof 10 were of *Chius*, and 1000 men of Arms of their own City, 600 Archers, 1000 *Thracian* Mercenaries, and other Targettiers of their own Confederates thereabouts, under the conduct of *Nicias* the son of *Niceratus*, and *Nicostratus* the son of *Diotrephes*. These lanching from *Potidæa* with their Gallies, and putting in at the Temple of *Neptune*, marched presently against the *Mendeans*. The *Mendeans* with their own forces, 300 of *Scione* that came to aid them, and the aids of the *Peloponnesians*, in all 700 men of Arms, and *Polydamidas* their Commander, were encamped upon a strong hill without the City. *Nicias* with 120 light-armed Souldiers of *Methone*, and 60 chosen men of Arms of *Athens*, and all his Archers attempting to get up by a path that was in the hills side, was wounded in the attempt, and could not make his way by force. And *Nicostratus* with all the rest of the Army, going another way farther about, as he climbed the hill being hard of access, was quite disordered, and the whole Army wanted little of being utterly discomfited. So for this day, seeing the *Mendeans* and their confederates stood to it, the *Athenians* retired, and pitched their Camp. And at night the *Mendeans* retired into the City. The next day the *Athenians* sailing about unto that part of the City which is towards *Scione*, seized on

the suburbs, and all that day wasted their fields, no man coming forth to oppose them; for there was also sedition in the City, and the 300 *Scioneans* the night following went home again. The next day, *Nicias* with the one half of the Army marched to the Confines, and wasted the Territory of the *Scioneans*, and *Nicostratus* at the same time with the other half, late down against the City, before the higher Gates towards *Potidaea*. *Polydamidas* (for it fell out that the *Mendeans*, and their aids had their Arms lying within the wall, in this part) set his men in order for the battel, and encouraged the *Mendeans* to make a sally. But when one of the faction of the Commons in sedition, said to the contrary, that they would not go out, and that it was not necessary to fight, and was upon this contradiction, by *Polydamidas* pulled and molested, the Commons in passion presently took up their Arms, and made towards the *Peloponnesians*, and such other with them as were of the contrary faction, and falling upon them, put them to flight, partly with the suddenness of the charge, and partly through the fear they were in of the *Athenians*, to whom the Gates were at that time opened. For they imagined that this insurrection was by some appointment made between them. So they fled into the Citadel, as many as were not presently slain, which was also in their own hands before. But the *Athenians* (for now was *Nicias* also come back, and at the Town side) rushed into the City, with the whole Army, and rifled it, not as opened unto them by agreement, but as taken by force. And the Captains had much ado to keep them that they also killed not the men. After this, they bade the *Mendeans* use the same form of government they had done before, and to give judgment upon those they thought the principal authors of the revolt, amongst themselves. Those that were in the Citadel, they shut up with a wall reaching on both sides to the Sea, and left a guard to defend it; and having thus gotten *Menda*, they led their Army against *Scione*.

Sedition in *Menda*.

The Gates opened to the *Athenians* upon Sedition.

Menda pillaged by the *Athenians*.

The *Athenians* lead their Army against *Scione*.

The *Scioneans*, and the *Peloponnesians* coming out against them, possessed themselves of a strong hill before the City, which if the enemy did not win, he should not be able to enclose the City with a wall. The *Athenians* having strongly charged them with shot, and beaten the defendants from it, encamped upon the hill, and after they had set up their Trophy, prepared to build their wall about the City. Not long after, whilst the *Athenians* were at work about this, those aids that were besieged in the Citadel of *Menda*, forcing the watch by the Sea-side, came by night, and escaping most of them through the Camp before *Scione*, put themselves into that City.

As they were enclosing *Scione*, *Perdiccas* sent a Herald to the *Athenian* Commanders, and concluded a Peace with the *Athenians*, upon hatred to *Brasidas*, about the retreat made out of *Lyncus*, having then immediately begun to treat of the same. For it happened also at this time, that *Ischagoras* a *Lacedæmonian* was leading an Army of foot unto *Brasidas*. And *Perdiccas*, partly because *Nicias* advised him, seeing the Peace was made, to give some clear token that he would be firm, and partly because he himself desired not that the *Peloponnesians* should come any more into his Territories, wrought with his hoists in *Thessaly*, having in that kind, ever used the prime men, and so stopped the Army and Munition, as they would not so much as try the *Thessalians*, whether they would let them pass or not. Nevertheless *Ischagoras*, and *Ameinias*, and *Aristeus* themselves went on to *Brasidas*, as sent by the *Lacedæmonians* to view the state of affairs there. And also took with them from *Sparta*,
contrary

Perdiccas maketh Peace with the *Athenians*.

The *Lacedæmonians* make young men governours of Cities.

contrary to the Law, such men as were but in the beginning of their youth to make them governours of Cities, rather then to commit the Cities to the care of such as were there before. And *Clearidas* the son of *Cleonymus* they made governour of *Amphipolis*, and *Epitelidas* the son of *Hegesander*, governour of *Torone*.

The walls of *Thebes* demolished by the *Thebans*.

The same Summer, the *Thebans* demolished the walls of the *Thessians*, laying Atticism to their charge. And though they had ever meant to do it, yet now it was easier, because the flower of their youth was slain in the battel against the *Athenians*.

The Temple of *Juno* in *Argos* burnt by negligence of an old woman Priest.

The Temple of *Juno* in *Argos*, was also burnt down the same Summer, by the negligence of *Chrysis* the Priest, who having set a burning Torch by the Garlands, fell asleep, insomuch as all was on fire, and flamed out before she knew. *Chrysis* the same night, for fear of the *Argives*, fled presently to *Phlius*, and they according to the Law formerly used, chose another Priest in her room, called *Phaeinis*. Now when *Chrysis* fled, was the eighth year of this War ended, and half of the ninth.

Phaeinis, Priest of *Juno*, in the place of *Chrysis*.
Siege laid to *Scione*.
The end of the ninth Summer.

Scione in the very end of this Summer was quite enclosed, and the *Athenians* having left a guard there, went home with the rest of their Army.

Battel between the *Mantineans* and the *Tegeatæ*.

The Winter following, nothing was done between the *Athenians* and the *Lacedæmonians*, because of the Truce. But the *Mantineans*, and the *Tegeatæ*, with the Confederates of both, fought a battel at *Laodicea*, in the Territory of *Orestis*, wherein the victory was doubtful, for either side put to flight one Wing of their enemies, both sides set up Trophies, and both sides sent of their spoils unto *Delphi*. Nevertheless, after many slain on either side, and equal battel, which ended by the coming of night, the *Tegeatæ* lodged all night in the place, and erected their Trophy then presently, whereas the *Mantineans* turned to *Bucolion*, and set up their Trophy afterwards.

Brasidas attempteth *Potidea*.

The same Winter ending, and the Spring now approaching, *Brasidas* made an attempt upon *Potidea*; For coming by night, he applied his Ladders, and was thitherto undiscerned. He took the time to apply his Ladders, when the Bell passed by, and before he that carried it to the next returned. Nevertheless, being discovered, he scaled not the Wall, but presently again withdrew his Army with speed, not staying till it was day. So ended this Winter, and the ninth year of this War written by *Thucydides*.

The end of the ninth year.

The end of the Fourth Book.

THE HISTORY OF THUCYDIDES.

BOOK V.

THE PRINCIPAL CONTENTS.

The former years Truce ended, Cleon warreth on the Chalcidick Cities, and recovereth Torone. Phæax is sent by the Athenians to move a War amongst the Sicilians. Cleon and Brasidas, who were on both sides the principal maintainers of the War, are both slain at Amphipolis. Presently after their death a Peace is concluded, and after that again a League between the Lacedæmonians and the Athenians. Divers of the Lacedæmonian Confederates hereat discontented, seek the Confederacy of the Argives. These make League, first with the Corinthians, Eleans, and Mantineans, then with the Lacedæmonians; and then again (by the artifice of Alcibiades) with the Athenians. After this the Argives make War upon the Epidaurians; and the Lacedæmonians upon the Argives. The Athenian Captains and the Melians treat by way of Dialogue, touching the yielding of Melos, which the Athenians afterwards besiege and win. These are the Acts of almost six years more of the same War.

THe Summer following, the Truce for a year, which was to last till the * Pythian Holidays expired. During this Truce, the Athenians removed the Delians out of Delos; because though they were consecrated, yet for a certain crime committed of old, they esteemed them polluted persons; because also they thought there wanted this part to make perfect the purgation of the Island; in the purging whereof, as I declared * before, they thought they did well to take up the Sepulchres of the dead.

The Truce for a year expired.
* Exercises dedicated to Apollo, and celebrated at Delphi about the 12. of the month Elaphobolium, as may be gathered by the beginning of the Truce on that day.

The Delians removed out of Delos upon superstition. * Lib. 3. Pag. 201.

The *Delians* seat themselves in *Adramyttium*, *Cleon* goeth out with an Army into the parts about *Thrace*.

He assaulteth *Torone*.

* Into the Haven of *Torone*.

Pasiteldas with the Garrison of the Town, endeavour-eth to defend it.

Cleon taketh *Torone*.

Pasiteldas a *Lacedæmonian* Captain, taken alive.

Seven hundred men sent prisoners to *Athens*.

Panaetum taken by the *Bæotians*.

Cleon goeth to *Amphipolis*.

Phaax sent Ambassador to the *Sicilians*.

The *Leontine* Commons driven out of the City by the *Syracusians*. The *Leontine* Nobility become *Syracusians*, and go to *Syracusa* to dwell.

These *Delians* seated themselves afterwards, every one as he came, in *Adramyttium* in *Asia*, a Town given unto them by *Pharnaces*.

After the Truce was expired, *Cleon* prevailed with the *Athenians* to be sent out with a Fleet against the Cities lying upon *Thrace*. He had with him of *Athenians* 1200 men of Arms, and 300 Horsemen; Of Confederates more, and thirty Gallies. And first arriving at *Scione*, which was yet besieged, he took aboard some men of Arms, of those that kept the Siege, and sailed into the Haven of the *Colophomians*, not far distant from the City of *Torone*. And there having heard by Fugitives, that *Brasidas* was not in *Torone*, nor those within sufficient to give him Battel, he marched with his Army to the City, and sent ten of his Gallies about into the * Haven. And first he came to the New Wall which *Brasidas* had raised about the City to take in the Suburbs, making a breach in the Old Wall that the whole might be one City. And *Pasiteldas* a *Lacedæmonian* Captain of the Town, with the Garrison there present, came to the defence, and fought with the *Athenians* that assaulted it. But being oppressed, (and the Gallies which were before sent about, being by this time come into the Haven) *Pasiteldas* was afraid, lest those Gallies should take the Town unfurnished of Defendants before he could get back, and that the *Athenians* on the other side should win the Wall, and he be intercepted between them both; and thereupon abandoned the Wall, and ran back into the City. But the *Athenians* that were in the Gallies having taken the Town before he came, and the Land Army following in after him without resistance, and entering the City by the breach of the Old Wall, slew some of the *Peloponnesians* and *Toroneans* on the place, and some others, amongst whom was the Captain *Pasiteldas*, they took alive. *Brasidas* was now coming with aid towards *Torone*, but advertised by the way that it was already lost, went back again, being about forty Furlongs short of preventing it. *Cleon* and the *Athenians* erected two Trophies, one at the Haven, another at the Wall.

The Women and Children of the *Toroneans*, they made Slaves, but the men of *Torone*, and the *Peloponnesians*, and such *Chalcideans* as were amongst them, in all about seven hundred, they sent away prisoners to *Athens*. The *Peloponnesians* were afterward at the making of the Peace dismissed, the rest were redeemed by the *Olynthians*, by exchange of man for man.

About the same time the *Bæotians* took *Panaetum*, a Fort of the *Athenians* standing in their Confines, by Treason.

Cleon, after he had settled the Garrison in *Torone*, went thence by Sea about the Mountain *Athos*, to make War against *Amphipolis*.

About the same time *Phaax* the son of *Erasistratus*, who with two others was sent Ambassador into *Italy* and *Sicily*, departed from *Athens* with two Gallies. For the *Leontines*, after the *Athenians*, upon the making of the Peace, were gone out of *Sicily*, received many strangers into the Freedom of their City, and the Commons had a purpose also to have made division of the Land. But the great men perceiving it, called in the *Syracusians*, and drave the Commons out. And they wandred up and down every one as he chanced, and the great men, upon conditions agreed on with the *Syracusians*, abandoning and deserting that City, went to dwell with the privilege of free Citizens in *Syracusa*. After this again, some of them, upon dislike relinquished *Syracusa*, and seized on *Phocæa*, a certain place, part of the City of the *Leontines*, and upon *Bricinnia* a Castle in the *Leontine* Territory;

ritory; thither also came unto them most of the *Commons*, that had before been driven out, and settling themselves, made War from those places of strength. Upon intelligence hereof, the *Athenians* sent *Pheax* thither to perswade their Confederates there, and, if they could, all the *Sicilians* jointly, to make War upon the *Syracusians* that were now beginning to grow great, to try if they might thereby preserve the common People of the *Leontines*. *Pheax* arriving, prevailed with the *Camari-neans* and the *Agrigentines*: but the business finding a stop at *Gelas*, he went unto no more, as conceiving he should not be able to perswade them. So he returned through the Cities of the *Siculi* unto *Catana*, having been at *Bricinnia* by the way, and there encouraged them to hold out; and from *Catana* he set sail, and departed. In his Voyage to *Sicily*, both going and coming, he dealt as he went by with sundry Cities also of *Italy*, to enter into friendship with the *Athenians*.

He also lighted on those *Locrians*, which having dwelt once in *Messina*, were afterwards driven out again; being the same men which after the Peace in *Sicily*, upon a Sedition in *Messina*, wherein one of the factious called in the *Locrians*, had been then sent to inhabit there, and now were sent away again: For the *Locrians* held *Messina* for a while. *Pheax* therefore chancing to meet with these as they were going to their own City, did them no hurt, because the *Locrians* had been in speech with him about an agreement with the *Athenians*. For when the *Sicilians* made a General Peace, these onely of all the Confederates, refused to make any Peace at all with the *Athenians*. Nor indeed would they have done it now, but that they were constrained thereunto by the War they had with the *Itonians* and *Melaens*, their own Colonies and Borderers. And *Pheax* after this returned to *Athens*.

Cleon who was now gone from *Torone*, and come about to *Amphipolis*, making *Eion* the seat of the War, assaulted the City of **Stagirus*, a Colony of the *Andrians*, but could not take it; but *Gampselus*, a Colony of the *Thasians* he took by assault. And having sent Ambassadors to *Perdiccas* to will him to come to him with his Forces, according to the League; and other Ambassadors into *Thrace* unto *Polles* King of the *Odomantians*, to take up as many mercenary *Thracians* as he could, he lay still in *Eion* to expect their coming. *Brasidas* upon notice hereof, sate down over against him at *Cerdylum*. This is a place belonging to the *Argilians*, standing high, and beyond the River, not far from *Amphipolis*, and from whence he might discern all that was about him. So that *Cleon* could not but be seen, if he should rise with his Army to go against *Amphipolis*, which he expected he would do; and that in contempt of his small number, he would go up with the Forces he had then present. Withall he furnished himself with 1500 mercenary *Thracians*, and took unto him all his *Edonians*, both Horsemen and Targettiers. He had also of *Myrcinians* and *Chalcidæans*, 1000 Targettiers, besides them in *Amphipolis*. But for men of Arms, his whole number was at the most 2000; and of *Grecian* Horsemen 300. With 1500 of these came *Brasidas* and sate down at *Cerdylum*, the rest stood ready ordered with *Clearidas* their Captain within *Amphipolis*. *Cleon* for a while lay still, but was afterwards forced to do as was expected by *Brasidas*. For the Souldiers being angry with their stay there, and recounting with themselves what a command his would be, and with what ignorance and cowardize, against what skill and boldness of the other, and how they came forth with him against their wills, he perceived their muttering, and being

The *Leontines* make War on the *Syracusians*.

Pheax moveth the *Sicilians* to War upon the *Syracusians*.

The *Gelans* stop the motion made by *Pheax*.

Pheax maketh Peace with the *Locrians*.

Cleon maketh War on *Amphipolis*.

* *Stagirus* the City where *Aristotle* was born.

Gampselus taken by *Cleon*.

Brasidas sitteth down over against *Cleon* at *Cerdylum*.

The Forces of *Brasidas*.

Cleon goeth up to *Amphipolis* against his own mind.

Cleon, not expecting a Sally, vieweth the situation of the Town.

Brasidas putteth himself into *Amphipolis*.

A stratagem of *Brasidas*.

unwilling to offend them with so long a stay in one place, dislodged, and led them forward. And he took the same course there, which having succeeded well before at *Pylus*, gave him cause to think himself to have some judgment. For he thought not that any body would come forth to give him battel, and gave out, he went up principally to see the place: and staid for greater forces; not to secure him in case he should be compelled to fight, but that he might therewith environ the City on all sides at once, and in that manner take it by force. So he went up, and set his Army down on a strong Hill before *Amphipolis*, standing himself to view the Fens of the River *Strymon*, and the situation of the City towards *Thrace*; and thought he could have retired again at his pleasure without battel. For neither did any man appear upon the Walls, nor come out of the Gates which were all fast shut; insomuch as he thought he had committed an error in coming without Engines, because he thought he might by such means have won the City, as being without defendants. *Brasidas*, as soon as he saw the *Athenians* remove, came down also from *Cerdylum*, and put himself into *Amphipolis*. He would not suffer them to make any Sally, nor to face the *Athenians* in order of Battel, mistrusting his own Forces, which he thought inferiour, not in number (for they were in a manner equal) but in worth (for such *Athenians* as were there, were pure, and the *Lemnians* and *Imbrians* which were amongst them, were of the very ablest) but prepared to set upon them by a wile. For if he should have shewed to the Enemy both his number and their Armour, such as for the present they were forced to use, he thought that thereby he should not so soon get the Victory, as by keeping them out of sight, and out of their contempt, till the very point. Wherefore chusing to himself 150 Men of Arms, and committing the charge of the rest to *Clearidas*, he resolved to set suddenly upon them before they should retire; as not expecting to take them so alone another time, if their succours chanced to arrive. And when he had called his Souldiers together to encourage them, and to make known unto them his design, he said as followeth;

The ORATION of BRASIDAS to his Souldiers.

MEn of Peloponnesus, as for your Country, how by valour it hath ever retained her liberty; and that being Dorians, you are now to fight against Ionians, of whom you were ever wont to get the Victory, let it suffice that I have touched it thus briefly. But in what manner I intend to charge, that I am now to inform you of; lest the venturing by few at once, and not altogether, should seem to proceed from weakness, and so dishearten you. I do conjecture that it was in contempt of us, and as not expecting to be fought withall, that the Enemy both came up to this place, and that they have now betaken themselves carelessly, and out of order to view the Countrey. But he that best observing such errors in his Enemies, shal also to his strength, give the onset, not always openly, and in ranged Battel, but as is best for his present advantage, shall for the most part attain his purpose. And these wiles carry with them the greatest glory of all, by which deceiving most the Enemy, a man doth most benefit his friends. Therefore whilst they are secure without preparation, and intend, for ought I see, to steal away, rather then to stay,

stay, I say, in this their looseness of resolution, and before they put their minds in order, I for my part, with those I have chosen, will, if I can, before they get away, fall in upon the midst of their Army, running. And you Clearidas, afterwards, as soon as you shall see me to have charged and (as it is probable) to have put them into a fright, take those that are with you, both Amphipolitans, and all the rest of the Confederates, and setting open the Gates, run out upon them, and with all possible speed come up to stroke of hand (for there is great hope this way to terrifie them, seeing they which come after, are ever of more terrour to the Enemy then those that are already present, and in fight.) And be valiant, as is likely you should that are a Spartan; and you Confederates, follow manfully, and believe that the parts of a good Souldier are willingness, sense of shame, and obedience to his Leaders; and that this day you shall either gain your selves liberty by your valour, and to be called Confederates of the Lacedæmonians, or else not onely to serve the Athenians your selves, and at the best, if you be not led Captives, nor put to death, to be in greater servitude then before, but also to be the hinderers of the liberty of the rest of the Græcians. But be not you Cowards, seeing how great a matter is at stake: and I for my part will make it appear that I am not more ready to perswade another, then to put myself into action.

When Brasidas had thus said, he both prepared to go out himself, and also placed the rest that were with Clearidas before the Gates called the Thracian Gates, to issue forth afterwards, as was appointed. Now Brasidas having been in fight when he came down from Cerdylum, and again when he sacrificed in the City by the Temple of Pallas, which place might be seen from without, it was told Cleon whilest Brasidas was ordering of his men, (for he was at this time gone off a little to look about him) that the whole Army of the Enemies was plainly to be discerned within the Town, and that the feet of many men and horses, ready to come forth, might be discerned from under the Gate. Hearing this, he came to the place, and when he saw it was true, being not minded to fight, until his aids arrived, and yet making no other account but that his retreat would be discovered, he commanded at once to give the signal of retreat; and that as they went, the left Wing should march foremost, which was the onely means they had to withdraw towards Eion. But when he thought they were long about it, causing the right Wing to wheel about, and lay open their disarmed parts to the Enemy, he led away the Army himself. Brasidas at the same time, having spied his opportunity, and that the Army of the Athenians removed, said to those about him, and the rest, *These men stay not for us, it is apparent by the wagging of their spears, and of their heads. For where such motion is, they use not stay for the charge of the Enemy: therefore open me some body the Gates appointed, and let us boldly and speedily sally forth upon them.* Then he went out himself at the Gate towards the Trench, and which was the first Gate of the Long Wall, which then was standing, and at high speed took the straight way, in which, as one passeth by the strongest part of the Town, there standeth now a Trophy. And charging upon the midst of the Athenian Army, which was terrified both with their own disarray, and the valour of the man forced them to flie. And Clearidas, (as was appointed) having issued out by the Thracian Gates, was with all coming upon them. And it fell out that the Athenians by this unexpected and sudden attempt, were on both sides in confusion; and the left Wing which was next to Eion, and which indeed was marching away

Brasidas prepareth to assault the Army of the Athenians.

Cleon is admonished of a Sally towards:

and leadeth his Army back.

Brasidas taketh this opportunity for this Sally.

Brasidas is wounded and falleth.

Cleon flieth, and is slain.

Brasidas his Army getteth the Victory.

Brasidas liveth only so long as to know he had the Victory.

The honour done to *Brasidas* after his death.

* Killed Sacrifices unto him.
† Or Semigod.

* Who was their true Founder.

Supplies going to *Brasidas*, stay by the way at *Heraclea*.

The end of the tenth Summer.

The Supplies going to *Brasidas*, hearing of his death, return to *Lacedæmon*.

away before, was immediately broken off from the rest of the Army, and fled. When that was gone, *Brasidas* coming up to the right Wing, was there wounded. The *Athenians* saw not when he fell, and they that were near took him up and carried him off. The right Wing stood longer to it, and though *Cleon* himself presently fled, (as at first he intended not to stay) and was intercepted by a *Myrcinian* Targettier, and slain, yet his men of Arms casting themselves into a Circle on the top of a little Hill, twice or thrice resisted the charge of *Clearidas*, and shrunk not at all, till begirt with the *Myrcinian* and *Chalcidean* Horse, and with the Targettiers, they were put to flight by their Darts. Thus the whole Army of the *Athenians* getting away with much ado over the Hills, and by several ways: all that were not slain upon the place, or by the *Chalcidean* Horse and Targettiers, recovered *Eion*. The other side taking up *Brasidas* out of the Battel, and having so long kept him alive, brought him yet breathing into the City. And he knew that his side had gotten the Victory, but expired shortly after. When *Clearidas* with the rest of the Army were returned from pursuit of the Enemy, they rifled those that were slain, and erected a Trophy.

After this the Confederates following the Corps of *Brasidas*, all of them in their Arms, buried him in the City at the publick charge, in the entrance of that which is now the Market-place. And the *Amphipolitans* afterwards having taken in his Monument with a wall, * killed unto him, as to a † Heroe, honoured him with Games and anniversary Sacrifice, and attributed their Colony unto him, as to the Founder; pulling down the Edifices of * *Agnon*, and defacing whatsoever Monument might maintain the Memory of his Foundation. This they did both for that they esteemed *Brasidas* for their preserver, and also because at this time, through fear of the *Athenians*, they courted the *Lacedæmonians* for a League. As for *Agnon*, because of their hostility with the *Athenians*, they thought it neither expedient for them to give him honours, nor that they would be acceptable unto him if they did. The dead bodies they rendred to the *Athenians*; of whom there was slain about 600, and but seven of the other side, by reason that it was no set Battel, but fought upon such an occasion and precedent affright. After the dead were taken up, the *Athenians* went home by Sea, and *Clearidas* and those with him staid to settle the Estate of *Amphipolis*.

About the same time of the Summer now ending, *Ramphias*, *Antocharidas*, and *Epicydidas*, *Lacedæmonians*, were leading a supply towards the parts upon *Thrace*, of 900 Men of Arms, and when they were come to *Heraclea* in *Trachinia*, they staid there to amend such things as they thought amiss. Whilest they staid this Battel was fought; and the Summer ended.

The next Winter they that were with *Ramphias* went presently forward, as far as the Hill *Pierium* in *Thessaly*. But the *Thessalians* forbidding them to go on, and *Brasidas* to whom they were carrying this Army being dead, they returned homewards; conceiving that the opportunity now served not, both because the *Athenians* were upon this overthrow gone away, and for that they themselves were unable to perform any of those designs, which the other had intended. But the principal cause of their return was this, that they knew at their coming forth that the *Lacedæmonians* had their minds more set upon a Peace than War.

Presently after the Battel of *Amphipolis*, and return of *Ramphias* out of

of *Theffaly*, it fell out, that neither side did any act of War, but were inclined rather to a Peace; the *Athenians* for the blow they had received at *Delium*, and this other a little after at *Amphipolis*; and because they had no longer that confident hope in their strength, on which they relied, when formerly they refused the Peace, as having conceived upon their present success, that they should have had the upper hand.

The *Athenians* and *Lacedæmonians* incline to Peace. The causes why the *Athenians* desired Peace.

Also they stood in fear of their own Confederates, lest emboldned by these losses of theirs, they should more and more revolt, and repented that they made not the Peace after their happy success at *Pylus*, when occasion was offered to have done it honourably. And the *Lacedæmonians* on the other side did desire Peace, because the War had not proceeded as they expected: for they had thought they should in a few years have warred down the power of *Athens*, by wasting their Territory; and because they were fallen into that calamity in the Island, the like whereof had never happened unto *Sparta* before: because also their Countrey was continually ravaged by those of *Pylus* and *Cythera*, and their *Helots* continually fled to the Enemy; and because they feared lest those that remained, trusting in them that were run away, should in this estate of theirs, raise some innovation, as at other times before they had done. Withall it happened that the 30 years Peace with the *Argives* was now upon the point of expiring, and the *Argives* would not renew it without restitution made them of *Cynuria*; so that to war against the *Argives* and the *Athenians* both at once, seemed impossible. They suspected also that some of the Cities of *Peloponnesus* would revolt to the *Argives*, as indeed it came afterwards to pass. These things considered, it was by both parts thought good to conclude a Peace; but especially by the *Lacedæmonians*, for the desire they had to recover their men taken in the Island; for the *Spartans* that were amongst them, were both of the prime men of the City, and their Kinsmen. And therefore they began to treat presently after they were taken.

The causes why the *Lacedæmonians* desired Peace.

* *Ampelidas* and *Lichas* were sent to *Argos* to renew the Peace, but the *Argives* holding the *Lacedæmonians* to be no dangerous Enemies without the *Athenians*, refuse it.

But the *Athenians*, by reason of their prosperity, would not lay down the War at that time on equal terms. But after their defeat at *Delium*, the *Lacedæmonians* knowing they would be apter now to accept it, made that Truce for a year, during which they were to meet, and consult about a longer time. But when also this other overthrow happened to the *Athenians* at *Amphipolis*, and that both *Cleon* and *Brasidas* were slain (the which on either side were most opposite to the Peace; the one for that he had good success and honour in the War; the other, because in quiet times his evil actions would more appear, and his calumniations be the less believed) those two that in the two States aspired most to be chief, *Pleistoanax* the son of *Pausanias*, and *Nicias* the son of *Niceratus*, who in Military charges had been the most fortunate of his time, did most of all other desire to have the Peace go forward; *Nicias*, because he was desirous (having hitherto never been overthrown) to carry his good Fortune through, and to give both himself and the City rest from their troubles for the present; and for the future to leave a Name, that in all his time he had never made the Commonwealth miscarry: which he thought might be done by standing out of danger, and by putting himself as little as he might into the hands of Fortune: And to stand out of danger is the benefit of Peace. *Pleistoanax* had the same desire, because of the imputation laid upon him, about his return from exile, by his Enemies, that suggested unto the *Lacedæmonians* upon every loss they received, that the same befel them

Cleon and *Brasidas* opposers of the Peace for several ends.

Pleistoanax and *Nicias* persuaders to Peace. *Nicias* his ends in seeking Peace.

The reason why *Pleistoanax* desired the peace.

* *Decegi*, Ambassadors to the Oracles were so called.
† Hercules, from whom Pleistoanax was descended.

Pleistoanax banished for withdrawing his Army out of Attica.

The Lacedæmonians desiring the Peace make shew of War.

Peace concluded.

The Bæotians, Corinthians, Eleans, and Megareans, refuse to be comprehended.

them, for having contrary to the Law repealed his banishment. For they charged him further, that he and his Brother *Aristocles*, had suborned the Prophetess of *Delphi*, to answer the *Deputies of the *Lacedæmonians* when they came thither, most commonly with this, That they should bring back the seed of the † *Semigod*, the son of *Jupiter*, out of a strange Countrey into his own: and that if they did not, they should plow their Land with a silver Plough: and so at length to have made the *Lacedæmonians*, 19 years after, with such Dances and Sacrifices as they who were the first Founders of *Lacedæmon* had ordained to be used at the enthroning of their Kings, to fetch him home again, who lived in the mean time in exile in the Mountain *Lyceum*, in a House whereof the one half was part of the Temple of *Jupiter*, for fear of the *Lacedæmonians*, as being suspected to have taken a bribe to withdraw his Army out of *Attica*.

Being troubled with these imputations, and considering with himself, there being no occasion of calamity in time of Peace, and the *Lacedæmonians* thereby recovering their men, that he also should cease to be obnoxious to the calumniation of his Enemies; whereas in War such as had charge, could not but be quarrelled upon their losses, he was therefore forward to have the Peace concluded.

And this Winter they fell to Treaty, and withall the *Lacedæmonians* braved them with a preparation already making against the Spring, sending to the Cities about for that purpose, as if they meant to fortifie in *Attica*, to the end that the *Athenians* might give them the better ear. When after many meetings, and many demands on either side, it was at last agreed, that Peace should be concluded, each part rendring what they had taken in the War, save that the *Athenians* should hold *Nisæa*, (for when they likewise demanded *Platea*, and the *Thebans* answered, that it was neither taken by Force, nor by Treason, but rendred voluntarily; the *Athenians* said that they also had *Nisæa* in the same manner.) The *Lacedæmonians* calling together their Confederates, and all but the *Bæotians*, *Corinthians*, *Eleans*, and *Megareans*, (for these disliked it) giving their Votes for the ending of the War, they concluded the Peace, and confirmed it to the *Athenians* with sacrifice, and swore it, and the *Athenians* again unto them, upon these Articles.

The Articles of the Peace between the *Athenians* and the *Lacedæmonians*.

The *Athenians*, and *Lacedæmonians*, and their Confederates, have made Peace, and sworn it City by City, as followeth:

* Ambassadors about matters of Religion.

Touching the publick Temples, it shall be lawful to whomsoever will, to sacrifice in them, and to have access unto them, and to ask counsel of the Oracles in the same, and to send their *Deputies unto them, according to the Custom of his Countrey, securely both by Sea and Land.

The whole place consecrate, and Temple of *Apollo* in *Delphi*, and *Delphi* it self, shall be governed by their own Law, taxed by their own State, and judged by their own Judges, both City and Territory, according to the institution of the place.

The Peace shall endure between the *Athenians*, with their Confederates, and

and the Lacedæmonians with their Confederates, for fifty years, both by Sea and Land, without fraud, and without harm doing.

It shall not be lawful to bear Arms, with intention of hurt, neither for the Lacedæmonians and their Confederates, against the Athenians, nor for the Athenians and their Confederates, against the Lacedæmonians, by any Art or Machination whatsoever.

If any Controversie shall arise between them, the same shall be decided by Law, and by Oath, in such manner as they shall agree on.

The Lacedæmonians and their Confederates, shall render Amphipolis to the Athenians.

The Inhabitants of whatsoever City the Lacedæmonians shall render unto the Athenians, shall be at liberty, to go forth whither they will, with bag and baggage.

Those Cities which paid the tribute, taxed in the * time of Aristides, continuing to pay it, shall be governed by their own Laws, and now that the Peace is concluded, it shall be unlawful for the Athenians, or their Confederates, to bear Arms against them, or to do them any hurt, as long as they shall pay the said tribute. The Cities are these, Argilus, Stagirus, Acanthus, Scolus, Olynthus, Spartolus. And they shall be Confederates of neither side, neither of the Lacedæmonians, nor of the Athenians. But if the Athenians can persuade these Cities unto it, then it shall be lawful for the Athenians to have them for their Confederates, having gotten their consent.

* which was the first time that the Athenians began to command the rest of Greece, for when in the end of the Median war, the Lacedæmonians left that Command, the Athenians undertook it and taxed the several Cities with tribute towards the war. The war ended, the tribute ended not.

The Mecenians, Sanæans, and Singæans, shall inhabit their own Cities, on the same conditions, with the Olynthians and Acanthians.

The Lacedæmonians, and their Confederates, shall render Panactum unto the Athenians. And the Athenians shall render to the Lacedæmonians, * Coryphasium, Cythera, Methone, Pteleum, and Atalante.

* The promontory wherein Pylus stood, put here for Pylus.

They shall likewise deliver whatsoever Lacedæmonians are in the prison of Athens, or in any prison of what place soever, in the Athenian dominion; and dismiss all the Peloponnesians, besieged in Scione, and all that Brasidas did there put in, and whatsoever Confederates of the Lacedæmonians are in prison, either at Athens, or in the Athenian State. And the Lacedæmonians and their Confederates, shall deliver whomsoever they have in their hands of the Athenians, or their Confederates, in the same manner.

Touching the Scioneans, Toronæans, and Sermylans, and whatsoever other City belonging to the Athenians, the Athenians shall do with them, what they think fit.

The Athenians shall take an Oath to the Lacedæmonians and their Confederates, City by City; and that Oath shall be the greatest that in each City is in use; The thing that they shall swear, shall be this. I stand to these Articles, and to this Peace, truly and sincerely. And the Lacedæmonians and their Confederates, shall take the same Oath to the Athenians. This Oath they shall on both sides every year renew, and shall erect Pillars, [inscribed with this Peace] at Olympia, * Pythia, and in the Isthmus; at Athens, within the Citadel; and at Lacedæmon, in the * Amyclæum.

* By Delphi where the Pythian games were kept.

* Amyclæum, a temple of Apollo.

And if any thing be on either side forgotten, or shall be thought fit upon good deliberation to be changed; it shall be lawful for them to do it, * in such manner as the Lacedæmonians, and Athenians shall think fit, jointly.

* This Article displeased the Confederates of Lacedæmon, because the Articles might by this be changed without them.

* February.

*This Peace shall take beginning from the 24 of the Moneth Artemisium, Pleistolas being Ephore at Sparta, and the 15 of * Elaphebolium after the account of Athens, Alcæus being Archon.*

They that took the Oath and sacrificed, were these; of the Lacedæmonians, Pleistolas, Damagetus, Chionis, Metagenes, Acanthus, Daidus, Ischagoras, Philocaridas, Zeuxidas, Anthippus, Tellis, Alcenidas, Empedias, Menas, Laphilus. Of the Athenians these, Lampon, Isthmionicus, Nicias, Laches, Euthidemus, Procles, Pythadorus, Agnon, Myrtilus, Thrasycles, Theagenes, Aristocœtes, Iolcius, Timocrates, Leon, Lamacus, Demosthenes.

* It appears here that the Moneth Elaphebolion amongst the Athenians was the last Moneth of their Winter quarter.

The true way of accounting the years of this War.

The Lacedæmonians begin to perform the Articles, and presently deliver their prisoners.

The Amphipolitans refuse to render themselves under the Athenians.

Clearidas endeavoureth to dissolve the Peace.

The Lacedæmonians make league with the Athenians

This Peace was made in the very *end of Winter, and the Spring then beginning, presently after the City Bacchanals, and full ten years, and some few days over, after the first Invasion of *Attica*, and the beginning of this War. But now for the certainty hereof, let a man consider the times themselves, and not trust to the account of the names of such as in the several places bare chief offices, or for some honour to themselves, had their names ascribed, for marks to the actions foregoing. For it is not exactly known who was in the beginning of his Office, or who in the midst, or how he was, when any thing fell out. But if one reckon the same by Summers and Winters, according as they are written, he shall find by the two half years, which make the whole, that this first War was of ten Summers, and as many Winters continuance.

The *Lacedæmonians* (for it fell unto them by lot to begin the restitution) both dismissed presently those Prisoners they had then in their hands, and also sent Ambassadors, *Ischagoras*, *Menas*, and *Philocaridas* into the parts upon *Thrace*, with command to *Clearidas* to deliver up *Amphipolis* to the *Athenians*, and requiring the rest of their Confederates there to accept of the Peace in such manner as was for every of them accorded. But they would not do it, because they thought it was not for their advantage. And *Clearidas* also, to gratifie the *Chalcideans*, surrendred not the City, alledging that he could not do it whether they would or not. And coming away soon after with those Ambassadors to *Lacedæmon*, both to purge himself, if he should be accused by those with *Ischagoras* for disobeying the States command, and also to try if the Peace might by any means be shaken: when he found it firm, he himself being sent back by the *Lacedæmonians*, with command principally to surrender the place, and if he could not do that, then to draw thence all the *Peloponnesians* that were in it, immediately took his journey. But the Confederates chanced to be present themselves in *Lacedæmon*, and the *Lacedæmonians* required such of them as formerly refused, that they would accept the Peace: but they, upon the same pretence on which they had rejected it before, said, That unless it were more reasonable, they would not accept it. And the *Lacedæmonians* seeing they refused, dismissed them, and by themselves entered with the *Athenians* into a League; because they imagined that the *Argives* would not renew their Peace (because they had refused it before, when *Ampelidas* and *Lichas* went to *Argos*,) and held them for no dangerous Enemies without the *Athenians*: and also conceived, that by this means the rest of *Peloponnesus* would not stir; for if they could they would turn to the *Athenians*. Wherefore the Ambassadors of *Athens* being then present, and conference had, they agreed, and the Oath and League was concluded on, in the terms following.

The

The Articles of the League between the *Lacedæmonians*
and the *Athenians*.

THe *Lacedæmonians* shall be *Confederates* with the *Athenians* for fifty years.

If any *Enemy* invade the Territory of the *Lacedæmonians*, and do the *Lacedæmonians* any harm, the *Athenians* shall aid the *Lacedæmonians* against them in the strongest manner they can possibly. But if the *Enemy*, after he hath spoiled the Countrey, shall be gone away, then that City shall be held as *Enemy* both to the *Lacedæmonians* and to the *Athenians*, and shall be warred upon by them both; and both Cities shall again lay down the War jointly. And this to be done justly, readily, and sincerely.

And if any *Enemy* shall invade the Territories of the *Athenians*, and do the *Athenians* any harm, then the *Lacedæmonians* shall aid the *Athenians* against them, in the strongest manner they can possibly. But if the *Enemy* after he hath spoiled the Countrey, shall be gone away, then shall that City be held for *Enemy* both to the *Lacedæmonians* and to the *Athenians*, and shall be warred upon by both, and both the Cities shall again lay down the War together. And this to be done justly, readily, and sincerely.

If their *Slaves* shall rebel, the *Athenians* shall assist the *Lacedæmonians* with all their strength possible.

These things shall be sworn unto by the same men on either side that swore the Peace, and shall be every year renewed by the *Lacedæmonians* at their coming to the **Bacchanals* at Athens; and by the *Athenians* at their going to the *Hyacinthian Feast* at *Lacedæmon*; and either side shall erect a Pillar [inscribed with this League] one at *Lacedæmon*, near unto *Apollo* in the *Amycleum*, another at Athens near *Minerva* in the *Citadel*.

* *Bacchanalia Urbica*. which were celebrated yearly, not much before this time.

If it shall seem good to the *Lacedæmonians* and *Athenians* to add or take away any thing touching the League, it shall be lawful for them to do it jointly.

Of the *Lacedæmonians* took the Oath, these, *Pleistoxanax*, *Agis*, *Pleistolas*, *Damagetus*, *Chionis*, *Metagenes*, *Acanthus*, *Daidus*, *Ischagoras*, *Philocharidas*, *Zeuxidas*, *Anthippus*, *Alcinadas*, *Tellis*, *Empedias*, *Menias*, *Laphilus*. Of the *Athenians*, *Lampon*, *Istmionicus*, *Laches*, *Nicias*, *Euthydemus*, *Procles*, *Pythodorus*, *Agnon*, *Myrtilus*, *Thrasycles*, *Theagenes*, *Aristocrates*, *Iolcius*, *Timocrates*, *Leon*, *Lamachus*, and *Demosthenes*.

This League was made not long after the Peace. And the *Athenians* delivered to the *Lacedæmonians* the men they had taken in the Island; and by this time began the Summer of the eleventh year. And hitherto hath been written these ten years which this first War continued, without intermission.

The *Athenians* deliver the prisoners taken at *Pylus*.

After the Peace and League made between the *Lacedæmonians* and *Athenians*, after the ten years War, *Pleistolas* being Ephore at *Lacedæmon*, and *Alcæus* Archon of Athens; though there were Peace to those that had accepted it; yet the *Corinthians* and some Cities of *Peloponnesus*,

Year XI.

The *Lacedæmonians* slack in performance of the Articles of the Peace.

From the beginning to this end of the War 27 years.

The time of this Peace, not to be esteemed Peace.

The number of years which the whole War lasted.

Thucydides for his ill success at *Amphipolis*, banished *Athens* for 20 years.

The *Corinthians* contrive with the *Argives* to make a League in *Peloponnesus* without the *Lacedæmonians*.

ponnesus, endeavoured to overthrow what was done, and presently arose another stir, by the Confederates, against *Lacedæmon*. And the *Lacedæmonians* also after a while became suspect unto the *Athenians*, for not performing somewhat agreed on in the Articles. And for six years and ten moneths, they abstained from entering into each others Territories with their Arms: but the Peace being but weak, they did each other abroad what harm they could; and in the end, were forced to dissolve the Peace, made after those ten years, and fell again into open War. This also hath the same *Thucydides* of *Athens*, written from point to point, by Summers and Winters, as every thing came to pass, untill such time as the *Lacedæmonians*, and their Confederates, had made an end of the *Athenian* dominion, and had taken their *Long-walls*, and *Peireus*. To which time from the beginning of the War, it is in all 27 years. As for the composition between, if any man shall think it not to be accounted with the War, he shall think amiss. For let him look into the actions that passed as they are distinctly set down, and he shall find, that deserveth not to be taken for a Peace, in which they neither rendered all, nor accepted all, according to the Articles. Besides, in the *Mantinean* and *Epidaurian* wars, and in other actions, it was on both sides infringed. Moreover, the Confederates on the borders of *Thrace* continued in hostility as before; and the *Bæotians* had but a truce from one ten days to another. So that with the first ten years war, and with this doubtful cessation, and the war that followed after it, a man shall find, counting by the times, that it came to just so many years, and some few days; and that those who built upon the prediction of the Oracles, have this number onely to agree. And I remember yet, that from the very beginning of this War, and so on, till the end, it was uttered by many, that it should be of thrice 9 years continuance. And for the time thereof I lived in my strength, and applied my mind to gain an accurate knowledge of the same. It happened also that I was banished my Countrey for 20 years, after my charge at *Amphipolis*; whereby being present at the affairs of both, and especially of the *Lacedæmonians*, by reason of my exile, I could, at leisure the better learn the truth of all that passed. The quarrels therefore, and perturbations of the Peace, after those ten years, and that which followed, according as from time to time the War was carried, I will now pursue.

After the concluding of the 50 years Peace, and the League which followed, and when those Ambassadors which were sent for, out of the rest of *Peloponnesus*, to accept the said Peace, were departed from *Lacedæmon*, the *Corinthians* (the rest going all to their own Cities) turning first to *Argos*, entered into Treaty with some of the *Argive* Magistrates, to this purpose, That the *Lacedæmonians* had made a Peace and League with the *Athenians*, their heretofore mortal enemies tending not to the benefit, but to the enslaving of *Peloponnesus*, it behoved them to consider of a course, for the safety of the same, and to make a Decree, That any City of the *Grecians* that would, and were a free City, and admitted the like, and equal trials of Judgment with theirs, might make a League with the *Argives*, for the one mutually to aid the other, and to assign them a *Few* men, with absolute authority from the State, to treat with; and that it should not be motioned to the People, to the end, that if the multitude would not agree to it, it might be unknown that ever they had made such a motion; affirming that many would come into this Confederacy upon hatred to the *Lacedæmonians*. And the *Corinthians*

thians, when they had made this overture, went home. These men of *Argos*, having heard them, and reported their proposition, both to the Magistrates, and to the People, the *Argives* ordered the same accordingly, and elected 12 men, with whom it should be lawful for any *Grecian* to make the League that would, except the *Lacedæmonians*, and the *Athenians*, with neither of which they were to enter into any League, without the consent of the *Argive* People. And this the *Argives* did the more willingly admit, as well for that they saw the *Lacedæmonians* would make War upon them, (for the Truce between them was now upon expiring) as also because they hoped to have the Principality of *Peloponnesus*. For about this time *Lacedæmon* had but a bad report, and was in contempt for the losses it had received. And the *Argives* in all points were in good estate, as not having concurred in the *Attique* War, but rather been in peace with both, and thereby gotten in their revenue. Thus the *Argives* received into League all such *Grecians* as came unto them.

Twelve men chosen at *Argos* to treat about a League.

First of all therefore, came in, the *Mantineans*, and their Confederates; which they did for fear of the *Lacedæmonians*. For a part of *Arcadia*, during the war of *Athens*, was come under the obedience of the *Mantineans*, over which, they thought, the *Lacedæmonians*, now they were at rest, would not permit them any longer to command. And therefore they willingly joined with the *Argives*, as being they thought, a great City, ever enemy to the *Lacedæmonians*, and governed as their own by *Democracy*. When the *Mantineans* had revolted the rest of *Peloponnesus* began also to mutter amongst themselves, that it was fit for them to do the like; conceiving that there was somewhat in it, more than they knew, that made the *Mantineans* to turn; and were also angry with the *Lacedæmonians*, amongst many other causes, for that it was written in the *Articles* of the *Attick* Peace, That it should be lawful to add unto, or take away from the same, whatsoever should seem good to the two Cities of the *Lacedæmonians* and the *Athenians*. For this was the Article that themost troubled the *Peloponnesians*, and put them into a jealousy that the *Lacedæmonians* might have a purpose joining with the *Athenians* to bring them into subjection. For in justice the power of changing the *Articles* ought to have been ascribed to all the Confederates in general. Whereupon many fearing such an intention, applied themselves to the *Argives*, every one severally striving to come into their League.

The *Mantineans* enter League with the *Argives*.

The rest of *Peloponnesus* incline to the same League.

The Article of adding and altering misliked.

The *Lacedæmonians* perceiving this stir to begin in *Peloponnesus*, and that the *Corinthians* were both the Contrivers of it, and entered themselves also into the League with *Argos*, sent Ambassadors unto *Corinth* with intention to prevent the sequel of it, and accused them, both for the whole design, and for their own revolt in particular, which they intended to make from them, to the League of the *Argives*; saying that they should therein infringe their Oath, and that they had already done unjustly, to refuse the Peace made with the *Athenians*; for as much as it is an Article of their * League, that what the major part of the Confederates should conclude, unless it were hindered by some God or Heroe, the same was to stand good. But the *Corinthians* (those Confederates which had refused the Peace as well as they, being now at *Corinth*,; for they had sent for them before) in their answer to the *Lacedæmonians*, did not openly alledge the wrongs they had received; as that the *Athenians* had not restored *Solium* nor *Anactorium*,

The *Lacedæmonians* expostulate with the *Corinthians* about this League with *Argos*.

* The *Peloponnesian* League against *Athens*.

The Apologie of the *Corinthians* for their refusing the Peace;

nor

nor any thing else they had in this War lost ; but pretended not to betray those of *Thrace*, for that they had in particular taken an oath unto them, both when (together with *Potidea*) they first revolted, and also another afterwards. And therefore they did not break the oath of their League, by rejecting the Peace with *Athens*. For having sworn unto them by the *Gods*, they should in betraying them, offend the *Gods*. And whereas it is said, *Unless some God or Heroe hinder it*, This appeareth to be a Divine hinderance. Thus they answered for their old oath.

Their answer touching their League with *Argos*.

Then, for their League with the *Argives*, they gave this answer : That when they had advised with their friends, they would do afterwards what should be just. And so the Ambassadors of *Lacedæmon* went home. At the same time were present also in *Corinth*, the Ambassadors of *Argos*, to invite the *Corinthians* to their League, and that without delay. But the *Corinthians* appointed them to come again at their next sitting.

The *Eleans* make a League first with *Corinth*, then with *Argos*.

* The Decree of the *Argives* that any Grecian that would might make a League with them, treating with the twelve Commissioners by them chosen to that purpose. * 180 pound ten shillings sterling.

Presently after this, came unto them an Ambassage also from the *Eleans*. And first, they made a League with the *Corinthians*; and going thence to *Argos*, made a League with the *Argives*, according to the * declaration before mentioned. The *Eleans* had a quarrel with the *Lacedæmonians* concerning *Lepreum*. For the *Lepreates*, having heretofore warred on certain of the *Arcadians*, and for their aid called the *Eleans* into their Confederacy, with condition to give them the moiety of the Land to be won from them, when the War was ended, the *Eleans* gave unto the *Lepreates*, the whole Land to be enjoyed by themselves, with an imposition thereon of a * Talent to be paid to *Jupiter Olympian*, which they continued to pay, till the beginning of the *Athenian War*. But afterwards, upon pretence of that War, giving over the payment, the *Eleans* would have forced them to it again. The *Lepreates* for help, having recourse to the *Lacedæmonians*, and the cause being referred to their decision, the *Eleans* afterwards, upon suspicion that the *Lacedæmonians* would not do them right, renounced the reference, and wasted the Territory of the *Lepreates*. The *Lacedæmonians* nevertheless gave sentence, *That the Lepreates should be at liberty to pay it, or not, and that the Eleans did the injury*; and because the *Eleans* had not stood to the reference, the *Lacedæmonians* put into *Lepreum*, a Garrison of men of Arms. The *Eleans* taking this, as if the *Lacedæmonians* had received their revolted City, and producing the Article of their League, *That what every one possessed, when they entered into the Attick War, the same they should possess when they gave it over*, revolted to the *Argives*, as wronged, and entered League with them, as is before related.

Quarrel of the *Eleans* against the *Lacedæmonians*.

The *Corinthians* and the Towns upon *Thrace* enter into the League with *Argos*.

After these came presently into the *Argive League*, the *Corinthians*, and the *Chalcideans* upon *Thrace*. The *Bæotians* also, and *Megareans* threatened as much, but because they thought the *Argive Democracie* would not be so commodious for them, who were governed according to the Government of the *Lacedæmonians* by *Oligarchie*, they stirred no further in it.

The *Athenians* recover *Sciene*.

About the same time of this Summer, the *Athenians* expugned *Sciene* slew all that were within it at mans estate, made Slaves of the Women and Children, and gave their Territory to the *Plataans*.

The *Delians* replanted in *Delos*.

They also replanted the *Delians*, in *Delos*, both in consideration of the defeats they had received after their expulsion, and also because the Oracle at *Delpbi* had commanded it.

The

The *Phoceans* and *Locrians* also began a War at that time against each other.

Phocis and *Locris* in War.

And the *Corinthians* and *Argives*, being now leagued, went to *Tegea*, to cause it to revolt from the *Lacedæmonians*; conceiving it to be an important piece of *Peloponnesus*, and making account, if they gained it to their side, they should easily obtain the whole. But when the *Tegeates* refused to become enemies to the *Lacedæmonians*, the *Corinthians*, who till then had been very forward, grew less violent, and were afraid, that no more of the rest would come in. Nevertheless they went to the *Bæotians*, and solicited them to enter into league with them, and the *Argives*, and to do as they did. And the *Corinthians* further desired the *Bæotians* to go along with them to *Athens*, and to procure for them the like ten days Truce, to that which was made between the *Athenians* and *Bæotians*, presently after the making of the fifty years Peace, on the same terms that the *Bæotians* had it; and if the *Athenians* refused, then to renounce theirs, and make no more Truces hereafter without the *Corinthians*. The *Corinthians* having made this request, the *Bæotians* willed them touching the League with the *Argives* to stay a while longer, and went with them to *Athens*, but obtained not the ten days Truce, the *Athenians* answering, that if the *Corinthians* were Confederates with the *Lacedæmonians*, they had a Peace already. Nevertheless, the *Bæotians* would not relinquish their ten days Truce, though the *Corinthians* both required the same, and affirmed that it was so before agreed on. Yet the *Athenians* granted the *Corinthians* a cessation of Arms, but * without solemn ratification.

The *Corinthians* seek to turn the Cities of *Peloponnesus* and other Confederates from the *Lacedæmonians* to the *Argives*.

The *Corinthians* seek the ten days Truce with *Athens*, as the *Bæotians* had it.

The *Bæotians* take time to answer, concerning a League with *Argos*.

The *Athenians* deny the ten days Truce to the *Corinthians*.

* *Acquiescent*.

The same Summer the *Lacedæmonians* with their whole power, under the Conduct of *Pleistoeanax*, the son of *Pausanias*, King of the *Lacedæmonians*, made War upon the *Parrhasians* of *Arcadia*, subjects of the *Mantineans*, partly as called in, by occasion of sedition, and partly because they intended, if they could, to demolish a fortification which the *Mantineans* had built, and kept with a Garrison in *Cypsela*, in the Territory of the *Parrhasians*, towards *Sciritis* of *Laconia*. The *Lacedæmonians* therefore wasted the Territory of the *Parrhasians*. And the *Mantineans* leaving their own City to the Custody of the *Argives*, came forth to aid the *Parrhasians* their Confederates. But being unable to defend both the Fort of *Cypsela*, and the Cities of the *Parrhasians* too, they went home again; and the *Lacedæmonians* when they had set the *Parrhasians* at liberty, and demolished the fortification, went home likewise.

The *Lacedæmonians* demolish the Fort of *Cypsela*.

The same Summer, when those Souldiers which went out with *Brasidas*, and of which *Clearidas*, after the making of the Peace, had the charge, were returned from the parts upon *Thrace*, the *Lacedæmonians* made a decree, that those *Helotes* which had fought under *Brasidas*, should receive their liberty, and inhabit where they thought good; but not long after, they placed them, together with such others as had been newly enfranchised in *Lepreum*, a City standing in the Confines between *Laconia*, and the *Eleans*, with whom they were now at variance.

The *Lacedæmonians* put a Garrison into *Lepreum*, of men newly enfranchised.

Fearing also lest those Citizens of their own, which had been taken in the * Island, and had delivered up their Arms to the *Athenians*, should upon apprehension of disgrace for that calamity, if they remained capable of honours, make some innovation in the State, they disabled them, though some of them were in office already; and their disablement was this, That they should neither bear office, nor be capable to buy and sell, yet in time they were again restored to their former honours.

* *Sphaacteria*, over against *Pylus*.

The *Lacedæmonians* disable those that were taken in *Sphaacteria*, to bear office, or to make bargain.

The

The *Dictideans* take *Thyffus* from the *Athenians*.
Jealousie between the *Athenians* and *Lacedæmonians*.

Amphipolis not yet rendred, nor the Peace accepted in the parts about *Thrace*, nor by the *Bæotians* and *Corinthians*.

The *Athenians* refuse to render *Pylus*.

The *Apology* of the *Lacedæmonians* for not performing the *Articles*.

The *Athenians* draw the *Messenians* and *Helotes* out of *Pylus*.

The end of the eleventh Summer.

The *Lacedæmonian* *Ephores* endeavour to dissolve the Peace.

A proposition of a league between the *Lacedæmonians*, *Argives*, *Bæotians*, and *Corinthians*.

The same Summer also, the *Dictideans* took *Thyffus*, a Town in Mount *Athos*, and Confederate of the *Athenians*.

This whole Summer there was continual commerce between the *Athenians* and the *Peloponnesians*; nevertheless they began, both the *Athenians*, and the *Lacedæmonians*, to have each other in suspicion immediately after the Peace, in respect of the places not yet mutually surrendered. For the *Lacedæmonians*, to whose lot it fell to make restitution first, had not rendred *Amphipolis*, and the other Cities, nor had caused the Peace to be accepted by the Confederates upon *Thrace*, nor by the *Bæotians*, nor *Corinthians*, though they had ever professed, that in case they refused, they would join with the *Athenians*, to bring them to it by force, and had prefixed a time (though not by writing) within the which, such as entred not into this Peace, were to be held as enemies unto both. The *Athenians* therefore, when they saw none of this really performed, suspected that they had no sincere intention, and thereupon refused to render *Pylus*, when they required it; nay, they repented that they had delivered up the prisoners they took in the Island; and detained the rest of the Towns they then held, till the *Lacedæmonians* should have performed the conditions on their part also. The *Lacedæmonians*, to this, alledged, That they had done what they were able to do. For they had delivered the *Athenian* prisoners that were in their hands, and had withdrawn their Souldiers from the parts upon *Thrace*, and whatsoever else was in their own power to perform. But *Amphipolis*, they said, was not in their power to surrender. That they would endeavour to bring the *Bæotians* and *Corinthians*, to accept the Peace, and to get *Panactum* restored, and all the *Athenian* prisoners in *Bæotia*, to be sent home. And therefore desired them to make restitution of *Pylus*, or if not so, at least to draw out of it, the *Messenians* and *Helotes* (as they for their part had drawn their Garrisons out of the Towns upon *Thrace*) and, if they thought good, to keep it with a Garrison of *Athenians*. After divers, and long Conferences had this Summer, they so far prevailed with the *Athenians*, at the last, as they drew thence, all the *Messenians*, and *Helotes*, and all other *Laconian* fugitives, and placed them in *Cranii*, a City of *Cephalenia*. So for this Summer there was Peace, and free passage from one to another.

In the beginning of Winter, (for now there were other *Ephores* in office; not those in whose time the Peace was made, but some of them that opposed it) Ambassadors being come from the Confederates; and the *Athenian*, *Bæotian*, and *Corinthian* Ambassadors being already there, and having had much conference together, but concluded nothing, *Cleobulus*, and *Xenares*, *Ephores* that most desired the dissolution of the Peace, when the rest of the Ambassadors were gone home, entred into private Conference with the *Bæotians* and *Corinthians*, exhorting them to run both the same course; and advised the *Bæotians* to endeavour first to make a League themselves with the *Argives*, and then to get the *Argives*, together with themselves, into a League with the *Lacedæmonians*. For that they might by this means avoid the necessity of accepting the Peace with *Athens*. For the *Lacedæmonians* would more regard the friendship and League of the *Argives*, then the enmity and dissolution of the Peace with the *Athenians*. For he knew the *Lacedæmonians* had ever desired to have *Argos* their friend upon any reasonable conditions, because they knew that their War without *Peloponnesus*, would thereby be a great deal the easier. Wherefore they intreated the *Bæotians* to put *Panactum* into the hands of the *Lacedæmonians*, to the end that if they could get

get *Pylus* for it in exchange, they might make War against the *Athenians* the more commodiously.

The *Bœotians* and *Corinthians* being dismissed by *Xenares* and *Cleobulus*, and all the other *Lacedæmonians* of that Faction, with these points to be delivered to their Commonwealths, went to their several Cities. And two men of *Argos*, of principal authority in that City, having waited for, and met with them by the way, entered into a Treaty with them about a League between the *Argives* and the *Bœotians*, as there was between them and the *Corinthians*, and the *Eleans*, and *Mantineans* already. For they thought, if it succeeded, they might the more easily have either War or Peace, (forasmuch as the Cause would now be common) either with the *Lacedæmonians*, or whomsoever else it should be needful.

The *Argives* propound a League to the *Bœotians* and *Corinthians*.

When the *Bœotian* Ambassadors heard this, they were well pleased. For as it chanced, the *Argives* requested the same things of them, that they by their friends in *Lacedæmon* had been sent to procure of the *Argives*. These men therefore of *Argos*, when they saw that the *Bœotians* accepted of the motion, promised to send Ambassadors to the *Bœotians* about it, and so departed.

And promise to send Ambassadors into *Bœotia* to that purpose.

When the *Bœotians* were come home, they related there what they had heard, both at *Lacedæmon*, and by the way, from the *Argives*. The Governours of *Bœotia* were glad thereof, and much more forward in it now then formerly they had been, seeing that not onely their friends in *Lacedæmon* desired, but the *Argives* themselves hastned to have done the self-same thing. Not long after this the Ambassadors came to them from *Argos*, to solícite the dispatch of the business before propounded, but the Governours of *Bœotia* commended onely the Proposition, and dismissed them, with promise to send Ambassadors about the League to *Argos*. In the mean time the Governours of *Bœotia* thought fit that an Oath should first be taken by themselves, and by the Ambassadors from *Corinth*, *Megara*, and the Confederates upon *Thrace*, to give mutual assistance upon any occasion to them that should require it, and neither to make War nor Peace without the common consent. And next that the *Bœotians* and *Megareans* (for these two ran the same course) should make a League with the *Argives*. But before this Oath was to be taken, the Governours of *Bœotia* communicated the business to the four *Bœotian* Councils, in the which the whole Authority of the State consisteth; and withall presented their advice, That any City that would might join with them in the like Oath for mutual assistance. But they that were of these Councils approved not the Proposition, because they feared to offend the *Lacedæmonians* in being sworn to the *Corinthians* that had revolted from their Confederacy. For the Governours of *Bœotia* had not reported unto them what had past at *Lacedæmon*, how *Cleobulus* and *Xenares* the Ephores and their Friends there, had advised them to enter first into a League with the *Argives* and *Corinthians*, and then afterwards to make the same League with the *Lacedæmonians*. For they thought that the Councils, though this had never been told them, would have decreed it no otherwise then they upon premeditation should advise. So the business was checked, and the Ambassadors from *Corinth*, and from the Cities upon *Thrace*, departed without effect. And the Governours of *Bœotia* that were before minded, if they had gotten this done, to have leagued themselves also with the *Argives*, made no mention of the *Argives* in the Councils at all, nor sent the Ambassadors to *Argos*, as they

The *Bœotians* propound an Oath between themselves, the *Corinthians*, *Chalcideans*, and *Megareans*, of mutual assistance.

The *Argive* League with the *Bœotians* falleth off.

had before promised, but a kind of carelessness and delay possessed the whole business.

Mecybern taken from the *Athenians* by assault.

The same Winter the *Olynthians* took *Mecybern*, held with a Garrison of the *Athenians* by assault.

The *Lacedæmonians* enter into a League with the *Bœotians*, knowing it to be against Justice.

After this the *Lacedæmonians* (for the conferences between the *Athenians* and the *Lacedæmonians* about restitution reciprocal continued still) hoping that if the *Athenians* should obtain from the *Bœotians* *Panaetum*, that then they also should recover *Pylus*, sent Ambassadors to the *Bœotians*, with request that *Panaetum* and the *Athenian* Prisoners might be put into the hands of the *Lacedæmonians*, that they might get *Pylus* restored in exchange. But the *Bœotians* answered, that unless the *Lacedæmonians* would make a particular League with them, as they had done with the *Athenians*, they would not do it. The *Lacedæmonians*, though they knew they should therein wrong the *Athenians*, for that it was said in the *Articles* that neither party should make either League or War, without the others consent, yet such was their desire to get *Panaetum*, to exchange it for *Pylus*, and withall they that longed to break the Peace with *Athens*, were so eager in it, that at last they concluded a League with the *Bœotians*, Winter then ending, and the Spring approaching. And *Panaetum* was presently pulled down to the ground. So ended the eleventh year of this War.

Year XII.

The *Argives* seek Peace with the *Lacedæmonians*.

In the Spring following the *Argives*, when they saw that the Ambassadors which the *Bœotians* had promised to send unto them came not, and that *Panaetum* was razed, and that also there was a private League made between the *Bœotians* and the *Lacedæmonians*, were afraid lest they should on all hands be abandoned, and that the Confederates would all go to the *Lacedæmonians*. For they apprehended that the *Bœotians* had been induced both to raze *Panaetum*, and also to enter into the *Athenian* Peace by the *Lacedæmonians*; and that the *Athenians* were privy to the same. So that now they had no means to make League with the *Athenians* neither; whereas before they made account that if their Truce with the *Lacedæmonians* continued not, they might upon these differences have joined themselves to the *Athenians*. The *Argives* being therefore at a stand, and fearing to have War all at once with the *Lacedæmonians*, *Tegeats*, *Bœotians*, and *Athenians*, as having formerly refused the Truce with the *Lacedæmonians*, and imagined to themselves the principality of all *Peloponnesus*, they sent Ambassadors with as much speed as might be, *Eustrophus* and *Æson*, persons as they thought most acceptable unto them, with this cogitation, that by compounding with the *Lacedæmonians*, as well as for their present estate, they might, howsoever the World went, they should at least live at quiet. When these Ambassadors were there, they fell to treat of the *Articles* upon which the agreement should be made. And at first the *Argives* desired to have the matter referred either to some private man or to some City, concerning the Territory of *Cynuria*, about which they have always differed, as lying on the Borders of them both (it containeth the Cities of *Thyrea* and *Anthena*, and is possessed by the *Lacedæmonians*.) But afterwards the *Lacedæmonians* not suffering mention to be made of that, but that if they would have the Truce go on as it did before, they might; the *Argive* Ambassadors got them to yield to this, That for the present an accord should be made for fifty years, but withall, that it should be lawful nevertheless (if one challenged the other thereunto) both for *Lacedæmon* and *Argos* to try their Titles to this Territory by Battel, so that there were in neither City the Plague or a War to excuse them;

The Territory of *Cynuria*, ground of the quarrels between *Lacedæmon* and *Argos*.

An odd condition of a Truce.

(as

(as once before they had done, when as both sides thought they had the Victory.) And that it should not be lawful for one part to follow the chase of the other, further then to the bounds either of Lacedæmon or Argos.

And though this seemed to the *Lacedæmonians* at first to be but a foolish proposition, yet afterwards (because they desired by all means to have friendship with the *Argives*) they agreed unto it, and put into writing what they required. Howsoever, before the *Lacedæmonians* would any full conclusion of the same, they willed them to return first to *Argos*, and to make the People acquainted with it; and then if it were accepted, to return at the *Hyacinthian* Feast and swear it. So these departed.

Whilest the *Argives* were treating about this, the *Lacedæmonian* Ambassadors, *Andromenes*, and *Phædimus*, and *Antimenidas*, Commissioners for receiving of *Panactum* and the Prisoners from the *Bœotians* to render them to the *Athenians*, found that *Panactum* was demolished, and that their pretext was this, That there had been anciently an Oath by occasion of difference between the *Athenians* and them, That neither part should inhabit the place solely, but jointly both. But for the *Athenian* Prisoners, as many as the *Bœotians* had, they that were with *Andromenes* received, convoyed and delivered them unto the *Athenians*, and withall told them of the razing of *Panactum*, alledging it as rendred, in that no Enemy of *Athens* should dwell in it hereafter.

The *Lacedæmonian* Ambassadors require *Pylus* in exchange for *Panactum*.

But when this was told them, the *Athenians* made it a hainous matter, for that they conceived that the *Lacedæmonians* had done them wrong, both in the matter of *Panactum* which was pulled down, and should have been rendred standing; and because also they had heard of the private League made with the *Bœotians*, whereas they had promised to join with the *Athenians* in compelling such to accept of the Peace, as had refused it; withall they weighed whatsoever other points the *Lacedæmonians* had been short in, touching the performance of the *Articles*, and thought themselves abused; so that they answered the *Lacedæmonian* Ambassadors roughly, and dismissed them.

The *Athenians* take in evil part, both the razing of *Panactum*, and the League made with the *Bœotians*.

This difference arising between the *Lacedæmonians* and the *Athenians*, it was presently wrought upon by such also of *Athens* as desired to have the Peace dissolved.

The *Argives* make League with *Athens*, by means of *Alcibiades*.

Amongst the rest was *Alcibiades* the son of *Clinias*, a man though young in years, yet in the dignity of his Ancestors honoured as much as any man of what City soever: Who was of opinion, that it was better to join with the *Argives*; not onely for the matter it self, but also out of stomach, labouring to cross the *Lacedæmonians*, because they had made the Peace by the means of *Nicias* and *Laches* without him; whom for his youth they had neglected and not honoured, as for the ancient hospitality between his House and them, had been requisite, which his Father had indeed renounced, but he himself by good Offices done to those Prisoners which were brought from the Island, had a purpose to have renewed. But supposing himself on all hands disparaged, he both opposed the Peace at first, alledging that the *Lacedæmonians* would not be constant; and that they had made the Peace, onely to get the *Argives* by that means away from them, and afterwards to invade the *Athenians* again, when they should be destitute of their friends; And also as soon as this difference was on foot, he sent presently to *Argos* of himself, willing them with all speed to come to *Athens*, as being there-

The cause why *Alcibiades* desireth to break with the *Lacedæmonians*.

Alcibiades sendeth for the *Argives* to *Athens* to make a League.

unto invited, and to bring with them the *Eleans* and *Mantineans*, to enter with the *Athenians* into a League, the opportunity now serving; and promising that he would help them all he could.

The *Argives* having heard the message, and knowing that the *Athenians* had made no League with the *Bœotians*, and that they were at great quarrel with the *Lacedæmonians*, neglected the Ambassadors they had then in *Lacedæmon*, (whom they had sent about the Truce) and applied themselves to the *Athenians*, with this thought, that if they should have War, they should by this means be backed with a City that had been their ancient friend, governed like their own by *Democracy*, and of greatest power by Sea. Whereupon they presently sent Ambassadors to *Athens* to make a League; and together with theirs, went also the Ambassadors of the *Eleans*, and *Mantineans*. Thither also with all speed came the *Lacedæmonian* Ambassadors, *Philocharidas*, *Leon*, and *Endius*, persons accounted most gracious with the *Athenians*, for fear, left in their passion, they should make a League with the *Argives*; and withall to require the restitution of *Pylus* for *Panactum*, and to excuse themselves concerning their League with the *Bœotians*, as not made for any harm intended to the *Athenians*.

Now speaking of these things before the Council, and how that they were come thither with full power to make agreement concerning all Controversies betwixt them, they put *Alcibiades* into fear, lest, if they should say the same before the people, the multitude would be drawn unto their side, and so the *Argive* League fall off. But *Alcibiades* deviseth against them this plot. He perswadeth the *Lacedæmonians* not to confess their plenary power before the people, and giveth them his faith, that then *Pylus* should be rendred, (for he said he would perswade the *Athenians* to it, as much as he now opposed it) and that the rest of their differences should be compounded. This he did to alienate them from *Nicias*, and that by accusing them before the people, as men that had no true meaning, nor ever spake one and the same thing, he might bring on the league with the *Argives*, *Eleans*, and *Mantineans*. And it came to pass accordingly. For when they came before the people, and to the question, whether they had full power of concluding, (contrary to what they had said in Council) answered *no*, the *Athenians* would no longer endure them, but gave ear to *Alcibiades*, that exclaimed against the *Lacedæmonians* far more now then ever, and were ready then presently to have the *Argives*, and those others with them brought in, and to make the League. But an Earthquake happening, before any thing was concluded, the assembly was adjourned. In the next days meeting, *Nicias*, though the *Lacedæmonians* had been abused, and he himself also deceived, touching their coming with full power to conclude, yet he persisted to affirm, that it was their best course to be friends with the *Lacedæmonians*, and to defer the *Argives* business, till they had sent to the *Lacedæmonians* again to be assured of their intention; saying, that it was honour unto themselves, and dishonour to the *Lacedæmonians* to have the War put off. For, for themselves, being in estate of prosperity, it was best to preserve their good fortune, as long as they might; whereas to the other side, who were in evil estate, it should be in place of gain to put things as soon as they could to the hazard. So he perswaded them to send Ambassadors, whereof himself was one, to require the *Lacedæmonians*, (if they meant sincerely) to render *Panactum* standing, and also *Amphipolis*: and if the *Bœotians* would not accept of the Peace, then

The *Lacedæmonian* Ambassadors come in hast to *Athens*, to prevent their League with the *Argives*.

Alcibiades perswadeth the *Lacedæmonian* Ambassadors, to deny before the people, that they had power to conclude.

Alcibiades inveigheth against the *Lacedæmonians*.

Nicias endeavour-eth to have the Peace go on with the *Lacedæmonians*.

Nicias is sent Ambassador to *Lacedæmon* to get satisfaction about performance of the Articles.

then to undo their League with them, according to the Article, That the one should not make League with any, without the consent of the other. They willed him to say further; That *they themselves also, if they had had the will to do wrong, had ere this made a league with the Argives, who were present then at Athens, for the same purpose.* And whatsoever they had to accuse the *Lacedæmonians* of besides, they instructed *Nicias* in it, and sent him and the other, his fellow Ambassadors, away. When they were arrived, and had delivered what they had in charge, and this last of all, *That the Athenians would make League with the Argives, unless the Lacedæmonians would renounce their League with the Bœotians, if the Bœotians accepted not the Peace,* the *Lacedæmonians* denied to renounce their League with the *Bœotians*, (for *Xenares* the *Ephore*, and the rest of that faction carried it) but at the request of *Nicias*, they renewed their former Oath. For *Nicias* was afraid he should return with nothing done, and be carped at (as after also it fell out) as * author of the *Lacedæmonian Peace*.

* *Nicias* was the Author of the Peace between the *Athenians* and the *Lacedæmonians*, and that Peace was therefore called *Nicia*.

At his return, when the *Athenians* understood that nothing was effected at *Lacedæmon*, they grew presently into choler, and apprehending injury (the *Argives*, and their Confederates being there present, brought in by *Alcibiades*) they made a Peace, and a League with them, in these words.

The Articles of the League between the *Athenians* and the *Argives*.

THe *Athenians*, and *Argives*, and *Mantineans*, and *Eleans*, for themselves, and for the Confederates commanded by every of them, have made an accord for 100 years without fraud or damage, both by Sea and Land.

It shall not be lawful for the *Argives* nor *Eleans*, nor *Mantineans*, nor their Confederates to bear Arms against the *Athenians*, or the * Confederates under the command of the *Athenians*, or their Confederates, by any fraud or machination whatsoever. And the *Athenians*, *Argives*, and *Mantineans*, have made League with each other for 100 years on these terms.

* Confederates were of two sorts, such as on equal terms entered League with other, and such as served other in the War by compulsion, or as subjects; both called in the Greek *συνεταίροι* properly, but not properly Confederates.

If any enemy shall invade the Territory of the *Athenians*, then the *Argives*, *Eleans*, and *Mantineans* shall go unto Athens, to assist them according as the *Athenians* shall send them word to do, in the best manner they possibly can. But if the enemy after he have spoiled the Territory shall be gone back, then their City shall be held as an enemy to the *Argives*, *Eleans*, *Mantineans*, and *Athenians*, and War shall be made against it, by all those Cities. And it shall not be lawful for any of those Cities to give over the War, without the consent of all the rest.

And if an enemy shall invade the Territory, either of the *Argives*, or of the *Eleans*, or of the *Mantineans*, then the *Athenians* shall come unto *Argos*, *Elis*, and *Mantineia*, to assist them, in such sort as those Cities shall send them word to do, in the best manner they possibly can. But if the enemy after he hath wasted their Territory, shall be gone back, then their City shall be held as an enemy both to the *Athenians*, and also to the *Argives*, *Eleans*, and *Mantineans*, and War shall be made against it, by all those Cities; and it shall not be lawful for any of them to give over the War against that City, without the consent of all the rest.

There

There shall no armed men be suffered to pass through the Dominions either of themselves, or of any the Confederates under their several commands to make War in any place whatsoever, unless by the suffrage of all the Cities, Athens, Argos, Elis, and Mantinea, their passage be allowed.

To such as come to assist any of the other Cities, that City which sendeth them shall give maintenance for thirty days after they shall arrive in the City that sent for them; and the like at their going away. But if they will use the Army for a longer time, then the City that sent for them, shall find them maintenance at the rate of three Obols of Ægina a day for a man of Arms, and of a Drachma of Ægina for a Horseman.

The City which sendeth for the aids shall have the leading and command of them, whilst the War is in their own Territory: But if it shall seem good unto these Cities to make a War in common, then all the Cities shall equally participate of the command.

The Athenians shall swear unto the Articles both for themselves, and for their Confederates; and the Argives, Eleans, Mantineans, and the Confederates of these shall every one swear unto them City by City, and their Oath shall be the greatest that by custom of the several Cities is used, and with most perfect * hosts, and in these words:

* Beasts offered in sacrifice.

I Will stand to this League according to the Articles thereof, justly, innocently, and sincerely, and not transgress the same by any Art or Machination whatsoever.

This Oath shall be taken at Athens, by the Senate, and the Officers of the Commons, and administered by the Prytaneis. At Argos it shall be taken by the Senate and the Council of Eighty, and by the Artynæ, and administered by the Council of Eighty. At Mantinea it shall be taken by the Procurators of the People, and by the Senate, and by the rest of the Magistrates, and administered by the Theori, and by the Tribunes of the Souldiers. At Elis it shall be taken by the Procurators of the People, and by the Officers of the Treasury, and by the Council of 600, and administered by the Procurators of the People, and by the Keepers of the Law.

This Oath shall be renewed by the Athenians, who shall go to Elis, and to Mantinea, and to Argos thirty days before the Olympian Games; and by the Argives, Eleans, and Mantineans, who shall come to Athens ten days before the Panathenæan Holy days.

The Articles of this League and Peace and the Oath, shall be inscribed in a pillar of stone; by the Athenians in the Cittadel; by the Argives in their Market-place within the Precinct of the Temple of Apollo; and by the Mantineans in their Market-place, within the Precinct of the Temple of Jupiter. And at the Olympian Games now at hand, there shall be erected jointly by them all, a brazen Pillar in Olympia, [with the same Inscription.]

If it shall seem good to these Cities to add any thing to these Articles, whatsoever shall be determined by them all in Common Council, the same shall stand good.

Thus was the League and the Peace concluded, and that which was made before between the Lacedæmonians and the Athenians, was notwithstanding, by neither side renounced.

But the Corinthians, although they were the Confederates of the Argives, yet would they not enter into this League; nay, though there were made a League before this, between them and the Argives, Eleans, and

The Corinthians still refuse the Peace with Athens, and enclose again to the Lacedæmonians.

and *Mantineans*, that where one, there all should have War or Peace, yet they refused to swear to it; but said that their League Defensive was enough, whereby they were bound to defend each other, but not to take part one with another in invading. So the *Corinthians* fell off from their Confederates, and inclined again to the *Lacedæmonians*.

This Summer were celebrated the *Olympian Games*, in which *Androstenes* an *Arcadian* was the first time Victor in the exercise called * *Pancratium*. And the *Lacedæmonians* were by the *Eleans* prohibited the Temple there; so as they might neither sacrifice, nor contend for the Prizes, amongst the rest; for that they had not paid the Fine set upon them (according to an *Olympick Law*) by the *Eleans*, that laid to their charge that they had put Souldiers into the Fort of *Phyrcon*, and into *Lepreum* in the time of the *Olympick Truce*.

The Fine amounted unto * 2000 *Mina*, which was † two *Mina* for every man of Arms, according to the Law. But the *Lacedæmonians* by their Ambassadors which they sent thither, made answer, *That they had been unjustly condemned, alledging that the Truce was not published in Lacedæmon, when their Souldiers were sent out.*

To this the *Eleans* said again, *That the Truce was already begun amongst themselves, who used to publish it first in their own Dominion; and thereupon, whilst they lay still, and expected no such matter as in time of Truce, the Lacedæmonians did them the injury at unawares.*

The *Lacedæmonians* hereunto replied, *That it was not necessary to proceed to the publishing of the Truce in Lacedæmon at all, if they thought themselves wronged already; but rather, if they thought themselves not wronged yet, then to do it by way of prevention, that they should not Arm against them afterwards.*

The *Eleans* stood stiffly in their first Argument; *That they would never be perswaded but injury had been done them:* but were nevertheless contented, *If they would render Lepreum, both to remit their own part of the money, and also to pay that part for them which was due unto the god.*

When this would not be agreed unto, they required this, not that they should render *Lepreum* unless they would, but that then they should come to the Altar of *Jupiter Olympian*, seeing they desired to have free use of the Temple, and there before the *Grecians* take an Oath to pay the Fine at least hereafter. But when the *Lacedæmonians* refused that also, they were excluded the Temple, the Sacrifices, and the Games, and sacrificed at home; but the rest of the *Grecians*, except the *Lepreates*, were all admitted to be Spectators. Nevertheless, the *Eleans* fearing lest they would come and sacrifice there by force, kept a Guard there of their youngest men in Arms, to whom were added *Argives* and *Mantineans* of either City 1000, and certain *Athenian* Horsemen who were then at *Argos* waiting the celebration of the Feast. For a great fear possessed all the Assembly, lest the *Lacedæmonians* should come upon them with an Army; and the rather because *Lichas* the son of *Arcefilaus* a *Lacedæmonian*, had been whipped by the Serjeants upon the Race, for that when his Chariot had gotten the Prize, after Proclamation made that the Chariot of the *Bœotian* State had won it (because he himself was not admitted to run) he came forth into the Race, and crowned his Chariotier to make known that the Chariot was his own. This added much to their fear, and they verily expected some accident to follow. Nevertheless, the *Lacedæmonians* stirred not, and the Feast passed over.

The *Olympian Games*.

* *Pancratium* consisted of wrestling and fighting with Fists.

The *Lacedæmonians* forbidden the Exercises, and why.

* 625 pound sterling.
† 6 pounds 5 shillings sterling.

Contention between the *Lacedæmonians* and *Eleans* before the *Grecians* at *Olympia*, about a mulct set upon the *Lacedæmonians* by the *Eleans*, for breaking the *Olympick Truce*.

Lichas a *Lacedæmonian* whipped upon the *Olympian Race*.

After

The twelfth Summer.

After the *Olympian Games* the *Argives* and their Confederates went to *Corinth*, to get the *Corinthians* into their League, and the *Lacedæmonian* Ambassadors chanced to be there also; and after much conference and nothing concluded, upon occasion of an Earthquake, they brake off the conference, and returned every one to his own City. And so this Summer ended.

The next Winter the men of *Heraclea* in *Trachinia* fought a Battel against the *Ænians*, *Dolopians*, *Melians*, and certain *Theſſalians*. For the neighbour Cities were Enemies to this City, as built to the prejudice onely of them, and both opposed the same from the time it was first founded, annoying it what they could, and also in this battel overcame them, and slew *Xenares* a *Lacedæmonian*, their Commander, with some others, *Heracleots*. Thus ended this Winter, and the twelfth year of this War.

In the very beginning of the next Summer the *Bæotians* took *Heraclea* miserably afflicted, into their own hands, and put *Hegesippidus* a *Lacedæmonian* out of it, for his evil Government. They took it, because they feared lest whilest the *Lacedæmonians* were troubled about *Peloponnesus*, it should have been taken in by the *Athenians*. Nevertheless the *Lacedæmonians* were offended with them for doing it.

The same Summer *Alcibiades* the son of *Clinias*, being General of the *Athenians*, by the practice of the *Argives*, and their Confederates went into *Peloponnesus*, and having with him a few men of Arms, and Archers of *Athens*, and some of the Confederates which he took up there as he passed through the Countrey with his Army, both ordered such affairs by the way concerning the League, as was fit; and coming to the *Patreans*, perswaded them to build their Walls down to the Sea side, and purposed to raise another Wall himself towards *Rhium* in *Achaia*. But the *Corinthians*, *Sicyonians*, and such others as this Wall would have prejudiced, came forth and hindred him.

War between the *Epidaurians* and *Argives*.

The same Summer fell out a War between the *Epidaurians* and the *Argives*; the pretext thereof was about a Beast for Sacrifice, which the *Epidaurians* ought to have sent in consideration of their Pastures, to *Apollo Pythius*, and had not done it; the *Argives* being the principal owners of the Temple. But *Alcibiades* and the *Argives* had indeed determined to take in the City, though without pretence at all, both that the *Corinthians* might not stir, and also that they might bring the *Athenian* succours from *Ægina* into those parts a nearer way then by compassing the Promontory of *Scyllæum*. And therefore the *Argives* prepared, as of themselves, to exact the Sacrifice by Invasion.

About the same time also the *Lacedæmonians* with their whole Forces, came forth as far as *Leuctra*, in the Confines of their own Territory towards *Lycaum*, under the Conduct of *Agis* the son of *Archidamus* their King. No man knew against what place they intended the War; no, not the Cities themselves out of which they were levied. But when in the Sacrifices which they made for their passage, the tokens observed were unlucky, they went home again, and sent word about to their Confederates (being now the Moneth * *Carneius*) to prepare themselves after the next † Feast of the New Moon (kept by the *Dorians*) to be again upon their march. The *Argives*, who set forth the 26 day of the Moneth before ∴ *Carneus*, though they celebrated the same day, yet all the time they continued invading and wasting *Epidauria*. And the *Epidaurians* called in their Confederates to help them, whereof some excused

* Their holy Moneth, in which they kept a Feast to Apollo.

† *Ἰεγουλίαι* ∴ July.

excused themselves upon the quality of the Moneth, and others came but to the Confines of *Epidauria*, and there staid. Whilest the *Argives* were in *Epidauria*, the Ambassadors of divers Cities, solicited by the *Athenians*, met together at *Mantina*, where in a Conference. amongst them, *Ephamidas* of *Corinth* said, That their actions agreed not with their words, for as much as whilest they were sitting there to treat of a Peace, the *Epidaurians* with their Confederates and the *Argives*, stood armed in the mean time against each other in order of Battel. That it was therefore fit that some body should go first unto the Armies from either side, and dissolve them, and then come again and dispute of Peace.

Ambassadors meet about Peace, but cannot agree.

This advice being approved, they departed, and withdrew the *Argives* from *Epidauria*; and meeting afterwards again in the same place, they could not for all that agree; and the *Argives* again invaded and wasted *Epidauria*.

The *Lacedæmonians* also drew forth their Army against *Caryæ*, but then again their sacrifice for passage being not to their mind, they returned. And the *Argives*, when they had spoiled about the third part of *Epidauria*, went home likewise. They had the assistance of one thousand men of Arms of *Athens*, and *Alcibiades* their Commander; but these hearing that the *Lacedæmonians* were in the Field, and seeing now there was no longer need of them, departed; and so passed this Summer.

The next Winter the *Lacedæmonians* unknown to the *Athenians*, put 300 Garrison Souldiers under the Command of *Agesippidas* into *Epidaurus* by Sea. For which cause the *Argives* came and expostulated with the *Athenians*, that whereas it was written in the Articles of the League, that no Enemy should be suffered to pass through either of their Dominions, yet had they suffered the *Lacedæmonians* to pass by * Sea; and said they had wrong, unless the *Athenians* would again put the *Messenians* and *Helots* into *Pylus* against the *Lacedæmonians*. Hereupon the *Athenians*, at the perswasion of *Alcibiades*, wrote upon the † *Laconian* pillar [under the Inscription of the Peace] that the *Lacedæmonians* had violated their Oath, and they drew the *Helots* out of * *Cranii*, and put them again into *Pylus*; to infest the Territory with driving of Booties, but did no more.

The end of the thirteenth Summer.

* The *Argives* acknowledge the Sea on their own Coast, to be of the Dominion of *Athens*.

† Which was erected for the Articles of the Peace to be written in.

* In *Cephalonia* where they had before placed them.

All this Winter, though there was War between the *Argives* and *Epidaurians*, yet was there no set Battel, but onely Ambushes and Skirmishes, wherein was slain on both sides, such as it chanced.

But in the end of Winter, and the Spring now at hand, the *Argives* came to *Epidaurus* with Ladders, as destitute of men by reason of the War, thinking to have won it by assault, but returned again with their labour lost. And so ended this Winter, and the thirteenth year of this War.

In the middle of the next Summer, the *Lacedæmonians* seeing that the *Epidaurians* their Confederates were tired, and that the rest of the Cities of *Peloponnesus*, some had already revolted, and others were but in evil terms, and apprehending that if they prevented it not, the mischief would spread still farther, put themselves into the Field with all their own Forces, both of themselves and their *Helots*, to make War against *Argos*, under the Conduct of *Agis* the son of *Archidamus* their King. The *Tegeates* went also with them, and the rest of *Arcadia*, all that were in the *Lacedæmonian* League. But the rest of their Confederates both within *Peloponnesus* and without, were to meet together at *Phlius*. That is to say, of the *Boeotians* 5000 men of Arms, and as many Light-

Year XIV.

Preparation of the *Lacedæmonians* against *Argos*.

* Ἀντιπρόσ.

armed, 500 Horse, and to every *Horseman another man on Foot, which holding the Horses Mane, ran by with equal speed. Of *Corinthians*, 2000 men of Arms, and of the rest more or less, as they were. But the *Phliasians*, because the Army was assembled in their own Territory, put forth their whole power. The *Argives* having had notice both formerly of the preparation of the *Lacedæmonians*, and afterward of their marching on to join with the rest at *Phlius*, brought their Army likewise into the Field. They had with them the aids of the *Mantineans* and their Confederates, and 3000 men of Arms of the *Eleans*; and marching forward, met the **Lacedæmonians* at *Methydrium*, a Town of *Arcadia*, each side seizing on a Hill. And the *Argives* prepared to give Battel to the *Lacedæmonians*, whilst they were single. But *Agis* dislodging his Army by night, marched on to *Phlius* to the rest of the Confederates, unseen. Upon knowledge hereof, the *Argives* betimes in the morning retired first to *Argos*, and afterwards to the Forest of *Nemea*, by which they thought the *Lacedæmonians* and their Confederates would fall in. But *Agis* came not the way which they expected, but with the *Lacedæmonians*, *Arcadians*, and *Epidaurians*, whom he acquainted with his purpose, took another more difficult way to pass, and came down into the *Argive* Plains. The *Corinthians* also, and *Pellenians*, and *Phliasians*, marched another troublesome way; onely the *Boeotians*, *Megareans*, and *Sicyonians*, were appointed to come down by the way of the Forest of *Nemea*, in which the *Argives* were encamped; to the end that if the *Argives* should turn head against the *Lacedæmonians*, these might set upon them at the back with their Horse.

Thus ordered, *Agis* entered into the Plains, and spoiled *Saminthus* and some other Towns thereabouts. Which when the *Argives* understood, they came out of the Forest somewhat after break of day to oppose them, and lighting among the *Phliasians* and *Corinthians*, slew some few of the *Phliasians*, but had more slain of their own by the *Corinthians*, though not many. The *Boeotians*, *Megareans*, and *Sicyonians* marched forward toward *Nemea*, and found that the *Argives* were departed. For when they came down and saw their Country wasted, they put themselves into order of Battel; and the *Lacedæmonians* on the other side did the same; and the *Argives* stood intercepted in the midst of their Enemies. For in the Plain between them and the City, stood the *Lacedæmonians* and those with them; and above them were the *Corinthians*, *Phliasians*, and *Pellenians*; and towards *Nemea* were the *Boeotians*, *Sicyonians*, and *Megareans*. And Horsemen they had none, for the *Athenians* alone of all their Confederates, were not yet come. Now the generality of the Army of the *Argives*, and their Confederates, did not think the danger present so great, as indeed it was, but rather that the advantage in the Battel would be their own, and that the *Lacedæmonians* were intercepted, not only in the *Argives* Territory, but also hard by the City. But two men of *Argos*, *Thrasylus* one of the five Commanders of the Army, *Alciphron*, *Entertainer of the *Lacedæmonians*, when the Armies were even ready to join, went unto *Agis* and dealt with him to have the Battel put off, for as much as the *Argives* were content and ready, both to propound and accept of equal Arbitrators in whatsoever the *Lacedæmonians* should charge them withall, and in the mean time, to have Peace with them solemnly confirmed.

This these *Argives* said of themselves, without the command of the generality, and *Agis* of himself likewise accepting their Proposition, without

* The *Lacedæmonians*, *Tegeates*, and some *Arcadians*, not the whole League, which was not yet united.

The *Lacedæmonians* and their Confederates meet at *Phlius*. The *Argives* go to meet them at the Forest of *Nemea*.

The *Lacedæmonians* come into the Plains before *Argos*.

The *Argives* enclosed between the *Lacedæmonians* and the *Boeotians*. And the *Lacedæmonians* enclosed between the Army of the *Argives* and their City.

* Περίτροπος. He that lodged the *Lacedæmonians* when any of them came to *Argos*. Propositions of Peace made by two private men of *Argos*.

And accepted by *Agis* without the knowledge of the rest of the Commanders.

out

out deliberation had with the major part, and having communicated it onely to some one more of those that had charge in the Army, made Truce with them for four Moneths; in which space they were to perform the things agreed upon betwixt them. And then presently he withdrew his Army, without giving account to any of the rest of the League why he did so. The *Lacedæmonians* and the Confederates followed *Agis*, according to the Law, he being their General, but amongst themselves taxed him exceedingly, for that having a very fair occasion of Battel, the *Argives* being enclosed on all sides, both by their Horse and Foot, he yet went his way, doing nothing worthy the great preparation they had made. For this was in very truth the fairest Army that ever the *Grecians* had in the Field unto this day; but it was most to be seen when they were *altogether in the Forest of *Nemea*. Where the *Lacedæmonians* were with their whole Forces, besides the *Arcadians*, *Bæotians*, *Corinthians*, *Sicyonians*, *Pellenians*, *Phliasians*, and *Megareans*; and these all chosen men of their several Cities, and such as were thought a match not onely for the League of the *Argives*, but for such another added to it. The Army thus offended with *Agis*, departed, and were dissolved, every man to his home. The *Argives* were much more offended with those of their City, which without the consent of the multitude, had made the Truce, they also supposing that the *Lacedæmonians* had escaped their hands in such an advantage, as they never had the like before; in that the Battel was to have been fought under their City Walls, and with the assistance of many and good Confederates. And in their return they began to stone *Thrasylus* at the *Charadrum*, (the place where the Souldiers before they enter into the City from Warfare, use to have their Military causes heard) but he flying to the Altar saved himself, nevertheless they confiscated his Goods.

After this, the *Athenians* coming in with the aid of 1000 men of Arms, and 300 Horse, under the Conduct of *Laches* and *Nicostratus*, the *Argives* (for they were afraid for all this, to break the Truce with the *Lacedæmonians*) willed them to be gone again; and when they desired to Treat, would not present them to the People till such time as the *Mantineans* and *Eleans* (who were not yet gone) forced them unto it by their importunity. Then the *Athenians*, in the presence of *Alcibiades*, that was Ambassador there, spake unto the *Argives* and their Confederates, saying, *That the Truce was unduely made, without the assent of the rest of their Confederates, and that now (for they were come time enough) they ought to fall again to the War*, and did by their words so prevail with the Confederates, that they all, save the *Argives*, presently marched against **Orchomenus*, of *Arcadia*.

And these, though satisfied, staid behind at first, but afterwards they also went; and sitting down before *Orchomenus*, jointly besieged, and assaulted the same; desiring to take it in; as well for other causes, as chiefly for that the Hostages which the *Arcadians* had given to the *Lacedæmonians*, were there in custody. The *Orchomenians* fearing the weakness of their Walls, and the greatness of the Army, and lest they should perish before any relief arrived, yielded up the Town on Conditions: *To be received into the League; to give Hostages for themselves; and to surrender the Hostages held there by the Lacedæmonians, into the hands of the Mantineans.*

The Confederates after this, having gotten *Orchomenus*, sat in Council about what Town they should proceed against next. The *Eleans* gave

Agis withdraweth his Army, and is censured for it by the Confederates.

* That is, going home; for till then they were never altogether in *Nemea*.

Thrasylus punished for propounding the Peace.

The *Athenians* instigate the *Argives* to break the Truce.

The *Argives* break the Truce, and besiege *Orchomenus*.

* There was another *Orchomenus* in *Bæotia*.

Orchomenus yielded.

* As being in particular hostility with it.

The *Argives* go next against *Tegea*, which displeaseth the *Eleans*, and they go home.

The *Lacedæmonians* question their King for suffering the *Argives* to go off unfoughten.

* 312 pounds 10 shillings sterling.

The *Lacedæmonians* put their Army into the field to rescue *Tegea*.

The *Lacedæmonians* waste the Territory of *Mantineæ*.

advice to go against * *Lepreum*, but the *Mantineans* against *Tegea*. And the *Argives* and *Athenians* concurred in opinion with the *Mantineans*. But the *Eleans* taking it in evil part that they did not decree to go against *Lepreum*, went home; but the rest prepared themselves at *Mantineæ* to go against *Tegea*, which also some within had a purpose to put into their hands.

The *Lacedæmonians*, after their return from *Argos* with their four Months Truce, severely questioned *Agis*, for that upon so fair an opportunity, as they never had before, he subdued not *Argos* to the State; for so many and so good Confederates, would hardly be gotten together again at one time. But when also the news came of the taking of *Orchomenus*, then was their indignation much greater, and they presently resolved (contrary to their own custom) in their passion to raze his house and fine him in the sum of *10000 Drachmaes. But he besought them that they would do neither of these things yet, and promised that leading out the Army again, he would by some valiant action cancel those accusations; or if not, they might proceed afterwards to do with him whatsoever they thought good. So they forbore both the Fine and the razing of his House; but made a decree for that present, such as had never been before, that ten *Spartans* should be elected and joined with him as Counsellors, without whom it should not be lawful for him to lead the Army into the Field.

In the mean time came news from their side in *Tegea*, that unless they came presently with aid, the *Tegeans* would revolt to the *Argives*, and their Confederates; and that they wanted little of being revolted already.

Upon this the *Lacedæmonians* with speed levied all their Forces, both of themselves and their *Helots*, in such number as they had never done before, and marched unto *Orestium* in *Manalia*, and appointed the *Arcadians*, such as were of their League, to assemble and follow them at the heels to *Tegea*.

The *Lacedæmonians* being come entire to *Orestium*, from thence sent back the sixth part of their Army (in which they put both the youngest and the eldest sort) for the custody of the City, and with the rest marched on to *Tegea*; and not long after arrived also their Confederates of *Arcadia*.

They sent also to *Corinth*, and to the *Bæotians*, *Phoceans*, and *Locrians*, to come with their aids with all speed to *Mantineæ*. But these had too short a warning, nor was it easie for them, unless they came altogether, and staid for one another, to come through the Enemies Country, which lay between, and barred them of passage. Nevertheless they made what haste they could. And the *Lacedæmonians* taking with them their *Arcadian* Confederates present, entered into the Territory of *Mantineæ*, and pitching their Camp by the Temple of *Hercules*, wasted the Territory about.

The *Argives* and their Confederates, as soon as they came in sight, seized on a certain place fortified by Nature, and of hard access, and put themselves into Battel array. And the *Lacedæmonians* marched presently towards them, and came up within a Stone or a Darts cast. But then one of the ancient men of the Army cried out unto *Agis*, seeing him to go on against a place of that strength, that he went about to amend one fault with another; signifying that he intended to make amends for his former retreat from *Argos*, which he was questioned for, with his

his now unseasonable forwardness. But he, whether it were upon that increpation, or some other sudden apprehension of his own, presently withdrew his Army before the fight began, and marching unto the Territory of *Tegea*, turned the course of the Water into the Territory of *Mantineia*; touching which Water, because into what part soever it had its course, it did much harm to the Country, the *Mantineans* and *Tegeates* were at War. Now his drift was, by the turning of that Water, to provoke those *Argives* and their Confederates which kept the Hill, when they should hear of it, to come down and oppose them, that so they might fight with them in the Plain. And by that time he had staid about the Water a day, he had diverted the stream. The *Argives* and their Confederates were at first amazed at this their sudden retreat from so near them, and knew not what to make of it. But when after the retreat they returned no more in fight, and that they themselves lying still on the place, did not pursue them, then began they anew to accuse their Commanders: both for suffering the *Lacedæmonians* to depart formerly, when they had them enclosed at so fair an advantage before *Argos*; and now again for not pursuing them when they ran away, but giving them leave to save themselves, and betraying the Army. The Commanders for the present were much troubled hereat, but afterwards they drew down the Army from the Hill, and coming forth into the Plain, encamped as to go against the Enemy. The next day the *Argives* and their Confederates put themselves into such order as (if occasion served) they meant to fight in, and the *Lacedæmonians* returning from the Water to the Temple of *Hercules*, the same place where they had formerly encamped, perceive the Enemies to be all of them in order of Battel hard by them, come down already from the Hill. Certainly the *Lacedæmonians* were more affrighted at this time, then ever they had been to their remembrance before. For the time they had to prepare themselves was exceeding short, and such was their diligence that every man fell immediately into his own Rank, *Agis* the King commanding all, according to the Law. For whilst the King hath the Army in the Field, all things are commanded by him, and he signifieth what is to be done, to the * *Polemarchi*, they to the *Lochagæ*, these to the *Pentecontateres*, and these again to the *Enomataarchi*, who lastly make it known every one to his own *Enomatia*. In this manner when they would have any thing to be done, their Commands pass through the Army, and are quickly executed. For almost all the *Lacedæmonian* Army, save a very few, are Captains of Captains, and the care of what is to be put in execution, lieth upon many. Now their left Wing consisted of the † *Sicritæ*, which amongst the *Lacedæmonians* have ever alone that place. Next to these were placed the *Brasidian* Souldiers lately come out of *Thrace*; and with them * those that had been newly made free. After them in order, the rest of the *Lacedæmonians*, Band after Band; and by them *Arcadians*, first the *Heraæns*, after these the *Menælians*. In the right Wing were the *Tegeates*, and a few *Lacedæmonians* in the point of the same Wing. And upon the outside of either Wing, the Horsemen. So stood the *Lacedæmonians*. Opposite to them in the right Wing stood the *Mantineans*, because it was upon their own Territory, and with them such *Arcadians* as were of their League. Then the 1000 chosen *Argives* which the City had for a long time caused to be trained for the Wars at the Publick charge; and next to them the rest of the *Argives*. After these the *Cleonæans* and *Orneates*, their Confederates:

The *Argives* come down from their advantage, to seek the Enemy.

The *Lacedæmonians* put themselves in order hastily.

* *Polemarchi*, *Martials of the Field*. The Commanders of Regiments, Colonels. *Pentecontateres*, Captains of Companies. *Enomataarchi*, Captains of the fourth part of a Company. An *Enomatia* was in this Army thirty two Souldiers.

† A Band of the *Lacedæmonians* so called, perhaps from *Scirus*, a Town in *Laconia*.

* *Neodamodes*.

The order of the Battel of the *Argives*.

federates. And lastly, the *Athenians* with the Horsemen (which were also theirs) had the left Wing. This was the order and preparation of both the Armies.

The Army of the *Lacedæmonians* appeared to be the greater. But what the number was, either of the particulars of either side, or in general, I could not exactly write. For the number of the *Lacedæmonians*, agreeable to the secrecie of that State, was unknown; and of the other side, for the ostentation usual with all men, touching the number of themselves was unbeliev'd. Nevertheless the number of the *Lacedæmonians* may be attained by computing thus. Besides the *Sciritæ*, which were 600, there fought in all seven * Regiments, in every Regiment were four † Companies, in each Company were four ∴ *Enomatiæ*, and of every *Enomatiæ*, there stood in front four; but they were not ranged all alike in File, but as the Captains of Bands thought it necessary. But the Army in general was so ordered, as to be eight men in depth, and the first Rank of the whole, besides the *Sciritæ*, consisted of 448 Souldiers.

* *Λόχοι*, less then ordinary Regiments with us, more then ordinary Companies.
† Companies of 50, but more or less in them as occasion served.

∴ *Enomatiæ*, the fourth part of a Pentecostye. By this account every *Enomatiæ* had 32. every Pentecostye 128. every Band or *Λόχος* 512. the whole Army besides the *Sciritæ* 3584. and with the *Sciritæ*, which are 600. 4184. which number riseth also thus, 448 in rank, 8 in file, make 3584, and then the 600 *Sciritæ*, as before, make 4184. light-armed Souldiers, which usually far exceeded the number of men of Arms are not reckoned.

The Hortative to the *Argives*, and their Confederates.

Now when they were ready to join, the Commanders made their Hortatives, every one to those that were under his own command. To the *Mantineans* it was said, That they were to fight for their Territory, and concerning their liberty and servitude, that the former might not be taken from them, and that they might not again taste of the later. The *Argives* were admonished, That whereas anciently they had the leading of Peloponnesus, and in it an equal share, they should not now suffer themselves to be deprived of it for ever; and that withall, they should now revenge the many injuries of a City, their Neighbour and Enemy. To the *Athenians* it was remembred, How honourable a thing it would be for them, in company of so many and good Confederates, to be inferiour to none of them; and that if they had once vanquished the *Lacedæmonians* in Peloponnesus, their own Dominion would become both the more assured, and the larger by it, and that no other would invade their Territory hereafter. Thus much was said to the *Argives* and their Confederates. But the *Lacedæmonians* encouraged one another, both of themselves, and also by the * manner of their Discipline in the Wars; taking encouragement, being valiant men, by the commemoration of what they already knew, as being well acquainted, that a long actual experience, conferred more to their safety then any short verbal Exhortation, though never so well delivered. After this followed the Battel.

The *Lacedæmonians* encourage one another.

* They used before Battel to sing Songs containing encouragement, to die for their Country.

The Fight.

The *Argives* and their Confederates marched to the Charge with great violence and fury. But the *Lacedæmonians*, slowly, and with many Flutes, according to their Military Discipline, not as a point of Religion, but that marching evenly, and by measure, their Ranks might not be distracted, as the greatest Armies, when they march in the face of the Enemy use to be.

Whilest they were yet marching up, *Agis* the King thought of this course. All Armies do thus; In the Conflict they extend their right Wing, so as it cometh in upon the Flank of the left Wing of the Enemy; and this happeneth for that, that every one through fear seeketh all he can to cover his unarmed side with the Shield of him that standeth

next

next him on his right hand, conceiving, that to be so locked together is their best defence. The beginning hereof is in the Leader of the first File on the right hand, who ever striving to shift his unarmed side from the Enemy, the rest upon like fear follow after. And at this time, the *Mantineans* in the right Wing had far encompassed the *Sciritæ*: and the *Lacedæmonians* on the other side, and the *Tegeates* were come in, yet farther upon the Flank of the *Athenians*, by as much as they had the greater Army. Wherefore *Agis* fearing lest his left Wing should be encompassed, and supposing the *Mantineans* to become in far, signified unto the *Sciritæ* and *Brasidians*, to draw out part of their Bands, and therewith to equalize their left Wing to the right Wing of the *Mantineans*, and into the void space, he commanded to come up *Hipponoidas* and *Aristocles*, two Colonels with their Bands out of their right Wing, and to fall in there, and make up the breach: Conceiving that more then enough would be still remaining in their right Wing, and that the left Wing opposed to the *Mantineans* would be the stronger. But it happened (for he commanded it in the very onset, and on the sudden) both that *Aristocles* and *Hipponoidas* refused to go to the place commanded (for which they were afterwards banished *Sparta*, as thought to have disobeyed out of Cowardise) and that the Enemy had in the mean time also charged. And when those which he commanded to go to the place of the *Sciritæ*, went not, they could no more reunite themselves, nor close again the empty space. But the *Lacedæmonians*, though they had the worst at this time in every point, for skill, yet in valour they manifestly shewed themselves superiour. For after the fight was once begun, notwithstanding that the right Wing of the *Mantineans* did put to flight the *Sciritæ* and *Brasidians*, and that the *Mantineans* together with their Confederates, and those 1000 chosen men of *Argos*, falling upon them in Flank, by the breach not yet closed up, killed many of the *Lacedæmonians*, and put to flight, and chased them to their Carriages, slaying also certain of the elder sort left there for a Guard, so as in this part the *Lacedæmonians* were overcome. But with the rest of the Army, and especially the middle Battle, where *Agis* was himself, and those which are called the 300 Horsemen about him, they charged upon the eldest of the *Argives*, and upon those which are named the *five Cohorts*, and upon the *Cleoneans* and *Orneates*, and certain *Athenians* arranged amongst them, and put them all to flight. In such sort as many of them never strook stroke, but as soon as the *Lacedæmonians* charged, gave ground presently, and some for fear to be overtaken, were trodden under foot. As soon as the Army of the *Argives* and their Confederates had in this part given ground, they began also to break on either side. The right Wing of the *Lacedæmonians* and *Tegeates* had now with their surplusage of number hemmed the *Athenians* in, so as they had the danger on all hands, being within the circle, pen'd up; and without it, already vanquished. And they had been the most distressed part of all the Army had not their Horsemen come in to help them. Withall it fell out that *Agis* when he perceived the left Wing of his own Army to labour, namely, that which was opposed to the *Mantineans*, and to those thousand *Argives*, commanded the whole Army to go and relieve the part overcome. By which means the *Athenians* and such of the *Argives* as together with them were overlaid whilst the Army passed by and declined them, saved themselves at leisure. And the *Mantineans* with their Confederates, and those chosen *Argives*, had

The *Lacedæmonians* have the disadvantage for order, but advantage of valour.

The *Lacedæmonians* have the Victory.

The *Lacedæmonians* pursue not the Enemy far.

Number of the dead.

The *Lacedæmonians* recover their reputation.

The *Epidaurians* enter the Territory of *Argos*.

The *Athenians* build a Fort before *Epidaurus*.

The end of the fourteenth Summer. Peace concluded between the *Argives* and *Lacedæmonians*.

no more mind now of pressing upon their Enemies, but seeing their side was overcome, and the *Lacedæmonians* approaching them, presently turned their backs. Of the *Mantineans* the greatest part were slain, but of those chosen *Argives*, the most were saved, by reason the flight and going off was neither hasty nor long. For the *Lacedæmonians* fight long and constantly, till they have made they have made the Enemy to turn his back, but that done, they follow him not far.

Thus or near thus went the Battel, the greatest that had been of a long time between *Grecians* and *Grecians*, and of two the most famous Cities. The *Lacedæmonians* laying together the Arms of their slain Enemies, presently erected a Trophy, and rifled their dead bodies. Their own dead they took up, and carried them to *Tegea*, where they were also buried, and delivered to the Enemy theirs, under Truce. Of the *Argives*, and *Orneats*, and *Cleoneans* were slain 700, of the *Mantineans* 200, and of the *Athenians* with the *Æginetæ*, likewise 200, and both the Captains. The Confederates of the *Lacedæmonians* were never pressed, and therefore their loss was not worth mentioning. And of the *Lacedæmonians* themselves it is hard to know the certainty, but it is said there were slain three hundred.

When it was certain they would fight, *Pleistœanax* the other King of the *Lacedæmonians*, and with him both old and young, came out of the City to have aided the Army, and came forth as far as *Tegea*; but being advertised of the Victory, they returned. And the *Lacedæmonians* sent out to turn back also those Confederates of theirs which were coming to them from *Cerinth*, and from without the *Isthmus*. And then they also went home themselves, and having dismissed their Confederates (for now were the *Carneian* Holydays) celebrated that Feast. Thus in this one Battel they wiped off their disgrace with the *Grecians*; for they had been taxed both with Cowardice, for the Blow they received in the Island, and with imprudence and slackness in other occasions. But after this, their miscarriage was imputed to Fortune, and for their minds, they were esteemed to have been ever the same they had been.

The day before this Battel, it chanced also that the *Epidaurians* with their whole power invaded the Territory of *Argos*, as being emptied much of men; and whilst the *Argives* were abroad, killed many of those that were left behind to defend it.

Also three thousand men of *Elis*, and a thousand *Athenians*, besides those which had been sent before, being come after the Battel to aid the *Mantineans*, marched presently all to *Epidaurus*, and lay before it all the while the *Lacedæmonians* were celebrating the *Carneian* Holidays: and assigning to every one his part, began to take in the City with a Wall. but the rest gave over; only the *Athenians* quickly finished a Fortification, (which was their task) wherein stood the Temple of *Juno*. In it, amongst them all they left a Garrison, and went home every one to his own City. And so this Summer ended.

In the beginning of the Winter following, the *Lacedæmonians*, presently after the end of the *Carneian* Holidays, drew out their Army into the Field, and being come to *Tegea*, sent certain Propositions of Agreement before to *Argos*. There were before this time many Citizens in *Argos* well affected to the *Lacedæmonians*, and that desired the disposing of the *Argive* People, and now after the Battel, they were better able by much to persuade the People to Composition, then they formerly were. And their design was first to get a Peace made with the

Lace-

Lacedæmonians, and after that a League and then at last to set upon the Commons.

There went thither, *Lichas* the son of *Archefilaus*, entertainer of the *Argives* in *Lacedæmon*, and brought to *Argos* two propositions; one of War, if the War were to proceed; another of Peace, if they would have Peace. And after much contradiction, (for *Alcibiades* was also there) the *Lacedæmonian* Faction, that boldly now discovered themselves, prevailed with the *Argives* to accept the Proposition of Peace, which was this:

The A R T I C L E S.

IT seemeth good to the Council of the *Lacedæmonians* to accord with the *Argives* on these Articles:

The *Argives* shall redeliver unto the *Orchomenians* their *Children, and unto the *Mænaliens* their †Men, and unto the *Lacedæmonians* those ∴Men that are at *Mantineia*.

* Hostages which they took of the *Orchomenians*.

† Hostages of the *Mænaliens*.

∴ Hostages of the *Arcadians* given to the *Lacedæmonians*, and by them kept in *Orchomenus*, and at the taking of *Orchomenus* by the *Argive* League, carried away to *Mantineia*.

They shall withdraw their Souldiers from *Epidaurus*, and raze the Fortification there. And if the *Athenians* depart not from *Epidaurus* likewise, they shall be held as Enemies both to the *Argives* and to the *Lacedæmonians*, and also to the Confederates of them both.

If the *Lacedæmonians* have any men of theirs in custody, they shall deliver them every one to his own City.

And for so much as concerneth the *God, the *Argives* shall accept Composition with the *Epidaurians*, upon an †Oath which they shall swear, touching that Controversie, and the *Argives* shall give the Form of that Oath.

* Apollo, to whom the *Epidaurians* should have sent a Beast for Sacrifice, in name of their Pastures, but not doing it, the *Argives* went about to force them to it.

All the Cities of *Peloponnesus* both small and great, shall be free, according to their Patrial Laws.

If any without *Peloponnesus* shall enter into it to do it harm, the *Argives* shall come forth to defend the same, in such sort as in a Common Council shall be thought reasonable.

† An Oath to send the Beast for Sacrifice hereafter.

The Confederates of the *Lacedæmonians* without *Peloponnesus*, shall have the same Conditions which the Confederates of the *Argives* and of the *Lacedæmonians* have, every one holding his own.

This Composition is to hold from the time that they shall both parts have shewed the same to their Confederates, and obtained their consent.

And if it shall seem good to either part to add or alter any thing, their Confederates shall be sent unto, and made acquainted therewith.

These Propositions the *Argives* accepted at first, and the Army of the *Lacedæmonians* returned from *Tegea* to their own City. But shortly after, when they had commersed together, the *same men went further, and so wrought, that the *Argives* renouncing their League with the *Mantineans*, *Eleans*, and *Athenians*, made League and Alliance with the *Lacedæmonians*, in this Form:

*The *Lacedæmonian* Faction.

The League between the *Argives* and *Lacedæmonians*.

IT seemeth good to the *Lacedæmonians* and *Argives* to make League and Alliance for fifty years, on these Articles :

That either side shall allow unto the other, equal and like Trials of Judgment, after the Form used in their Cities.

ἑαυτονομίαι καὶ αὐτο-
πόλεις.

That the rest of the Cities of *Peloponnesus* (this League and Alliance comprehending also them) shall be * free, both from the Laws, and payments of any other City then their own, holding what they have and affording equal and like Trials of Judgment, according to the Form used in their several Cities.

That every of the Cities Confederate with the *Lacedæmonians* without *Peloponnesus*, shall be in the same condition with the *Lacedæmonians*, and the Confederates of the *Argives* in the same with the *Argives*, every one holding his own.

That if at any time there shall need an Expedition to be undertaken in common, the *Lacedæmonians* and the *Argives* shall consult thereof, and decree as shall stand most with equity towards the Confederates; and that if any Controversie arise between any of the Cities, either within or without *Peloponnesus*, about Limits or other Matter, they also shall decide it.

That if any Confederate City be at Contention with another, it shall have recourse to that City which they both shall think most indifferent; but the particular men of any one City, shall be judged according to the Law of the same.

Thus was the Peace and League concluded, and whatsoever one had taken from other in the War, or whatsoever one had against another otherwise, was all acquitted.

The *Argives* and *Lacedæmonians* make an Order that the *Athenians* shall quit the Fort.

Now when they were together settling their business, they ordered that the *Argives* should neither admit Herald or Ambassage from the *Athenians*, till they were gone out of *Peloponnesus*, and had quit the Fortification; nor should make Peace or War with any, without consent of the rest.

They sollicite the Towns upon *Thrace* to revolt from the *Athenians*.

And amongst other things which they did in this heat, they sent Ambassadors from both their Cities, to the Towns lying upon *Thrace*, and unto *Perdiccas*, whom they also perswaded to swear himself of the same League. Yet he revolted not from the *Athenians* presently, but intended it; because he saw the *Argives* had done so; and was himself also anciently descended out of *Argos*. They likewise renewed their old Oath with the *Chalcideans*, and took another besides it.

Demosthenes being sent to fetch their Souldiers from the Fort, delivereth the same by a wile to the *Epidaurians*.

The *Argives* sent Ambassadors also to *Athens*, requiring them to abandon the Fortification they had made against *Epidaurus*. And the *Athenians* considering that the Souldiers they had in it were but few, in respect of the many other that were with them in the same, sent *Demosthenes* thither to fetch them away. He when he was come, and had exhibited for a pretence, a certain Exercise of naked men without the Fort, when the rest of the Garrison were gone forth to see it, made fast the Gates, and afterwards having renewed the League with the *Epidaurians*, the *Athenians* by themselves put the Fort into their hands.

After the revolt of the *Argives* from the League, the *Mantineans* also, though

though they withstood it at first, yet being too weak without the *Argives*, made their Peace with the *Lacedæmonians*, and laid down their Command over the *other Cities. And the *Lacedæmonians* and *Argives*, with a thousand men of either City, having joined their Arms; the *Lacedæmonians* first, with their single power, reduced the Government of *Sicyon* to a smaller number, and then they both together dissolved the Democracie at *Argos*.

The *Mantineans* forsake the League of *Athens*.

* which they had the leading of in *Arcadia*.

Sicyon and *Argos* reduced to Oligarchies.

And the Oligarchy was established conformable to the State of *Lacedæmon*. These things passed in the end of Winter, and near the Spring. And so ended the fourteenth year of this War.

The next Summer the *Dictidians* seated in Mount *Athos*, revolted from the *Athenians* to the *Chalcideans*.

Year XV.

The *Dictidians* revolt from *Athens*.

Achaia Oligarchized.

Argos relapseth into a Democracie.

And the *Lacedæmonians* ordered the State of *Achaia* after their own Form, which before was otherwise. But the *Argives*, after they had by little and little assembled themselves and recovered heart, taking their time when the *Lacedæmonians* were celebrating their Exercises of the Naked Youth, assaulted the Few, and in a Battel fought within the City, the Commons had the Victory, and some they slew, others they drove into exile. The *Lacedæmonians*, though those of their Faction in *Argos* sent for them, went not a long time after, yet at last they adjourned the Exercises, and came forth with intention to give them aid, but hearing by the way at *Tegea*, that the Few were overcome, they could not be entreated by such as had escaped thence, to go on, but returning, went on with the celebration of their Exercises. But afterwards when there came Ambassadors unto them, both from the *Argives* in the City, and from them that were driven out, there being present also their Confederates, and much alledged on either side, they concluded at last that those in the City had done the wrong, and decreed to go against *Argos* with their Army; but many delays passed, and much time was spent between. In the mean time the common People of *Argos*, fearing the *Lacedæmonians*, and regaining the League with *Athens*, as conceiving the same would turn to their very great advantage, raise long Walls from their City down to the Sea-shore; to the end that if they were shut up by Land, they might yet, with the help of the *Athenians*, bring things necessary into the City by Sea. And with this their building, some other Cities of *Peloponnesus* were also acquainted. And the *Argives*, universally themselves, and Wives, and Servants, wrought at the Wall; and had Workmen and Hewers of Stone from *Athens*. So this Summer ended.

The *Argives* come again to the League of *Athens*, and with long Walls take in a way from their City to the Sea.

The end of the fifteenth Summer.

The next Winter the *Lacedæmonians* understanding that they were fortifying, came to *Argos* with their Army, they and their Confederates, all but the *Corinthians*, and some practice they had beside, within the City itself of *Argos*. The Army was commanded by *Agis* the son of *Archidamus* King of the *Lacedæmonians*. But those things which were practising in *Argos*, and supposed to have been already mature, did not then succeed. Nevertheless they took the Walls that were then in building, and razed them to the ground; and then after they had taken *Hysia*, a Town in the *Argive* Territory, and slain all the Freemen in it, they went home, and were dissolved every one to his own City.

The *Lacedæmonians* Army comes to *Argos*, and razeth the Walls which they were building.

They take *Hysia* a Town in *Argia*.

After this, the *Argives* went with an Army into *Phliasia*, which when they had wasted, they went back. They did it because the men of *Phlius* had received their Outlaws; for there the greatest part of them dwelt.

The *Argives* spoil the Territory of *Phliasia*.

The *Athenians* quarrel *Perdiccas*, and bar him the use of the Sea.

The same Winter the *Athenians* shut up *Perdiccas* in *Macedonia* from the use of the Sea, objecting that he had sworn the League of the *Argives* and *Lacedæmonians*, and that when they had prepared an Army under the Conduct of *Nicias* the son of *Niceratus*, to go against the *Chalcideans* upon *Thrace*, and against *Amphipolis*, he had broken the League made betwixt them and him; and by his departure was the principal cause of the dissolution of that Army, and was therefore an Enemy. And so this Winter ended, and the fifteenth year of this War.

Year XVI.

Alcibiades fetcheth away 300 Citizens of *Argos* for *Lacedæmonism*.

The *Athenians* War against the Island of *Melos*.

The next Summer went *Alcibiades* to *Argos* with twenty Gallies, and took thence the suspected *Argives*, and such as seemed to favour of the *Lacedæmonian* Faction, to the number of 300, and put them into the nearest of the Islands subject to the *Athenian* State.

The *Athenians* made War also against the Isle of *Melos* with 30 Gallies of their own, 6 of *Chios*, and 2 of *Lesbos*. Wherein were of their own 1200 men of Arms, 300 Archers, and 20 Archers on Horseback, and of their Confederates and Islanders about 1500 men of Arms. The *Melians* are a Colony of the *Lacedæmonians*, and therefore refused to be subject, as the rest of the Islands were unto the *Athenians*; but rested at the first Neutral, and afterwards when the *Athenians* put them to it, by wasting of their Land, they entered into open War.

Now the *Athenian* Commanders, *Cleomenes* the son of *Lycomedes*, and *Licias* the son of *Lyfimachus*, being encamped upon their Land with these Forces, before they would hurt the same, sent Ambassadors to deal with them first by way of Conference. These Ambassadors the *Melians* refused to bring before the multitude, but commanded them to deliver their Message before the Magistrates and the Few, and they accordingly said as followeth.

A DIALOGUE between the ATHENIANS and MELIANS.

Ath. **S**ince we may not speak to the multitude, for fear lest when they hear hear our persuasive and unanswerable Arguments, all at once in a continued Oration, they should chance to be seduced, (for we know that this is the scope of your bringing us to audience before the Few) make surer yet that point, you that sit here, answer you also to every particular, not in a set Speech, but presently interrupting us, whensoever any thing shall be said by us which shall seem unto you to be otherwise. And first answer us, whether you like this motion or not?

Whereunto the Council of the *Melians* answered,

Mel. The equity of a leisurely debate is not to be found fault withall; but this preparation of War, not future, but already here present, seemeth not to agree with the same. For we see that you are come to be Judges of the Conference, and that the issue of it, if we be superiour in Argument, and therefore yield not, is likely to bring us War; and if we yield, Servitude.

Ath. Nay, if you be come together to reckon up suspicions of what may be, or to any other purpose, then to take advice upon what is present, and before your eyes, how to save your City from destruction, let us give over. But if this be the point, let us speak to it.

Mel. It is reason and pardonable for men in our cases, to turn both their words and thoughts upon divers things: Howsoever, this consultation being held

held onely upon the point of our safety, we are content, if you think good to go on with the course you have propounded.

Ath. As we therefore will not, for our parts, with fair pretences, (as That having defeated the Medes, our reign is therefore lawful, or That we come against you for injury done) make a long discourse without being believed; so would we have you also not expect to prevail, by saying, either, That you took not our parts, because you were a Colony not of the Lacedæmonians; or, that you have done us no injury; but out of those things which we both of us do really think, let us go through with that which is feasible; both you and we knowing, that in humane Disputation, Justice is then onely agreed on, when the necessity is equal. Whereas they that have odds of Power, exact as much as they can, and the weak yield to such conditions as they can get.

Mel. Well then, (seeing you put the point of Profit in the place of that of Justice) we hold it profitable for our selves, not to overthrow a general profit to all men, which is this, That men in danger, if they plead reason and equity, nay, though somewhat without the strict compass of Justice, yet it ought ever to do them good. And the same most of all concerneth you, for as much as you shall else give an example unto others of the greatest revenge that can be taken, if you chance to miscarry.

Ath. As for us, though our dominion should cease, yet we fear not the sequel. For not they that command, as do the Lacedæmonians, are cruel to those that are vanquished by them, (yet we have nothing to do now with the Lacedæmonians,) but such as having been in subjection, have assaulted those that commanded them, and gotten the Victory. But let the danger of that be to our selves. In the mean time we tell you this, that we are here now, both to enlarge our own dominion, and also to confer about the saving of your City. For we would have dominion over you, without oppressing you, and preserve you, to the profit of us both.

Mel. But how can it be profitable for us to serve, though it be so for you to command?

Ath. Because you by obeying shall save your selves from extremity; and we not destroying you, shall reap profit by you.

Mel. But will you not accept that we remain quiet, and be your friends, (whereas before we were your enemies) and take part with neither?

Ath. No, For your enmity doth not so much hurt us, as your friendship will be an argument of our weakness; and your hatred, of our power, amongst those whom we bear rule over.

Mel. Why? Do your Subjects measure equity so, as to put those that never had to do with you, and themselves, who for the most part have been your own Colonies, and some of them after revolt conquered, into one and the same consideration?

Ath. Why not? For they think they have reason on their side, both the one sort and the other; and that such as are subdued, are subdued by force, and such as are forborn are so through our fear. So that by subduing you, besides the extending of our dominion over so many more Subjects, we shall also assure it the more over those we had before, especially being Masters of the Sea, and you Islanders, and weaker (except you can get the Victory) then others whom we have subdued already.

Mel. Do you think then that there is no assurance in that which we propounded? For here again (since driving us from the Plea of Equity, you persuade us to submit to your profit) when we have shewed you what is good for us, we must endeavour to draw you to the same, as far forth as it shall be good for you also. As many therefore as now are neutral, what do you but make
them

them your Enemies, when beholding these your proceedings, they look that hereafter you will also turn your Arms upon them? And what is this, but to make greater the Enemies you have already, and to make others your Enemies even against their Wills, that would not else have been so?

Ath. We do not think that they shall be ever the more our Enemies, who inhabiting any where in the Continent, will be long ere they so much as keep Guard upon their liberty against us. But Islanders unsubdued, as you be, or Islanders offended with the necessity of subjection which they are already in, these may indeed, by unadvised courses, put both himself and us into apparent danger.

Mel. If you then to retain your command, and your Vassals to get loose from you, will undergo the utmost of danger, would it not in us that be already free, be great baseness and cowardice if we should not encounter any thing whatsoever, rather than suffer our selves to be brought into bondage?

Ath. No, if you advise rightly. For you have not in hand a Match of Valour upon equal terms, wherein to forfeit your Honour; but rather a consultation upon your safety, that you resist not such as be so far your over-matches.

Mel. But we know that in matter of War the event is sometimes otherwise than according to the difference of the number in sides. And that if we yield presently, all our hope is lost; whereas if we hold out, we have yet a hope to keep our selves up.

Ath. Hope! the comfort of danger, when such use it as have to spare, though it hurt them, yet it destroys them not. But to such as set their rest upon it, (for it is a thing by Nature prodigal) it at once by failing maketh it self known; and known, leaveth no place for future caution. Which let not be your own case, you that are but weak, and have no more but this one Stake. Nor be you like unto many men, who though they may presently save themselves by humane means, will yet when (upon pressure of the Enemy) their most apparent hopes fail them, betake themselves to blind ones, as Divination, Oracles, and other such things, which with Hopes destroy men.

Mel. We think it (you well know) a hard matter for us to combat your Power and Fortune, unless we might do it on equal terms. Nevertheless we believe, that for Fortune we shall be nothing inferiour, as having the Gods on our side, because we stand innocent, against men unjust. And for Power, what is wanting in us, will be supplied by our League with the Lacedæmonians, who are of necessity obliged, if for no other cause, yet for Consanguinities sake, and for their own Honour to defend us. So that we are confident, not altogether so much without Reason, as you think.

Ath. As for the favour of the Gods, we expect to have it as well as you, for we neither do, nor require any thing contrary to what mankind hath decreed, either concerning the Worship of the Gods, or concerning themselves. For of the Gods we think, according to the common opinion; and of men that for certain by necessity of Nature, they will every where reign over such as they be too strong for. Neither did we make this Law, nor are we the first that use it made, but as we found it, and shall leave it to posterity for ever, so also we use it. Knowing that you likewise, and others that should have the same Power which we have, would do the same. So that for as much as toucheth the favour of the Gods, we have in reason no fear of
being

being inferiour. And as for the opinion you have of the Lacedæmonians, in that you believe they will help you for their own honour, we bless your innocent minds, but affect not your folly. For the Lacedæmonians, though in respect of themselves and the Constitutions of their own Countrey, they are wont for the most part to be generous; yet in respect of others, though much might be alledged, yet the shortest way one might say it all thus, That most apparently of all men, they hold for honourable that which pleaseth, and for just that which profiteth. And such an opinion maketh nothing for your now absurd means of safety.

Mel. Nay for this same opinion of theirs we now the rather believe that they will not betray their own Colony, the Melians; and thereby become perfidious to such of the Grecians as be their friends, and beneficial to such as be their Enemies.

Ath. You think not then that what is profitable must be also safe, and that which is just and honourable must be performed with danger, which commonly the Lacedæmonians are least willing of all men to undergo for others.

Mel. But we suppose that they will undertake danger for us rather than for any other; and that they think that we will be more assured unto them, than unto any another; because for action we lie near to Peloponnesus, and for affection, are more faithful then others for our nearness of kin.

Ath. The security of such as are at Wars, consisteth not in the good will of those that are called to their aid, but in the power of those means they excel in. And this the Lacedæmonians themselves use to consider more then any; and therefore out of diffidence in their own Forces, they take many of their Confederates with them, though to an expedition but against their neighbours. Wherefore it is not likely, we being Masters of the Sea, that they will ever pass over into an Island.

Mel. Yea, but they may have others to send; and the Cretick Sea is wide, wherein to take another, is harder for him that is Master of it, then it is for him that will steal by to save himself. And if this course fail, they may turn their Arms against your own Territory, or those of your Confederates not invaded by Brasidas. And then you shall have to trouble your selves no more about a Territory that you have nothing to do withall, but about your own and your Confederates.

Ath. Let them take which course of these they will, that you also may find by experience, and not be ignorant that the Athenians never yet gave over Siege, for fear of any diversion upon others. But we observe, that whereas you said you would consult of your safety, you have not yet in all this discourse said any thing, which a man relying on, could hope to be preserved by. The strongest Arguments you use, are but future Hopes, and your present Power is too short to defend you against the Forces already aranged against you. You shall therefore take very absurd counsel, unless excluding us, you make amongst your selves, some more discreet Conclusion. For when you are by your selves, you will no more set your thoughts upon Shame, which when Dishonour and Danger stand before mens eyes, for the most part undoeth them. For many when they have foreseen into what dangers they were entering, have nevertheless been so overcome by that forcible word Dishonour, that that which is but called Dishonour, hath caused them to fall willingly into immedicable calamities, and so to draw upon themselves really by their own madness, a greater Dishonour then could have befallen them by Fortune. Which you, if you deliberate wisely, will take heed of, and not think

think shame to submit to a most potent City, and that upon so reasonable conditions, as of League, and of enjoying your own, under Tribute. And seeing choice is given you of War or safety, do not out of peevishness take the worse. For such do take the best course, who though they give no way to their equals, yet do fairly accommodate to their Superiours, and towards their Inferiours use moderation. Consider of it therefore, whilest we stand off, and have often in your mind that you deliberate of your Countrey, which is to be happy or miserable in and by this one Consultation.

So the *Athenians* went aside from the Conference; and the *Melians* after they had decreed the very same things which before they had spoken, made answer unto them in this manner.

Mel. Men of Athens, our resolution is no other then what you have heard before; nor will we in a small portion of time, overthrow that liberty in which our City hath remained for the space of seven hundred years since it was first founded. But trusting to the fortune by which the Gods have preserved it hitherto, and unto the help of men, that is, of the *Lacedæmonians*, we will do our best to maintain the same. But this we offer; To be your friends; Enemies to neither side; and you to depart out of our Land after agreement, such as we shall both think fit.

Thus the *Melians* answered; to which the *Athenians*, the Conference being already broken off, replied thus:

Ath. You are the onely men, (as it seemeth to us by this Consultation) that think future things more certain then things seen, and behold things doubtful, through desire to have them true, as if they were already come to pass. As you attribute and trust the most unto the *Lacedæmonians*, and to Fortune, and Hopes; So will you be the most deceived.

The *Athenians* and *Melians* agree not.

The City of *Melos* besieged.

The *Argives* lose 80 men by an Ambushment of the *Phlians*.

The *Athenians* in *Pylus* infect *Laconia*.

The *Corinthians* war on the *Athenians*.

The *Melians* relieve their Town.

This said, the *Athenian* Ambassadors departed to their Camp, and the Commanders, seeing that the *Melians* stood out, fell presently to the War, and dividing the Work among the several Cities, encompassed the City of the *Melians* with a Wall. The *Athenians* afterwards left some Forces of their own, and of their Confederates, for for a Guard, both by Sea and Land, and with the greatest part of their Army went home. The rest that were left, besieged the place.

About the same time the *Argives* making a Road into *Phlissia*, lost about 80 of their men by Ambush laid for them by the men of *Phlius*, and the Outlaws of their own City.

And the *Athenians* that lay in *Pylus*, fetched in thither a great booty from the *Lacedæmonians*; notwithstanding which the *Lacedæmonians* did not war upon them, as renouncing the Peace, but gave leave by Edict onely, to any of their People that would to take booties reciprocally in the Territory of the *Athenians*.

The *Corinthians* also made War upon the *Athenians*, but it was for certain controversies of their own, and the rest of *Peloponnesus* stirred not.

The *Melians* also took that part of the wall of the *Athenians* by an assault in the night, which looked towards the Market place, and having

ving slain the men that Guarded it, brought into the Town both Corn and other Provision whatsoever they could buy for Money, and so returned and lay still. And the *Athenians* from thenceforth kept a better Watch. And so this Summer ended.

The end of the fifteenth Summer.

The Winter following the *Lacedæmonians* being about to enter with their Army into the Territory of the *Argives*, when they perceived that the Sacrifices which they made on the Border for their passage, were not acceptable, returned. And the *Argives*, having some of their own City in suspicion, in regard of this design of the *Lacedæmonians*, apprehended some of them, and some escaped.

About the same time the *Melians* took another part of the Wall of the *Athenians*, they that kept the Siege being then not many. But this done, there came afterwards fresh Forces from *Athens*, under the Conduct of *Philocrates* the son of *Demeas*. And the Town being now strongly besieged, there being also within some that practised to have it given up, they yielded themselves to the discretion of the *Athenians*, who slew all the men of Military Age, made Slaves of the Women and Children, and inhabited the place with a Colony sent thither afterwards, of five hundred men of their own.

The end of the Fifth Book.



THE HISTORY OF THUCYDIDES.

BOOK VI.

THE PRINCIPAL CONTENTS.

Sicily described. The causes and pretences of the Sicilian War, with the Consultation and Preparation for the same. Alcibiades, one of the Generals of the Army accused of defacing the Images of Mercury, is suffered for that present to depart with the Army. The Athenian Army cometh to Rhegium, thence to Catana. From thence Alcibiades is sent for home, to make answer to his Accusations, and by the way escaping, goeth to Lacedæmon. Nicias encampeth near Syracuse, and having overcome the Army of the Syracusians in Battel, returneth to Catana. The Syracusians procure aids amongst the rest of the Sicilians. Alcibiades instigateth and instructeth the Lacedæmonians against his Country. Nicias returneth from Catana to Syracuse, and encamping in Epipolæ, besiegeth the City, and beginneth to enclose them with a double Wall, which was almost brought to perfection in the beginning of the eighteenth Year of this War.

THe same Winter the Athenians with greater Forces then they had before sent out with *Laches* and *Eurymedon*, resolved to go again into *Sicily*, and if they could wholly to subdue it. Being for the most part ignorant both of the greatness of the Island, and of the multitude of People, as well *Greeks* as *Barbarians* that inhabited the same; and that they undertook a War not much less then the War against the *Peloponnesians*.

The Athenians resolve to invade Sicily.

The greatness of Sicily, and the Inhabitants.

For the compass of *Sicily* is little less then eight days sail for a Ship, and though so great, is yet divided with no more then twenty *Furlongs, Sea measure from the Continent.

* *OM.*

Cyclopes and Læstrigones.

It was inhabited in Old time, thus; and these were the Nations that held it. The most ancient Inhabitants in a part thereof, are said to have been the *Cyclopes* and *Læstrigones*, of whose Stock, and whence they came, or to what place they removed, I have nothing to say. Let that suffice which the Poets have spoken, and which every particular man hath learned of them.

Sicanians.
* *Aurýgones.*

After them the first that appear to have dwelt therein, are the *Sicanians*, as they say themselves; nay, before the other, as being the * Natural breed of the Island. But the truth is, they were *Iberians*, and driven away by the *Ligyans* from the Banks of *Sicanus*, a River on which they were seated in *Iberia*. And the Island from them came to be called *Sicania*, which was before *Trinacria*. And these two inhabit yet in the Western parts of *Sicily*.

Sicania.
Trinacria.
Trojans.

After the taking of *Ilium*, certain *Trojans* escaping the hands of the *Grecians*, landed with small Boats in *Sicily*, and having planted themselves on the Borders of the *Sicanians*, both the Nations in one were called *Elymi*, and their Cities were *Eryx* and *Egesta*.

Siculi.

Hard by these came and dwelled also certain *Phoceans*, who coming from *Troy*, were by Tempest carried first into *Africk*, and thence into *Sicily*. But the *Siculi* passed out of *Italy*, (for there they inhabited) flying from the *Opici*, having, as is most likely and as it is reported, observed the Straight, and with a fore-wind gotten over in Boats which they made suddenly on the occasion, or perhaps by some other means.

There is at this day a People in *Italy*, called *Siculi*. And *Italy* it self got that name after the same manner, from a King of *Arcadia*, called *Italus*. Of these a great Army crossing over into *Sicily*, overthrew the *Sicanians* in Battel, and drove them into the South and West parts of the same; and in stead of *Sicania*, caused the Island to be called *Sicilia*, and held and inhabited the best of the Land for near 300 years after their going over, and before any of the *Grecians* came thither. And till now they possess the Mid-land, and North parts of the Island.

Phœnicians.

Also the *Phœnicians* inhabited the Coast of *Sicily* on all sides, having taken possession of certain Promontories and little Islands adjacent, for Trades sake with the *Sicilians*. But after that many *Grecians* were come in by Sea, the *Phœnicians* abandoned most of their former habitations, and uniting themselves, dwelt in *Motya*, and *Solæcis*, and *Panormus*, upon the Borders of the *Elymi*; as relying upon their League with the *Elymi*, and because also from thence lay the shortest Cut over unto *Carthage*. These were the *Barbarians*, and thus they inhabited *Sicily*.

Chalcideans.

* Id est, chief Guide.
† *Θήωρος.*

Corinthians.

* *Naxos*, *Ortygia*, an Island part of the City of *Syracuse*.

Now for *Grecians*, first a Colony of *Chalcideans*, under *Thucles* their Conductor, going from *Eubœa*, built *Naxos*, and the Altar of *Apollo* * *Archegetes*, now standing without the City, upon which the † Ambassadors employed to the Oracles, as often as they lanch from *Sicily*, are accustomed to offer their first Sacrifice. The next year *Archias*, a man of the *Heracleian* Family, carried a Colony from *Corinth*, and became Founder of *Syracuse*, where first he drove the *Siculi* out of that * Island, in which the inner part of the City now standeth, not now environed wholly with the Sea as it was then. And in process of time, when the City also that is without, was taken in with a Wall, it became a populous City.

In the fifth year after the building of *Syracuse*, *Thucles* and the *Chalcideans*, going from *Naxos* built *Leontium*, expelling thence the *Siculi*, and after that *Catana*, but they that went to *Catana*, chose *Enarchus* for their Founder.

Founder. About the same time arrived in *Sicily*, also *Lamis*, with a Colony from *Megara*, and first built a certain Town called *Trotilus* upon the River *Pantacius*, where for a while after he governed the estate of his Colony in common with the *Chalcideans* of *Leontium*. But afterwards, when he was by them thrust out, and had builded *Thapsus*, he died; and the rest going from *Thapsus*, under the Conduct of *Hyblon*, a King of the *Siculi*, built *Megara*, called *Megara-Hyblea*. And after they had there inhabited 245 years, they were by *Gelon* a Tyrant of *Syracuse*, put out both of the City and Territory. But before they were driven thence, namely 100 years after they had built it, they sent out *Pammilus*, and built the City of *Selinus*. This *Pammilus* came to them from *Megara*, their own Metropolitan City, and so together with them founded *Selinus*. *Gela* was built in the 45 year after *Syracuse* by *Antiphemus*, that brought a Colony out of *Rhodes*, and by *Entymus* that did the like out of *Crete*, jointly.

Megareans.

Rhodians and Cretans

This City was named after the name of the River *Gela*, and the place where now the City standeth, and which at first they walled in, was called *Lindii*. And the Laws which they established, were the *Dorique*. About 108 years after their own foundation, they of *Gela* built the City of *Acragante*, calling the City after the name of the River, and for their Conductors chose *Aristonous* and *Pythilus*, and gave unto them the Laws of *Gela*. *Zancle* was first built by *Pirates*, that came from *Cumæ*, a *Chalcidean* City in *Opicia*; but afterwards there came a multitude and helped to people it out of *Chalcis*, and the rest of *Eubæa*; and their Conductors were *Prieres* and *Cratemenes*, one of *Cumæ* the other of *Chalcis*. And the name of the City was at first *Zancle*, so named by the *Sicilians* because it hath the form of a Sicle, and the *Sicilians* call a Sicle *Zanclon*. But these Inhabitants were afterwards chased thence by the *Samians* and other people of *Ionia*, that in their flight from the *Medes*, fell upon *Sicily*.

Messana first built by Pirates of Cumæ.

Eubæans.

Samians and other Ionians.

After this, *Anaxilas* Tyrant of *Rhegium*, drove out the *Samians*, and peopling the City with a mixt people of them and his own, in stead of *Zancle*, called the place by the name of his own Countrey from whence he was anciently descended, *Messana*. After *Zancle* was built *Himera*, by *Eucleides*, *Simus*, and *Sacon*; the most of which Colony were *Chalcideans*: but there were also amongst them certain Outlaws of *Syracuse*, the vanquished part of a Sedition, called the *Myletids*. Their Language grew to a Mean between the *Chalcidean* and *Dorique*; but the Laws of the *Chalcidean* prevailed. *Acraë* and *Chasmenæ*, were built by the *Syracusians*; *Acraë* 20 years after *Syracuse*, and *Chasmenæ* almost 20 after *Acraë*. *Camarina* was at first built by the *Syracusians*, very near the 135 year of their own City, *Dascon* and *Menecolus*, being the Conductors. But the *Camarineans* having been by the *Syracusians* driven from their seat by War for revolt, *Hippocrates* Tyrant of *Gela*, in process of time taking of the *Syracusians* that Territory for ransom of certain *Syracusan* Prisoners, became their Founder, and placed them in *Camarina* again.

Rhegium.

Acraë,
Chasmenæ.

Camarina.

After this again, having been driven thence by *Gelon*, they were planted the third time in the same City. These were the Nations, *Greeks* and *Barbarians* that inhabited *Sicily*.

And though it were thus great, yet the *Athenians* longed very much to send an Army against it, out of a desire to bring it all under their subjection (which was the true motive) but as having withall this fair pretext of aiding their kindred and new Confederates. But principally they were

The cause and pretence of the Athenians to invade it.

were infligated to it by the Ambassadors of *Egesta* who were at *Athens*, and earnestly pressed them thereto. For bordering on the Territory of the *Selinuntians*, they had begun a War about certain things concerning Marriage, and about a piece of ground that lay doubtfully between them. And the *Selinuntians* having leagued themselves with the *Syracusians*, infested them with War both by Sea, and by Land. Insomuch as the *Egesteans* putting the *Athenians* in mind of their former League with the *Leontines*, made by *Laches*, prayed them to send a Fleet thither in their aid; alledging amongst many other things, this as principal, That if the *Syracusians* who had driven the *Leontines* from their seat, should pass without revenge taken on them, and so proceed by consuming the rest of the Allies of the *Athenians* there, to get the whole power of *Sicily* into their hands, it would be dangerous, lest hereafter, some time or other, being *Doreans*, they should with great Forces aid the *Doreans* for affinity, and being a Colony of the *Peloponnesians*, join with the *Peloponnesians* that sent them out to pull down the *Athenian* Empire. That it were wisdom therefore, with those Confederates they yet retain, to make head against the *Syracusians*; and the rather because for the defraying of the War, the *Egesteans* would furnish money sufficient of themselves. Which things when the *Athenians* had often heard in their Assemblies from the mouths of the *Egestean* Ambassadors, and of their Advocates and Patrons, they decreed to send Ambassadors to *Egesta* to see first, whether there were in their Treasury and Temples so much Wealth as they said there was, and to bring word in what terms the War stood between that City and the *Selinuntians*: and Ambassadors were sent into *Sicily* accordingly.

The *Lacedæmonians* waste part of *Argolica*, and put the Outlaws of *Argos* into *Orneæ*.

The same Winter the *Lacedæmonians* and their Confederates, all but the *Corinthians*, having drawn out their Forces into the Territory of the *Argives*, wasted a small part of their Fields, and carried away certain Cart-loads of their Corn. Thence they went to *Orneæ*, and having placed there the *Argive* Outlaws, left with them a few others of the rest of the Army, and then making a composition for a certain time, that they of *Orneæ* and those *Argives* should not wrong each other, they carried their Army home. But the *Athenians* arriving not long after with 30 Gallies and 600 men of Arms, the people of *Argos* came also forth with their whole power, and joining with them, sat down betimes in the morning before *Orneæ*. But when at night the Army went somewhat far off to lodge, they within fled out, and the *Argives* the next day perceiving it, pulled *Orneæ* to the ground and went home; and so also did the *Athenians* not long after with their Gallies.

The *Athenians* War upon *Macedonia*.

Also the *Athenians* transported certain Horsemen by Sea, part of their own and part *Macedonian* Fugitives that lived with them, into *Methone*, and ravaged the Territory of *Perdiccas*. And the *Lacedæmonians* sent unto the *Chalcideans* upon *Thrace*, who held peace with the *Athenians* from ten days to ten days, appointing them to aid *Perdiccas*. But they refused. And so ended the Winter, and the sixteenth year of this War, written by *Thucydides*.

Year XVII.

The *Athenians* decree the Voyage of *Sicily*, and *Alcibiades*, *Nicias*, and *Lamachus* for Generals.

The next Summer, early in the Spring, the *Athenian* Ambassadors returned from *Sicily*, and the Ambassadors of *Egesta* with them, and brought in Silver uncoined, sixty Talents, for a Moneths pay of sixty Gallies, which they would intreat the *Athenians* to send thither. And the *Athenians* having called an Assembly, and heard both from the *Egestean* and their own Ambassadors, amongst other perswasive, but untrue Allegations

gations touching their Money, how they had great store ready, both in their Treasury and Temples, decreed the sending of 60 Gallies into Sicily, and Alcibiades the son of Clinias, Nicias the son of Niceratus, and Lamachus, the son of Xenophanes, for Commanders, with Authority absolute, the which were to aid the People of Egesta against the Selinuntians; and withall, if they had time to spare, to plant the Leontines anew in their City, and to order all other the affairs of Sicily, as they should think most for the profit of the Athenians.

Five days after this the People assembled again, to consult of the means how most speedily to put this Armada in readiness, and to decree such things as the Generals should further require for the Expedition. But Nicias having heard that himself was chosen for one of the Generals, and conceiving that the State had not well resolved, but affected the Conquest of all Sicily, a great matter upon small and superficial pretences, stood forth desiring to have altered this the Athenians purpose, and spake as followeth:

THE ORATION OF NICIAS.

THough this Assembly was called to deliberate of our preparation, and of the manner how to set forth our Fleet for Sicily; yet to me it seemeth that we ought rather once again to consult, whether it be not better, not to send it at all, then upon a short deliberation in so weighty an affair, and upon the credit of Strangers, to draw upon our selves an impertinent War. For my own part, I have honour by it; and for the danger of my person, I esteem it the least of all men; not but that I think him a good Member of the Commonwealth, that hath regard also to his own Person and Estate: for such a man especially will desire the Publick to prosper, for his own sake. But as I have never spoken heretofore, so nor now will I speak any thing that is against my conscience, for gaining to my self a preheminance of honour, but that onely which I apprehend for the best. And although I am sure, that if I go about to persuade you to preserve what you already hold, and not to hazard things certain for uncertain and future, my words will be too weak to prevail against your humour; yet this I must needs let you know, that neither your haste is seasonable, nor your desires easie to be atchieved. For I say, that going thither you leave many Enemies here behind you, and more you endeavour to draw hither. You perhaps think that the League will be firm that you have made with the Lacedæmonians, which though as long as you stir not, may continue a League in Name, (for so some have made it of our own side) yet if any considerable Forces of ours chance to miscarry, our Enemies will soon renew the War, as having made the Peace, constrained by calamities, and upon terms of more dishonour and necessity then our selves. Besides in the League it self, we have many things controverted; and somethere be that refuse utterly to accept it, and they none of the weakest, whereof* some are now in open War against us, and † others, because the Lacedæmonians stir not, maintain onely a Truce with us from ten to ten days, and so are contented yet to hold their hands. But peradventure when they shall hear that our Power is distracted (which is the thing we now hasten to do) they will be glad to join in the War with the Sicilians against us, the Confederacy of whom they would heretofore have valued above many other. It behoveth us therefore to consider of these things, and not to run into new dangers, when the State of our own City hangeth unsettled, nor seek a new Dominion before we assure

* The Corinthians.

† The Bœotians.

assure that which we already have. For the Chalcideans of Thrace, after so many years revolt, are yet unreduced: and from others in divers parts of the Continent, we have but doubtful obedience. But the Egestæans, being forsooth our Confederates, and wronged, they in all haste must be aided; though to right us on those by whom we have a long time our selves been wronged, that we defer. And yet if we should reduce the Chalcideans into subjection, we could easily also keep them so. But the Sicilians, though we vanquish them, yet being many, and far off, we should have much ado to hold them in obedience. Now it were madness to invade such, whom conquering, you cannot keep; and failing, should lose the means for ever after to attempt the same again. As for the Sicilians, it seemeth unto me, at least as things now stand, that they shall be of less danger to us if they fall under the Dominion of the Syracusians, then they are now. And yet this is that the Egestæans would most affright us with; for now the States of Sicily in several, may perhaps be induced in favour of the Lacedæmonians, to take part against us: whereas then, being reduced into one, it is not likely they would hazard with us State against State. For by the same means that they, joining with the Peloponnesians may pull down our Dominion, by the same it would be likely that the Peloponnesians would subvert theirs. The Grecians there will fear us most, if we go not at all; next, if we but shew our Forces, and come quickly away. But if any misfortune befall us, they will presently despise us, and join with the Grecians hereto invade us. For we all know that those things are most admired which are farthest off, and which least come to give proof of the opinion conceived of them. And this (Athenians) is your own case now with the Lacedæmonians and their Confederates, whom because beyond your hope you have overcome, in those things for which you at first feared them, you now in contempt of them turn your Arms upon Sicily. But we ought not to be puffed up upon the misfortunes of our Enemies, but to be confident then onely, when we have mastered their designs. Nor ought we to think that the Lacedæmonians set their minds on any thing else, but how they may yet for the late disgrace, repair their reputation if they can, by our overthrow, and the rather because they have so much, and so long laboured to win an opinion in the World of their Valour. The question with us therefore (if we be well advised) will not be of the Egestæans in Sicily, but how we may speedily defend our City against the insidiation of them that favour the Oligarchy. We must remember also that we have had now some short recreation from a late great Plague, and great War, and thereby are improved both in men and money; which it is most meet we should spend here upon our selves, and not upon these Outlaws which seek for aid. Seeing it maketh for them to tell us a specious lie; who contributing onely words, whilest their friends bear all the danger, if they speed well, shall be disoblighd of thanks, if ill, undo their friends for company. Now if there be any * man here that for ends of his own, as being glad to be General, especially being yet too young to have charge in chief, shall advise the expedition, to the end he may have admiration for his expence upon Horses, and help from his place to defray that expence, suffer him not to purchase his private honour and splendor with the danger of the publick Fortune. Believe rather that such men though they rob the Publick, do nevertheless consume also their private Wealth. Besides, the matter it self is full of great difficulties, such as it is not fit for a young man to consult of, much less hastily to take in hand. And I seeing those now that sit by and abett the same man, am fearful of them, and do on the other side exhort the elder sort (if any of them (it near those other) not to be ashamed to deliver their minds freely; as fearing, that if they give their voice against the War, they should be esteemed Cowards;

* He glanceth at Alcibiades.

Cowards; nor to dote (as they do) upon things absent, knowing that by Passion the fewest actions, and by Reason the most do prosper; but rather for the benefit of their Countrey, which is now cast into greater danger then ever before, to hold up their hands on the other side, and decree, That the Sicilians within the limits they now enjoy, not disliked by you, and with liberty to sail by the Shore, in the Ionian Gulf, and in the main of the Sicilian Sea, shall possess their own, and compound their differences within themselves. And for the Egestæans, to answer them in particular, thus; That as without the Athenians they had begun the War against the Selinuntians, so they should without them likewise end it. And, that we shall no more hereafter, as we have used to do, make such men our Confederates, as when they do injury, we must maintain it, and when we require their assistance, cannot have it. And you the President (if you think it your Office to take care of the Common-wealth, and desire to be a good Member of the same) put these things once more to the question, and let the Athenians speak to it again. Think (if you be afraid to infringe the Orders of the Assembly) that before so many witnesses it will not be made a crime, but that you shall be rather thought a Physician of your Countrey, that hath swallowed down evil counsel. And he truly dischargeth the Duty of a President, who laboureth to do his Countrey the most good, or at least will not willingly do it hurt. Thus spake NICIAS.

But the most of the Athenians that spake after him, were of opinion that the Voyage ought to proceed, the Decree already made, not to be reversed. Yet some there were that said to the contrary. But the expedition was most of all pressed by Alcibiades the son of Clinias, both out of desire he had to cross Nicias, with whom he was likewise at odds in other points of State, and also for that he had glanced at him invidiously in his Oration, but principally for that he affected to have charge, hoping that himself should be the man to subdue both Sicily and Carthage, to the State of Athens, and withall, if it succeeded, to increase his own private Wealth and Glory. For being in great estimation with the Citizens, his desires were more vast then for the proportion of his Estate, both in maintaining of Horses and other his expences was meet. Which proved afterwards none of the least causes of the subversion of the Athenian Common-wealth. For most men fearing him, both for his excess in things that concerned his person and form of life, and for the greatness of his spirit, in every particular action he undertook, as one that aspired to the Tyranny, they became his Enemy. And although for the Publick, he excellently managed the War, yet every man privately displeased with his course of life, gave the charge of the Wars to others, and thereby, not long after, overthrew the State; Alcibiades at this time stood forth, and spake to this effect.

The Motives of Alcibiades to further his Voyage.

THE ORATION OF ALCIBIADES.

Men of Athens, It both belongeth unto me, more then to any other, to have this charge; and withall, I think my self (for I must needs begin with this, as having been touched by Nicias) to be worthy of the same. For those things for which I am so much spoken of, do indeed purchase glory to my Progenitors, and my self, but to the Common-wealth, they conferre both Glory and Profit. For the Grecians have

* *Xoγνίαι*, the exhibition of Masks, Games, or other Festival Spectacles.

thought our City a mighty one, even above the truth, by reason of my brave appearance at the Olympian Games; whereas before they thought easily to have warred it down. For I brought thither seven Chariots, and not onely won the first, second, and fourth prize, but carried also in all other things a magnificence worthy the honour of the Victory. And in such things as these, as there is honour to be supposed, according to the Law; so is there also a power conceived, upon sight of the thing done. As for my * expences in the City, upon setting forth of Shews, or whatsoever else is remarkable in me, though naturally it procure envy in other Citizens, yet to Strangers this also is an argument of our greatness. Now it is no unprofitable course of life, when a man shall at his private cost, not onely benefit himself, but also the Common-wealth. Nor doth he that beareth himself high upon his own worth, and refuseth to make himself fellow with the rest, wrong the rest; for if he were in distress, he should not find any man that would share with him in his calamity. Therefore as we are not so much as saluted when we be in misery, so let them likewise be content to be contemned of us when we flourish; or if they require equality, let them also give it. I know that such men, or any man else, that excelleth in the glory of any thing whatsoever, shall as long as he liveth be envied, principally of his equals, and then also of others amongst whom he converseth; but with posterity they shall have Kindred claimed of them, though there be none; and his Countrey will boast of him, not as of a stranger, or one that had been a man of lewd life, but as their own Citizen, and one that had atchieved worthy and laudable acts. This being the thing I aim at, and for which I am renowned, consider now whether I administer the Publick the worse for it or not. For having reconciled unto you the most potent States of Peloponnesus without much, either danger or cost, I compelled the Lacedæmonians to stake all that ever they had, upon the Fortune of one day of Mantinea.

And this hath my Youth and Madnes, supposed to have been very madnes, with familiar and fit words, wrought upon the power of the Peloponnesians; and shewing reason for my passion, made my madnes now no longer to be feared. But as long as I flourish with it, and Nicias is esteemed fortunate, make you use of both our services. And abrogate not your Decree touching the Voyage into Sicily, as though the Power were great you are to encounter withall. For, the number wherewith their Cities are populous, is but of promiscuous Nations, easily shifting, and easily admitting new comers; and consequently not sufficiently armed any of them for the defence of their bodies, nor furnished as the custom of the place appointeth, to fight for their Countrey. But what any of them thinks he may get by fair speech, or snatch from the Publick by Sedition, that onely he looks after, with purpose if he fail, to run the Countrey. And it is not likely that such a rabble, should either with one consent give ear to what is told them, or unite themselves for the administration of their affairs in common; but if they hear of fair offers, they will one after one be easily induced to come in; especially if there be Seditions amongst them, as we hear there are. And the truth is, there are neither so many men of Arms as they boast of; nor doth it appear that there are so many Grecians there in all, as the several Cities have every one reckoned for their own number. Nay, even Greece hath much belied it self, and was scarce sufficiently armed in all this War past. So that the business there, for all that I can by Fame understand, is even as I have told you, and will yet be easier. For we shall have many of the Barbarians, upon hatred of the Syracusians, to take our parts against them there, and if we consider the case aright, there will be nothing to hinder us at home.

For

For our Ancestors having the same Enemies which they say we leave behind us now in our Voyage to Sicily, and the Persian besides, did nevertheless erect the Empire we now have, by our onely odds of strength at Sea.

And the hope of the Peloponnesians against us, was never less then now it is, though their Power were also as great as ever; for they would be able to invade our Land, though we went not into Sicily: and by Sea they can do us no harm though we go, for we shall leave a Navy sufficient to oppose theirs behind us. What therefore can we alledge with any probability for our backwardness? or what can we pretend unto our Confederates, for denying them assistance? whom we ought to defend, were it but because we have sworn it to them; without objecting that they have not reciprocally aided us. For we took them not into League, that they should come hither with their aids; but that by troubling our Enemies there, they might hinder them from coming hither against us. And the way whereby we, and whosoever else hath dominion, hath gotten it, hath ever been the chearful succouring of their Associates that required it, whether they were Greeks or Barbarians. For if we should all sit still, or stand to make choice which were fit to be assisted and which not, we should have little under our government of the Estates of other men, but rather hazard our own. For when one is grown mightier then the rest, men use not onely to defend themselves, against him when he shall invade, but to anticipate him that he invade not at all. Nor is it in our power to be our own carvers, how much we will have subject to us; but considering the case we are in, it is as necessary for us to seek to subdue those that are not under our Dominion, as to keep so those that are: Lest if others be not subject to us, we fall in danger of being subjected unto them. Nor are we to weigh quietness in the same Ballance that others do, unless also the Institution of this State were like unto that of other States. Let us rather make reckoning by enterprising abroad; to increase our power at home, and proceed in our Voyage; that we may cast down the haughty conceit of the Peloponnesians, and shew them the contempt and slight account we make of our present ease, by undertaking this our Expedition into Sicily. Whereby either conquering those States, we shall become Masters of all Greece; or weaken the Syracusians, to the benefit of our selves and our Confederates. And for our security to stay; (if any City shall come to our side) or to come away (if otherwise) our Gallies will afford it. For in that we shall be at our own liberty, though all the Sicilians together were against it. Let not the speech of Nicias, tending onely to laziness, and to the stirring of debate between the young men and the old, avert you from it; but with the same decency wherewith your Ancestors consulting young and old together, have brought our Dominion to the present height, endeavour you likewise to enlarge the same. And think not that Youth or Age, one without the other, is of any effect, but that the simplest, the middle sort, and the exactest judgments tempered together, is it that doth the greatest good; and that a State, as well as any other thing, will, if it rest, wear out of it self, and all mens knowledge decay; whereas by the exercise of War Experience will continually increase, and the City will get a habit of resisting the Enemy, not with words but action. In summ this is my opinion, that a State accustomed to be active, if it once grow idle, will quickly be subjected by the change; and that they of all men are most surely planted, that with most unity observe the present Laws and Customs, though not always of the best.

Thus spake *ALCIBIADES.*

The Athenians, when they had heard him, together with the Egestæans and Leontine Outlaws, who being then present, entreated and (objecting to them their Oath) begged their help in form of Suppliants, were far more earnestly bent upon the Journey then they were before. But Nicias, when he saw he could not alter their resolution with his Oration, but thought he might perhaps put them from it by the greatness of the provision, if he should require it with the most, stood forth again, and said in this manner :

THE ORATION OF NICIAS.

MEN of Athens, For as much as I see you violently bent to this Expedition, such effect may it take, as is desired. Nevertheless I shall now deliver my opinion upon the matter as it yet standeth. As far as we understand by report, we set out against great Cities, not subject one to another, nor needing innovation, whereby they should be glad out of hard servitude to admit of easier Masters; nor such as are likely to prefer our Government before their own Liberty; but many, (as for one Island) and those Greek Cities. For besides Naxos and Catana, (which two I hope will join with us, for their affinity with the Leontines,) there are other seven, furnished in all respects after the manner of our own Army, and especially those two against which we bend our Forces most, Selinus and Syracuse. For there are in them many men of Arms, many Archers, many Darters, besides many Gallies, and a multitude of men to man them. They have also store of money, both amongst private men, and in their Temples. This have the Selinuntians. The Syracusians have a Tribute beside coming in from some of the Barbarians. But that wherein they exceed us most, is this, that they abound in Horses, and have Corn of their own, not fetcht in from other places. Against such a Power we shall therefore need, not a Fleet onely, and with it a small Army, but there must great Forces go along of Land Souldiers, if we mean to do any thing worthy our Design, and not to be kept by their many Horsemen from landing; especially if the Cities there terrified by us, should now hold all together, and none but the Egestæans prove our friends, and furnish us with a Cavalry to resist them. And it would be a shame either to come back with a repulse, or to send for a new supply afterwards, as if we had not wisely considered our enterprize at first. Therefore we must go sufficiently provided from hence, as knowing that we go far from home, and are to make War in a place of disadvantage, and not as when we went as Confederates, to aid some of our Subjects here at home, where we had ease bringing in of necessaries to the Camp from the Territories of Friends. But we go far off, and into a Country of none but Strangers, and from whence in Winter there can hardly come a Messenger unto us in so little as four Moneths. Wherefore I am of opinion that we ought to take with us many men of Arms, of our own, of our Confederates, and of our Subjects, and also out of Peloponnesus as many as we can get either for love or money: and also many Archers and Slingers, whereby to resist their Cavalry; and much spare Shipping, for the more ease bringing in of Provision. Also our Corn, I mean Wheat and Barley parched, we must carry with us from hence in * Ships; and Bakers from the Mills, hired and made to work by turns, that the Army, if it chance to be weather-bound, may not be in want of Victual. For being so great, it will not be for every City to receive it. And so for all things else, we must as much as we can, provide them our selves, and not rely on others.

* Oarsmen, Ships of the round building, going onely with sails, without Oars after the fashion of our Ships. In distinction from Gallies.

Above all, we must take hence as much money as we can; For as for that which is said to be ready at Egesta, think it ready in words, but not in deed: For although we go thither with an Army not onely equal unto theirs, but also (excepting their men of Arms for Battel) in every thing exceeding it, yet so shall we scarce be able both to overcome them, and withall to preserve our own. We must also make account that we go to inhabit some City in that foreign and hostile Countrey, and either the first day we come thither to be presently Masters of the Field, or failing, be assured to find all in hostility against us. Which fearing, and knowing that the business requires much good advice, and more good fortune (which is a hard matter, being we are but men) I would so set forth, as to commit my self to Fortune as little as I may, and take with me an Army, that in likelihood should be secure. And this I conceive to be both the surest course for the City in general, and the safest for us that go the Voyage. If any man be of a contrary opinion, I resign him my place.

Thus spake Nicias, imagining that either the *Athenians* would, upon the multitude of the things required, abandon the Enterprize: or if he were forced to go, he might go thus with the more security.

But the *Athenians* gave not over the desire they had of the Voyage for the difficulty of the preparation, but were the more inflamed thereby to have it proceed; and the contrary fell out of that which he before expected. For they approved his counsel, and thought now there would be no danger at all, and every one alike fell in love with the enterprize. The old men, upon hope to subdue the place they went to, or that at least so great a power could not miscarry; and the young men, upon desire to see a foreign Countrey, and to gaze, making little doubt but to return with safety.

The *Athenians* upon this speech, made to deter them from the enterprize, are the more encouraged to it.

As for the common sort and the Souldiers, they made account to gain by it not onely their wages for the time, but also so to amplify the State in power, as that their stipend should endure for ever. So that through the vehement desire thereunto, of the most, they also that liked it not, for fear (if they held up their hands against it) to be thought evil affected to the State, were content to let it pass.

And in the end a certain *Athenian* stood up, and calling upon Nicias, said, he ought not to shift off, nor delay the business any longer, but to declare there before them all, what Forces he would have the *Athenians* decree him. To which unwillingly he answered and said, he would to consider of it first with his fellow Commanders; Nevertheless for so much as he could judge upon the sudden, he said, there would need no less then 100 Gallies; whereof for transporting of men of Arms, so many of the *Athenians* own, as they themselves should think meet, and the rest to be sent for to their Confederates. And that of men of Arms, in all, of their own and of their Confederates, there would be requisite no less then 5000, but rather more if they could be gotten, and other provision proportionable. As for Archers both from hence and from *Crete*, and Slingers, and whatsoever else should seem necessary, they would provide it themselves, and take it with them.

When the *Athenians* had heard him, they presently decreed that the Generals should have absolute Authority, both touching the greatness of the preparation, and the whole Voyage, to do therein as should seem best unto them for the Common-wealth. And after this they went in hand with the preparations accordingly, and both sent unto the Confederates, and enrolled Souldiers at home. The City had by this time

reco-

recovered her self from the sickness, and from their continual Wars, both in number of men fit for the Wars, grown up after the ceasing of the Plague, and in store of money gathered together by means of the Peace, whereby they made their provisions with much ease. And thus were they employed in preparation for the Voyage.

The faces of all the Images of *Mercury* throughout *Athens*, pared plain.

In the mean time the *Mercuries* of Stone throughout the whole City of *Athens*, (now there were many of these of square stone, set up by the Law of the place, and many in the Porches of private Houses, and in the Temples) had in one night most of them their faces pared, and no man knew who had done it. And yet great rewards out of the Treasury had been propounded to the Discoverers; and a Decree made that if any man knew of any other prophanation, he might boldly declare the same, were he Citizen, Stranger, or Bondman. And they took the fact exceedingly to heart, as ominous to the expedition, and done withall upon conspiracy for alteration of the State, and dissolution of the Democracy.

Alcibiades accused for having in mockery acted the celebration of the Mysteries of their Religion.

Hereupon, certain Strangers dwelling in the City, and certain Serving-men revealed something, not about the *Mercuries*, but of the paring of the Statues of some other of the *Gods*, committed formerly through wantonness and too much Wine by young men, and withall, how they had in private Houses acted the Mysteries of their Religion in mockery; amongst whom they also accused *Alcibiades*. This, they that most envied *Alcibiades*, because he stood in their way, that they could not constantly bear chief sway with the People, making account to have the Primacy if they could thrust him out, took hold of, and exceedingly aggravated, exclaiming, that both the mockery of the Mysteries, and the paring of the *Mercuries* tended to the deposing of the People; and that nothing therein was done without him, alledging for Argument his other excess in the ordinary course of his life, not convenient in a popular estate. He at that present made his Apology, and was there ready, if he had done any such thing, to answer it before he went the Voyage, (for by this time all their preparation was in readiness) and to suffer Justice, if he were guilty, and if absolved, to resume his charge. Protesting against all accusations to be brought against him in his absence, and pressing to be put to death then presently, if he had offended; and saying, that it would not be discreetly done to send away a man accused of so great crimes, with the charge of such an Army, before his Trial. But his Enemies fearing lest if he came then to his Trial, he should have had the favour of his Army; and lest the people which loved him, because the *Argives* and some of the *Mantineans* served them in this War, onely for his sake, should have been mollified, put the matter off, and hastned his going out, by setting on other Orators to advise that for the present he should go, and that the setting forward of the Fleet should not be retarded, and that at his return he should have a day assigned him for his Trial. Their purpose being upon further accusation, which they might easily contrive in his absence, to have him sent for back to make his answer. And thus it was concluded that *Alcibiades* should go.

He desires to come to his Trial before his going forth, but is not suffered.

The *Athenian* Fleet putteth to Sea.

The description of the setting forth of the Fleet.

After this, the Summer being now half spent, they put to Sea for *Sicily*. The greatest part of the Confederates and the Ships that carried their Corn, and all the lesser Vessels, and the rest of the Provision that went along, they before appointed to meet upon a day set, at *Coreyra*, thence all together to cross over the *Ionian* Gulf to the Promontory of *Japygia*. But the *Athenians* themselves, and as many of their Confederates

rates

rates as were at *Athens* upon the day appointed, betimes in the morning came down into *Peireus*, and went aboard to take Sea. With them came down in a manner the whole multitude of the City, as well Inhabitants as strangers: The Inhabitants, to follow after such as belonged unto them, some their Friends, some their Kinsmen, and some their Children; filled both with hope and lamentations; hope of conquering what they went for, and lamentation as being in doubt whether ever they should see each other any more, considering what a way they were to go from their own Territory. And now when they were to leave one another to danger, they apprehended the greatness of the same more then they had done before, when they decreed the Expedition. Nevertheless their present strength, by the abundance of every thing before their eyes prepared for the Journey, gave them heart again in beholding it. But the strangers and other multitude came onely to see the Shew, as of a worthy and incredible Design. For this preparation, being the first *Grecian* Power that ever went out of *Greece* from one onely City, was the most sumptuous and the most glorious of all that ever had been set forth before it, to that day. Nevertheless for number of Gallies and men of Arms, that which went out with *Pericles* to *Epidaurus*, and that which *Agnon* carried with him to *Potidaea*, was not inferiour to it. For there went four thousand men of Arms, three hundred Horse, and one Hundred Gallies out of *Athens* it self; and out of *Lesbos* and *Chios* fifty Gallies, besides many Confederates that accompanied him in the Voyage. But they went not far, and were but meanly furnished. Whereas this Fleet, as being to stay long abroad, was furnished for both kinds of service, in which of them soever it should have occasion to be employed both with Shipping and Land Souldiers.

For the Shipping, it was elaborate with a great deal of cost, both of the Captains of Gallies, and of the City. For the State allowed a Drachma a day to every Mariner; the *empty Gallies which they sent forth, being of nimble ones 60, and of such as carried their men of Arms 40 more. And the Captains of Gallies both put into them the most able servants, and besides the wages of the State, unto the [uppermost bank of Oars, called the] **Thranitæ*, and to the servants, gave somewhat of their own; and bestowed great cost otherwise every one upon his own Gally, both in the † Badges and other Rigging, each one striving to the utmost to have his Gally, both in some ornament, and also in swiftness to exceed the rest.

And for the Land Forces, they were levied with exceeding great choice, and every man endeavoured to excel his fellow in the bravery of his Arms and Utenfils that belonged to his person. Insomuch as amongst themselves it begat quarrel about precedency, but amongst other *Grecians* a conceit that it was an ostentation rather of their Power and Riches, then a preparation against an Enemy. For if a man enter into account of the expence as well of the Publick as of private men that went the Voyage, namely, of the Publick, what was spent already in the business, and what was to be given to the Commanders to carry with them; and of private men, what every one had bestowed upon his person, and every Captain on his Gally, beside what every one was likely, over and above his allowance from the State, to bestow on provision for so long a Warfare, and what the Merchant carried with him for Traffick, he will find the whole sum carried out of the City, to amount to a

* Empty in respect of those that carried Provision.

* *Θεσπία*. There being three banks of Oars one above another, the uppermost were called *Thranitæ*, the middlemost *Zeugitæ*, and the lowest *Thalamitæ*, whereof the *Thranitæ* managed the longest Oar, and therefore in respect of their greater labour might deserve a greater pay. † *Σπυαία*. The Images which being set on the fore-part of the Gally, did give it the name for the most part

great

great many Talents. And the Fleet was no less noised amongst those against whom it was to go, for the strange boldness of the attempt, and gloriousness of the Shew, then it was for the excessive report of their number, for the length of the Voyage, and for that it was undertaken with so vast future hopes, in respect of their present power.

Ἐπίδωτες. It was a form amongst the Grecians, and other Nations then, both before great Enterprizes to wish good fortune; and at the making of League and Peace, to ratifie what they did, by drinking one to another.

The Syracusians upon the fame of their coming, do some believe it, and some not.

After they were all aboard, and all things laid in that they meant to carry with them, silence was commanded by the Trumpet; and after the Wine had been carried about to the whole Army, and all, as well the Generals as the Souldiers, had *drunk a health to the Voyage, they made their prayers, such as by the Law were appointed for before their taking Sea; not in every Gally apart, but all together, the Herald pronouncing them: And the company from the Shore, both of the City and whosoever else wished them well, prayed with them. And when they had sung the *Paan*, and ended the Health, they put forth to Sea. And having at first gone out in a long File, Gally after Gally, they after went a Vie by *Ægina*. Thus hasted these to be at *Corcyra*; to which place also the other Army of the Confederates were assembling.

At *Syracuse* they had advertisement of the Voyage from divers places; nevertheless it was long ere any thing would be believed. Nay, an Assembly being there called, Orations were made, such as follow, on both parts, as well by them that believed the report touching the *Athenian* Army to be true, as by others that affirmed the contrary. And *Hermocrates* the son of *Hermon*, as one that thought he knew the certainty, stood forth, and spake to this effect:

The Oration of HERMOCRATES.

Concerning the truth of this Invasion, though perhaps I shall be thought as well as other men, to deliver a thing incredible; and though I know that such as be either the Authors or Relaters of matter incredible, shall not onely not perswade, but be also accounted Fools; nevertheless I will not for fear thereof hold my tongue, as long as the Commonwealth is in danger; being confident that I know the truth hereof somewhat more certainly then others do. The Athenians are bent to come, even against us, (which you verily wonder at) and that with great Forces both for the Sea and Land, with pretence indeed to aid their Confederates the *Egestæans*, and to replant the *Leontines*, but in truth they aspire to the dominion of all *Sicily*, and especially of this City of ours; which obtained, they make account to get the rest with ease. Seeing then they will presently be upon us, advise with your present means, how you may with most honour make head against them, that you may not be taken unprovided through contempt, nor be careless through incredulity; and that such as believe it, may not be dismayed with their audaciousness and power. For they are not more able to do hurt unto us, then we be unto them, neither indeed is the greatness of their Fleet without some advantage unto us. Nay, it will be much the better for us, in respect of the rest of the *Sicilians*; for being terrified by them, they will the rather league with us. And if we either vanquish or repulse them without obtaining what they come for (for I fear not at all the effecting of their purpose) verily it will be a great honour to us, and in my opinion not unlikely to come to pass. For in truth there have been few great Fleets, whether of Grecians or Barbarians, sent far from home, that have not prospered ill. Neither are these that come against us more in number then our selves, and the neighbouring Cities, for surely we shall all hold together

together upon fear. And if for want of necessities in a strange Territory they chance to miscarry, the honour of it will be left to us against whom they bend their Counsels, though the greatest cause of their overthrow should consist in their own errors. Which was also the case of these very Athenians, who raised themselves by the misfortune of the Medes, (though it happened for the most part contrary to reason) because in name they went onely against the Athenians. And that the same shall now happen unto us, is not without probability.

Let us therefore with courage put in readines our own Forces, let us send to the Siculi, to confirm those we have, and to make Peace and League with others; and let us send Ambassadors to the rest of Sicily, to shew them that it is a common danger; and into Italy to get them into our League, or at least that they receive not the Athenians. And in my judgment it were our best course to send also to Carthage, for even they are not without expectation of the same danger. Nay, they are in a continual fear that the Athenians will bring the War upon them also, even to their City. So that upon apprehension, that if they neglect us the trouble will come home to their own door, they will perhaps either secretly or openly, or some way assist us. And of all that now are, they are the best able to do it, if they please: for they have the most Gold and Silver, by which both the Wars and all things else are the best expedited. Let us also send to Lacedæmon and to Corinth, praying them not onely to send their Succours hither with speed, but also to set ~~an~~ foot the War there. But that which I think the best course of all, though through an habit of sitting still, you will hardly be brought to it, I will nevertheless now tell you what it is. If the Sicilians all together, or if not all, yet if we, and most of the rest would draw together our whole Navy, and with two Moneths Provision go and meet the Athenians at Tarentum, and the Promontory of Japygia, and let them see that they must fight for their passage over the Ionian Gulf, before they fight for Sicily, it would both terrifie them the most, and also put them into a consideration, That we as the Watchmen of our Countrey, come upon them out of an amicable Territory, (for we shall be received at Tarentum) whereas they themselves have a great deal of Sea to pass with all their preparations, and cannot keep themselves in their order for the length of the Voyage. And that for us, it will be an easie matter to assail them, coming up as they do, slowly and thin. Again, if lightning their Gallies, they shall come up to us more nimbly and more close together, we shall charge upon them already wearied, or we may if we please, retire again into Tarentum. Whereas they, if they come over but with a part of their provisions, as to fight at Sea, shall be driven into want of Victuals in those desert parts, and either staying bethere besieged, or attempting to go by, leave behind them the rest of their Provision, and be dejected, as not assured of the Cities, whether they will receive them or not.

I am therefore of opinion, that dismayed with this reckoning, they will either not put over at all from Corcyra, or whilest they spend time in deliberating, and in sending out to explore how many, and in what place we are, the season will be lost, and Winter come; or deterred with our unlooked for opposition, they will give over the Voyage. And the rather, for that (as I hear) the man of most experience amongst their Commanders, hath the charge against his will, and would take a light occasion to return, if he saw any considerable stop made by us in the way. And I am very sure we should be voiced amongst them to the utmost. And as the reports are, so are mens minds; and they fear more such as they hear will begin with them, then such as give out, that they will no more but defend themselves. Because then

they think the danger equal. Which would be now the case of the Athenians. For they come against us with an opinion that we will not fight; deservedly contemning us, because we joined not with the Lacedæmonians to pull them down. But if they should see us once bolder than they looked for, they would be terrified more with the unexpectedness, then with the truth of our power itself. Be persuaded therefore principally to dare to do this; or if not this, yet speedily to make your selves otherwise ready for the War; and every man to remember, that though to shew contempt of the Enemy be best in the heat of fight, yet those preparations are the surest, that are made with fear and opinion of danger. As for the Athenians they come, and I am sure are already in the way, and want onely that they are not now here.

Thus spake HERMOCRATES.

But the People of Syracuse were at much strife amongst themselves, some contending that the Athenians would by no means come, and that the reports were not true; and others, that if they came they would do no more harm than they were likely again to receive. Some contemned and laughed at the matter: but some few there were that believed Hermocrates, and feared the event. But Athenagoras, who was Chief Magistrate of the People, and at that time most powerful with the Commons, spake as followeth:

The Oration of ATHENAGORAS.

HE is either a Coward, or not well affected to the State, whosoever he be that wisheth the Athenians not to be so mad, as coming hither to fall into our Power. As for them that report such things as these, and put you into fear, though I wonder not at their boldness, yet I wonder at their folly, if they think their ends not seen. For they that are afraid of any thing themselves, will put the City into a fright, that they may shadow their own with the Common fear. And this may the Reports do at this time, not raised by chance, but framed on purpose, by such as always trouble the State. But if you mean to deliberate wisely, make not your reckoning by the reports of these men, but by that which Wise men, and men of great experience, (such as I hold the Athenians to be) are likely to do. For it is not probable, that leaving the Peloponnesians and the War there not yet surely ended, they should willingly come hither to a new War, no less than the former; seeing in my opinion, they may be glad that we invade not them, so many and so great Cities as we are.

And if indeed they come, (as these men say they will) I think Sicily more sufficient to dispatch the War than Peloponnesus, as being in all respects better furnished: and that this our own City is much stronger than the Army which they say is now coming, though it were twice as great as it is. For I know they neither bring Horses with them, nor can get any here, save onely a few from the Egestæans, nor have men of Arms, so many as we, in that they are to bring them by Sea.

For it is a hard matter to come so far as this by Sea, though they carried no men of Arms in their Gallies at all, if they carry with them all other their necessaries; which cannot be small against so great a City. So that I am so far from the opinion of these others, that I think the Athenians, though they had here another City as great as Syracuse, and confining on it, and should

should from thence make their War, yet should not be able to escape from being destroyed every man of them; much less now, when all Sicily is their Enemy. For in their Camp, fenced with their Gallies, they shall be couped up; and from their Tents and forced munition, never be able to stir far abroad without being cut off by our Horsemen. In short, I think they shall never be able to get landing; so much above theirs do I value our own Forces. But these things, as I said before, the Athenians considering, I am very sure, will look unto their own; and our men talk here of things that neither are, nor ever will be; who I know have desired, not onely now but ever, by such reports as these or by worse, or by their actions to put the multitude in fear, that they themselves might rule the State. And I am afraid, lest attempting it often, they may one day effect it. And for us, we are too poor-spirited either to foresee it ere it be done, or foreseeing to prevent it. By this means our City is seldom quiet, but subject to Sedition, and Contention, not so much against the Enemy as within it self; and sometimes also to Tyranny and Usurpation. Which I will endeavour (if you will second me) so to prevent hereafter, as nothing more of this kind shall befall you. Which must be done, first by gaining you the Multitude, and then by punishing the Authors of these Plots, not onely when I find them in the action, (for it will be hard to take them so) but also for those things which they would, and cannot do. For one must not onely take revenge upon an Enemy for what he hath already done, but strike him first for his evil purpose: For if a man strike not first, he shall first be stricken. And as for the Few, I shall in somewhat reprove them, in somewhat have an eye to them, and in somewhat advise them. For this I think will be the best course to avert them from their bad intentions. Tell me forsooth, (I have asked this question often) you that are the younger sort, What would you have? Would you now bear Office? the Law allows it not. And the Law was made, because ye are not now sufficient for Government, not to disgrace you when you shall be sufficient. But forsooth, you would not be ranked with the multitude. But what Justice is it, that the same men should not have the same priviledges? Some will say, that the Democracy is neither a well-governed, nor a just State, and that the most wealthy are aptest to make the best Government. But I answer first, Democracy is a name of the whole, Oligarchy but of a part. Next, though the Rich are indeed fittest to keep the Treasure, yet the Wise are the best Counsellors, and the Multitude, upon hearing, the best Judge. Now in a Democracy all these, both jointly and severally participate equal Priviledges. But in the Oligarchy, they allow indeed to the Multitude a participation of all dangers; but in matters of profit, they not onely incroach upon the Multitude, but take from them, and keep the whole. Which is the thing that you the Rich and the Younger sort affect; but in a great City cannot possibly embrace. But yet, O ye, the most unwise of all men, unless you know that what you affect is evil, and if you know not that, you are the most ignorant of all the Grecians I know; or ye most wicked of all men, if knowing it, you dare do this: yet I say, inform your selves better, or change your purpose, and help to amplify the common good of the City, making account that the good amongst you, shall not onely have an equal but a greater share therein then the rest of the multitude. Whereas if you will needs have all, you shall run the hazard of losing all. Away therefore with these rumours, as discovered and not allowed. For this City, though the Athenians come, will be able to defend it self with honour. And we have Generals to look to that matter. And if they come not, (which I rather believe) it will not, upon the terror of your reports, make choice of you for Commanders, and cast it self into voluntary

tary servitude. But taking direction of it self, it both judgeth your words virtually as facts, and will not upon words let go her present liberty, but endeavour to preserve it by not committing the same actually to your discretion.

Thus said *ATHENAGORAS*.

Then one of their Generals rising up, forbad any other to stand forth, and spake himself to the matter in hand, to this effect :

The Speech of one of the Syracusan Generals.

IT is no wisdom neither for the Speakers to utter such Calumnies one against another, nor for the Hearers to receive them. We should rather consider, in respect of these reports, how we may in the best manner, both every one in particular and the City in general, be prepared to resist them when they come. And if there be no need, yet to furnish the City with Horses and Arms, and other Habiliments of War can do us no hurt. As for the care hereof, and the Musters, we will look to it, and will send men abroad, both to the Cities and for Spials, and do whatsoever else is requisite. Somewhat we have done already, and what more we shall hereafter find meet, we will from time to time report unto you.

Which when the General had said, the Syracusians dissolved the Assembly.

The Athenians put out from Corcyra.

The Athenians were now all in Corcyra, both they and their Confederates. And first the Generals took a view of the whole Army, and put them into the Order wherein they were to Anchor, and make their Naval Camp, and having divided them into three squadrons, to each squadron they assigned a Captain by lot, to the end that being at Sea, they might not come into want of Water, or Harbors, or any other necessities, where they chanced to stay ; and that they might otherwise be the more easie to be governed, when every Squadron had his proper Commander. After this they sent before them three Gallies, into Italy and Sicily, to bring them word what Cities in those parts would receive them, whom they appointed to come back and meet them, that they might know whether they might be received or not before they put in. This done, the Athenians with all their provisions put out from Corcyra towards Sicily, having with them in all 134 Gallies, and two Rhodian Long-Boats of fifty Oars apiece. Of these a hundred were of Athens it self, whereof sixty were expedite, the other forty for transportation of Souldiers. The rest of the Navy belonged to the Chians, and other the Confederates. Of men of Arms they had in all 5100. Of these there were of the Athenians themselves 1500 enrolled, and 700 more [of the poorer sort, called] *Thetes*, hired for defence of the Gallies. The rest were of their Confederates, some of them being their Subjects. Of Argives there were 500. Of Mantineans and Mercenaries 250. Their Archers in all 480, of which 80 were Cretans. Rhodian Slingers they had 700. Of Light-armed Mægarean Fugitives 120, and in one Vessel made for Transportation of Horses, 30 Horsemen. These were the Forces that went over to the War at first. With these went also 30 Ships carrying necessities, wherein went also the Bakers, and Masons, and Carpen-

The quantity of the Army.

Carpenters, and all Tools of use in Fortification. And with these 30 Ships went 100 Boats by constraint, and many other Ships and Boats that voluntarily followed the Army for Trade, which then passed altogether from *Corcyra* over the *Ionian* Gulf. And the whole Fleet being come to the Promontory of *Japygia* and to *Tarentum*, and such other places as every one could recover, they went on by the Coast of *Italy*, neither received of the States there into any City, nor allowed any Market, having onely the liberty of Anchorage and Water, (and that also at *Tarentum* and *Locri* denied them) till they were at *Rhegium*, where they all came together again, and settled their Camp in the Temple of *Diana*, (for neither there were they suffered to come in) without the City, where the *Rhegians* allowed them a Market. And when they had drawn their Gallies to Land, they lay still. Being here, they dealt with the *Rhegians*, who were *Chalcideans*, to aid the *Leontines*, *Chalcideans* likewise. To which was answered, that they would take part with neither, but what the rest of the *Italians* should conclude, that also they would do. So the *Athenians* lay still, meditating on their *Sicilian* business, how they might carry it the best; and withall expected the return from *Egesta* of the three Gallies which they had sent before them, desiring to know if so much money were there or not, as was reported by their Messengers at *Athens*.

The *Syracusians* in the mean time from divers parts, and also from their Spies, had certain intelligence that the Fleet was now at *Rhegium*, and therefore made their preparations with all diligence, and were no longer incredulous; but sent unto the *Siculi*, to some Cities, men to keep them from revolting; to others, Ambassadors; and into such places as lay upon the Sea, Garrisons; and examined the Forces of their own City by a view taken of the Arms and Horse, whether they were compleat or not, and ordered all things as for a War at hand, and onely not already present.

The three Gallies sent before to *Egesta*, returned to the *Athenians* at *Rhegium*, and brought word, that for the rest of the money promised there was none, onely there appeared thirty Talents. At this the Generals were presently discouraged, both because this first hope was crossed, and because also the *Rhegians*, whom they had already begun to perswade to their League, and whom it was most likely they should have won, as being of kin to the *Leontines*, and always heretofore favourable to the *Athenian* State, now refused. And though to *Nicias* this news from the *Egesteans*, was no more then he expected, yet to the other two it was extream strange. But the *Egesteans*, when the first Ambassadors from *Athens* went to see their Treasure, had thus deceived them. They brought them into the Temple of *Venus* in **Eryx*, and shewed them the holy Treasure, Goblets, Flagons, Censers, and other Furniture, in no small quantity, which being but silver, appeared to the eye a great deal above their true value in money. Then they feasted such as came with them in their private houses, and at those feastings exhibited all the Gold and Silver Vessels they could get together, either in the City of *Egesta* it self, or could borrow in other, as well *Phœnician* as *Grecian* Cities, for their own. So all of them in a manner making use of the same Plate; and much appearing in every of those houses it put those which came with the Ambassadors into a very great admiration, in so much as at their return to *Athens*, they strove who should first proclaim what wealth they had seen. These men having both been

The *Syracusians* certainly knowing of their coming, prepare for their defence.

The hope of the *Athenians* of money from *Egesta* frustrated.

The fraud of the *Egesteans*.

* *Eryx* was a City near *Egesta*, and subject to it.

abused

The several opinions of the Generals, touching how to proceed. The Opinion of *Nicias*.

abused themselves, and having abused others, when it was told that there was no such wealth in *Egesta*, were much taxed by the Souldiers. But the Generals went to Council upon the business in hand.

Nicias was of this opinion, That it was best to go presently with the whole Fleet to *Selinus*, against which they were chiefly set forth; and if the *Egesteans* would furnish them with money for the whole Army, then to deliberate further upon the occasion; if not, then to require maintenance for the 60 Gallies set forth at their own request, and staying with them, by force or composition to bring the *Selinuntians* and them to a Peace. And thence passing along by other of those Cities, to make a shew of the Power of the *Athenian* State, and of their readiness to help their Friends and Confederates, and so to go home, unless they could light on some quick and unthought of means to do some good for the *Leontines*, or gain some of the other Cities to their own League, and not to put the Commonwealth in danger at her own charges.

The Opinion of *Alcibiades*.

Alcibiades said it would not do well to have come out from *Athens*, with so great a power, and then dishonourably without effect to go home again: but rather to send Heralds to every City but *Selinus* and *Syracuse*, and assay to make the *Siculi* to revolt from the *Syracusians*; and others to enter League with the *Athenians*, that they might aid them with men and Victual. And first to deal with the *Messenians*, as being seated in the passage, and most opportune place of all *Sicily* for coming in; and having a Port and Harbor sufficient for their Fleet; and when they had gained those Cities, and knew what help they were to have in the War, then to take in hand *Syracuse* and *Selinus*; unless these would agree with the *Egesteans*, and the other suffer the *Leontines* to be replanted.

The Opinion of *Lamachus*.

But *Lamachus* was of opinion that it was best to go directly to *Syracuse*, and to fight with them as soon as they could at their City, whilst they were yet unfurnished, and their fear at the greatest. For that an Army is always most terrible at first; but if it stay long ere it come in fight, men recollect their spirits and contemn it the more when they see it. Whereas if it come upon them suddenly, while they expect it with fear, it would the more easily get the Victory, and every thing would affright them; as the sight of it (for then they would appear most for number) and the expectation of their sufferings, but especially the danger of a present Battel. And that it was likely that many men might be cut off in the Villages without, as not beleiving they would come; and though they should be already gotten in, yet the Army being Master of the Field, and sitting down before the City, would want no money, and the other *Sicilians* would then neglect leaguings with the *Syracusians*, and join with the *Athenians*, no longer standing off and spying who should have the better. And for a place to retire unto, and Anchor in, he thought *Megara* most fit, being desart, and not far from *Syracuse* neither by Sea nor Land. *Lamachus* said this, but came afterwards to the opinion of *Alcibiades*.

Alcibiades seeketh League with the *Messenians*, but is denied.

The *Athenians* go with part of their Fleet to *Naxus*.

After this, *Alcibiades* with his own Gally having passed over to *Messana*, and propounded to them a League and not prevailed, they answering, that they would not let the Army in, but allow them onely a Market without the Walls, returned back to *Rhegium*. And presently the Generals having out of the whole Fleet manned threescore Gallies, and taken provision aboard, went along the Shore to *Naxus*, having left the rest of the Army with one of the Generals at *Rhegium*. The *Naxians* having

having received them into the City, they went on by the Coast to *Catana*. And to *Catana*.

But the *Cataneans* receiving them not, (for there were some within that favoured the *Syracusians*) they entered the River of *Terias*, and having staid there all that night, went the next day towards *Syracuse*, leisurely with rest of their Gallies; but ten they sent before into the great Haven, not to stay, but to discover if they had lanced any Fleet there, and to proclaim from their Gallies, that the *Athenians* were come to replant the *Leontines* on their own, according to League and Affinity; and that therefore such of the *Leontines* as were in *Syracuse*, should without fear go forth to the *Athenians*, as to their Friends and Benefactors.

They send ten Gallies to view *Syracuse* and the Havens.

And when they had thus proclaimed, and well considered the City, and the Havens, and the Region where they were to seat themselves for the War, they returned to *Catana*.

An Assembly being called at *Catana*, though they refused to receive the Army, they admitted the Generals, and willed them to speak their minds. And whilest *Alcibiades* was in his Oration, and the Citizens at the Assembly, the Souldiers having secretly pulled down a little Gate which was but weakly built, entered the City, and were walking up and down in the Market. And the *Cataneans*, such as favoured the *Syracusians*, seeing the Army within, for fear stole presently out of the Town, being not many. The rest concluded the League with the *Athenians*, and willed them to fetch in the rest of the Army from *Rhegium*. After this the *Athenians* went back to *Rhegium*, and rising from thence came to *Catana* with their whole Army together.

Catana surprised.

Now they had news from *Camarina*, that if they would come thither, the *Camarineans* would join with them, and that the *Syracusians* were manning their Navy. Whereupon with the whole Army they went along the Coast, first to *Syracuse*, where not finding any Navy manned; they went on to *Camarina*. And being come close up to the Shore, they sent a Herald unto them; but the *Camarineans* would not receive the Army, alledging that they had taken an Oath, not to receive the *Athenians* with more then one Gally, unless they should have sent for more, of their own accord. Having lost their labour they departed, and landed in a part of the Territory of *Syracuse*, and had gotten some Booty. But the *Syracusan* Horsemen coming out and killing some stragglers of the light-armed, they returned again to *Catana*.

The *Athenians* go to *Camarina*, but are not received.

Here they find the Gally called *Salaminia*, come thither from *Athens*, both for *Alcibiades*, who was commanded to come home, to purge himself of such things as were laid to his charge by the State, and also for other Souldiers that were with him, whereof some were accused for prophanation of the Mysteries, and some also for the *Mercuries*. For the *Athenians*, after the Fleet was put to Sea, proceeded nevertheless in the search of those that were culpable, both concerning the *Mysteries* and the *Mercuries*. And making no enquiry into the persons of the Informers, but through jealousy admitting of all sorts, upon the report of evil men, apprehended very good Citizens, and cast them into prison. Choosing rather to examine the Fact and find the Truth by torments, then that any man, how good soever in estimation, being once accused, should escape unquestioned.

Alcibiades called home, to answer about the *Mercuries*.

For the People having by fame understood that the Tyranny of *Pisistratus* and his sons, was heavy in the latter end; and withall, that neither

Digression touching
the deposing of the
Tyranny of *Pisistratus*
and his sons.

ther themselves, nor *Harmodius*, but the *Lacedæmonians* overthrew it, were ever fearful, and apprehended every thing suspiciously.

For the fact of *Aristogiton* and *Harmodius*, was undertaken upon an accident of love, which unfolding at large, I shall make appear that neither any other, nor the *Athenians* themselves report any certainty, either of their own Tyrants, or of the Fact. For the old *Pisistratus* dying in the Tyranny, not *Hipparchus*, (as the most think) but *Hippias*, who was his eldest son, succeeded in the Government. Now *Harmodius*, a man in the flower of his Youth, of great beauty, was in the power of one *Aristogiton*, a Citizen of a middle condition, that was his Lover. This *Harmodius* having been solicited by *Hipparchus* the son of *Pisistratus*, and not yielding, discovered the same unto *Aristogiton*. He apprehending it (as Lovers use) with a great deal of anguish, and fearing the power of *Hipparchus*, lest he should take him away by force, fell presently as much as his condition would permit, to a contriving how to pull down the Tyranny. In the mean time *Hipparchus* having again attempted *Harmodius*, and not prevailed, intended, though not to offer him violence, yet in secret, as if forsooth he did it not for that cause to do him some disgrace. For neither was the Government otherwise heavy till then, but carried without their evil will. And to say the truth, these Tyrants held Vertue and Wisdom in great account for a long time; and taking of the *Athenians* but a twentieth part of their Revenues, adorned the City, managed their Wars, and administered their Religion worthily. In other points they were governed by the Laws formerly established, save that these took a care ever, to prefer to the Magistracy, men of their own adherence. And amongst many that had the annual Office of *Archon*, *Pisistratus* also had it, the son of *Hippias*, of the same name with his Grandfather, who also when he was *Archon*, dedicated the Altar of the twelve Gods in the Market-place, and that other in the Temple of *Apollo Pythius*. And though the People of *Athens*, amplifying afterwards that Altar which was in the Market-place, thereby defaced the Inscription, yet that upon the Altar that is in the Temple of *Apollo Pythius*, is to be seen still, though in letters somewhat obscure, in these words.

PISISTRATUS the son of HIPPIAS

Erected this to stand

Itb' Temple of Apollo Pythius,

Witness of his Command.

And that *Hippias* being the elder Brother, had the Government, I can affirm, as knowing it by a more exact relation then other men. And it may be known also by this, It appears that of all the legitimate brethren, this onely had children, as is both signified by the Altar, and also by that Pillar which for a Testimony of the injustice of the Tyrants, was erected in the *Athenian* Cittadel. In which there is no mention of any son of *Thessalus*, or of *Hipparchus*, but of five sons of *Hippias* which he had by *Myrrhine* the daughter of *Callias* the son of *Hyperochidas*. For it is probable that the eldest was first married, and in the forepart of the Pillar, his name after his Fathers, was the first; not without reason, as being both next him in age, and having also enjoyed the Tyranny. Nor indeed could *Hippias* have easily taken on him the Government on a sudden, if his brother had died, seized of the Tyranny, and he been the same day
to

to settle it on himself. Whereas he retained the same with abundant security both for the customary fear in the People, and diligence in the Guard; and was not to seek, like a younger Brother, to whom the Government had not continually been familiar. But *Hipparchus* came to be named for his misfortune, and thereby grew an Opinion afterwards, that he was also Tyrant.

This *Harmodius* therefore that had denied his fate, he disgraced, as he before intended. For when some had warned a Sister of his, a Virgin, to be present, to carry a little Basket in a Procession, they rejected her again when she came, and said that they had never warned her at all, as holding her unworthy the honour. This was taken heavily by *Harmodius*; but *Aristogiton* for his sake, was far more exasperated than he. Whereupon with the rest of the Conspirators he made all things ready for the execution of the design. Onely, they were to stay the time of the Holiday, called the great *Panathenæa*, upon which day onely, such Citizens as lead the Procession, might without suspicion be armed in good number. And they were to begin the Fact themselves, but the rest were to help them against the * Halbardiers.

* The Guard of *Hippias* the Tyrant.

Now the Conspirators for their security, were not many; for they hoped that such also as were not privy to it, if they saw it once undertaken, being upon this occasion armed, would assist in the recovery of their own liberty. When this Holiday was come, *Hippias* was gone out of the City into the place called *Ceramicum*, with his Guard of Halbardiers, and was ordering the Procession, how it was to go. And *Harmodius* and *Aristogiton* with each of them a Dagger, proceeded to the Fact. But when they saw one of the Conspirators familiarly talking with *Hippias*, (for *Hippias* was very affable to all men) they were afraid, and believed that they were discovered, and must presently have been apprehended. They resolved therefore (if it were possible) to be revenged first upon him that had done them the wrong, and for whose sake they had undergone all this danger; and furnished as they were, ran furiously into the City, and finding *Hipparchus* at a place called *Leocorium*, without all regard of themselves, fell upon him, and with all the anger in the World, one upon jealousy, the other upon disgrace took and slew him. *Aristogiton*, for the present, by means of the great confluence of People, escaped through the Guard, but taken afterwards, was ungently handled; but *Harmodius* was slain upon the place.

The news being brought to *Hippias* in the * *Ceramicum*, he went not towards the place where the Fact was committed, but presently unto those that were armed for the solemnity of the Shews, and were far off, that he might be with them before they heard of it, and composing his countenance as well as he could to dissemble the calamity, pointed to a certain place, and commanded them to repair thither without their Arms. Which they did accordingly, expecting that he would have told them somewhat. But having commanded his Guard to take those Arms away, he then fell presently to picking out of such as he meant to question, and whosoever else was found amongst them with a Dagger: For with Shields and Spears to be in the head of the Procession, was of Custom.

* A Street without the Walls of Athens, where they used to bury their slain in the Wars. Lib. I. so named from *Kæquidus*, a Porter, or as Paul. from one *Ceramus*.

Thus was the Enterprize first undertaken upon quarrel of Love, and then upon a sudden fear, followed this unadvised adventure of *Harmodius* and *Aristogiton*. And after this time the Tyranny grew sorer to the *Athenians* than it had been before. And *Hippias* standing more in fear, not

* A woman of Athens a City flourishing for Letters and Civility, to a man of Lampsacus, a City infamous for barbarity and effeminacy.

onely put many of the Citizens to death, but also cast his eye on the States abroad, to see if he might get any security from them, in this alteration at home. He therefore afterwards (* though an *Athenian*, and to a *Lampsacen*) gave his daughter *Archedice* unto *Æantidas* the son of *Hippocles* Tyrant of *Lampsacus*, knowing that the *Lampsacens* were in great favour with King *Darius*. And her Sepulchre is yet to be seen, with this Inscription :

*Archedice, the daughter of King Hippias,
who in his time,
Of all the Potentates of Greece was prime,
this dust doth hide.
Daughter, Wife, Sister, Mother unto Kings she was,
yet free from Pride.*

* A Family descended from a noble Citizen of Athens named *Alcmaeon*, who being in exile, solicited the *Lacedaemonians* to depose the Tyrants of Athens.

He had five days given him to be gone out of the State of Athens.

† The jealousy and passionate fury of the People, in enquiry after the Authors of the offences, touching the *Mysteries* and *Mercuries*.

One of the Prisoners is perswaded by a fellow prisoner to appeach some man, whether true or not true, and doth so.

And *Hippias*, after he had reigned three years more in *Athens*, and was in the fourth deposed by the *Lacedaemonians*, and the exiled * *Alcmaeonides* went under Truce to *Sigeum*, and to *Æantidas* at *Lampsacus*, and thence to King *Darius*, from whence twenty years after in his old Age, he came to *Marathon* with the *Median* Army.

The People of *Athens* bearing this in mind, and remembring all that they had heard concerning them, were extreemly bitter, and full of † jealousy towards those that had been accused of the *Mysteries*, and thought all to have been done upon some *Oligarchical* or *Tyrannical* Conspiracy. And whilest they were passionate upon this surmise, many worthy men had already been cast in prison, and yet they were not likely so to give over, but grew daily more salvage, and sought to apprehend more still. Whilest they were at this pass, a Prisoner that seemed most to be guilty, was perswaded by one of his fellow prisoners to accuse some body whether it were true or not true, (for it is but conjectural on both sides, nor was there ever then or after, any man that could say certainly who it was that did the deed) who brought him to it by telling him that though he had not done it, yet he might be sure to save his own life, and should deliver the City from the present suspicion. And that he should be more certain of his own safety, by a free confession, then by coming to his Trial if he denied it. Hereupon he accused both himself and others for the *Mercuries*.

Divers men accused of the paring of the *Mercuries*.

* But onely to some few of the Great men.

The People of *Athens*, gladly receiving the certainty (as they thought) of the Fact, and having been much vexed before, to think that the Conspirators should * never perhaps be discovered to their Multitude, presently set at liberty the Accuser, and the rest with him, whom he had not appeached, but for those that were accused, they appointed Judges, and all they apprehended, they executed. And having condemned to die such as fled, they ordained a sum of money to be given to those that should slay them. And though it were all this while uncertain, whether they suffered justly or unjustly, yet the rest of the City had a manifest ease for the present. But touching *Alcibiades* the *Athenians* took it extreem ill, through the instigation of his Enemies, the same that had opposed him before he went. And seeing it was certain (as they thought) for the *Mercuries*, the other crime also concerning the *Mysteries* whereof he had been accused, seemed a great deal the more to have been committed by him upon the same reason, and conspiracy against the People.

For it fell out withall, whilest the City was in a tumult about this, that an Army of the *Lacedæmonians* was come as far as the *Isthmus*, upon some design against the *Bæotians*. Presumptions against Alcibiades.

These therefore they thought were come thither, not against the *Bæotians*, but by appointment of him, and that if they had not first apprehended the persons appeached, the City had been betrayed. And one night they watched all night long in their Arms in the Temple of *Theseus* within the City. And the Friends of *Alcibiades* in *Argos*, were at the same time suspected of a purpose, to set upon the People there, whereupon the *Athenians* also delivered unto the *Argive* People those * Hostages which they held of theirs in the Islands, to be slain. And there were presumptions against *Alcibiades* on all sides; in so much as purposing by Law to put him to death, they sent as I have said, the Gally called *Salaminia* into *Sicily*, both for him and the rest with him that had been accused: But gave command to those that went, not to apprehend him, but to bid him follow them, to make his purgation; because they had a care, not to give occasion of stir, either amongst their own or the Enemies Souldiers; but especially because they desired that the *Mantineans* and the *Argives*, who they thought followed the War by his persuasion, might not depart from the Army. So he and the rest accused with him in his own Gally, in company of the *Salaminia*, left *Sicily* and set sail for *Athens*. But being at *Thuria* they followed no further, but left the Gally, and were no more to be found: fearing indeed to appear to the accusation. They of the *Salaminia* made search for *Alcibiades* and those that were with him for a while, but not finding him, followed on their course for *Athens*. *Alcibiades*, now an Outlaw, passed shortly after in a small Boat from *Thuria* into *Peloponnesus*, and the *Athenians* proceeding to judgment upon his not appearing, condemned both him and them to death. *300 in number, lib. 5.
Alcibiades sent for home.
Alcibiades fleeth.

After this, the *Athenian* Generals that remained in *Sicily*, having divided the Army into two, and taken each his part by lot, went with the whole towards *Selinus* and *Egesta*, with intention both to see if the *Egestæans* would pay them the money, and withall to get knowledge of the designs of the *Selinuntians*, and learn the state of their controverſie with the *Egestæans*. And sailing by the Coast of *Sicily*, having it on their left hand on that side which lieth to the *Tyrrhene* Gulf, they came to *Himera*, the onely *Grecian* City in that part of *Sicily*: which not receiving them, they went on, and by the way took *Hyccara*, a little Town of the *Sicanians*, Enemy to the *Egestæans*, and a Sea Town; and having made the Inhabitants Slaves, delivered the Town to the *Egestæans*, whose Horse Forces were there with them. The Athenian Generals in Sicily go to Selinus and Egesta.

Thence the *Athenians* with their Land men returned through the Territory of the *Siculi* to *Catana*; and the Gallies went about with the Captives. *Nicias* going with the Fleet presently from *Hyccara* to *Egesta*, when he had dispatched with them his other business, and received 30 Talents of Money, returned to the Army. The Captives they ransomed, of which they made 120 Talents more. Then they sailed about to their Confederates of the *Siculi*, appointing them to send their Forces; and with the half of their own they came before *Hybla* in the Territory of *Gela*, an Enemy City, but took it not, and so ended this Summer. They take Hyccara.

The next Winter the *Athenians* fell presently to make preparation for their journey against *Syracuse*. And the *Syracusians* on the other side prepared to invade the *Athenians*. For seeing the *Athenians* had not presently

The end of the seventeenth Summer. The *Syracusians* condemn the *Athenians*.

upon the first fear, and expectation of their coming, fallen upon them, they got every day more and more heart. And because they went far from them into those other parts of *Sicily*, and assailing *Hybla*, could not take it, they contemned them more then ever: and prayed their Commanders, (as is the manner of the multitude when they be in courage) seeing the *Athenians* came not upon them to conduct them to *Catana*. And the *Syracusan* Horsemen, which were ever abroad for Scouts, spurring up to the Camp of the *Athenians*, amongst other scorns, asked them whether they came not rather to dwell in the Land of another, then to restore the *Leontines* to their own?

Nicias his stratagem to get easie landing and encamping by *Syracuse*.

The *Athenian* Generals having observed this, and being desirous to draw forth the *Syracusians* whole power as far as might be from the City, to be able in the mean time, without impeachment, going thither in the night by Sea, to seize on some convenient place to encamp in; for they knew they should not be able to do it so well in the face of an Enemy prepared, nor if they were known to march by Land, for that the *Syracusan* Horsemen being many, would greatly annoy the light-armed, and other multitude, they themselves having no Horsemen there: whereas thus they might possess themselves of a place where the Horse could not do them any hurt at all to speak of, (now the *Syracusan* Outlaws that were with them, had told them of a place near the Temple *Olympieum*, which also they seized) I say, the *Athenian* Generals to bring this their purpose to effect, contrived the matter thus: They send a man of whose fidelity they were well assured, and in the opinion of the *Syracusan* Commanders, no less a friend of theirs.

This man was a *Catanæan*, and said he came from *Catana*, from such and such whose names they knew, and knew to be the remnant of their Well-willers in that City. He told them that the *Athenians* lay every night within the Town, and far from their Arms, and that if with the whole power of their City, at a day appointed, betimes in a morning, they would come to their Camp, those friends of the *Syracusians* would shut the *Athenians* in, and set fire on their Gallies, by which means the *Syracusians* assailing the Palizado, might easily win the Camp. And that the *Catanæans* that were to help them herein were many, and those he came from, already prepared for it.

The *Syracusan* Commanders having been also otherwise encouraged, and having intended a preparation to go against *Catana* though this Messenger had not come, did so much the more unadvisedly believe the man, and straightways being agreed of the day on which they were to be there, sent him away. These Commanders (for by this time the *Selinuntians*, and some other their Confederates were come in) appointed the *Syracusians* universally to set forwards by a day. And when all their necessities were in readiness, and the day at hand in which they were to be there, they set forwards toward *Catana*, and encamped the night following upon the banks of the River *Simethus*, in the Territory of the *Leontines*. The *Athenians* upon advertisement that they were set forth, rising with their whole Army, both themselves, and such of the *Siculi*, and others as went with them, and going aboard their Gallies and Boats in the beginning of the night, set sail for *Syracuse*. In the morning betimes, the *Athenians* disembarked over against *Olympieum*, to make their Camp. And the *Syracusan* Horsemen, who were at *Catana* before the rest, finding the Camp risen, came back to the Foot and told them. Whereupon they went altogether back to the aid of the City.

City. In the mean time, the way the *Syracusians* had to go being long, the *Athenians* had pitched their Camp at leisure in a place of advantage, wherein it was in their own power to begin Battel when they list, and where, both in and before the Battel, the *Syracusan* Horsemen could least annoy them. For on one side there were Walls, and Houses, and Trees, and a Lake that kept them off; on the other side steep Rocks; and having felled Trees hard by, and brought them to the Sea side, they made a Palizado both before their Gallies, and toward *Dascon*. And on that part that was most accessible to the Enemy they made a Fort with stone, (the best they could find, but unwrought) and with Wood, and withall pulled down the Bridge of the River *Anapus*.

The *Athenians* land, pitch their Camp, and entrench themselves ere the *Syracusians* return.

Whilest this was doing, there came none to impeach them from the City. The first that came against them were the *Syracusan* Horsemen, and by and by after, all the Foot together. And though at first they came up near unto the Camp of the *Athenians*, yet after, seeing the *Athenians* came not out against them, they retired again, and crossing to the other side of the *Helorine* High-way, staid there that night.

The *Syracusan* Army cometh back.

The next day the *Athenians* and their Confederates prepared to fight, and were ordered thus: The *Argives* and the *Mantineans* had the right Wing, the *Athenians* were in the middle, and the rest of their Confederates in the other Wing. That half of the Army which stood foremost was ordered by eight in File; the other half towards their Tents ordered likewise by eights, was cast into the form of a long square, and commanded to observe diligently where the rest of the Army was in distress, and to make specially thither. And in the midst of these so arranged, were received such as carried the Weapons and Tools of the Army.

The *Athenians* and *Syracusians* prepare to fight.

The *Syracusians* arranged their men of Arms, who were *Syracusians* of all conditions, and as many of their Confederates as were present, by sixteen in File. They that came to aid them were chiefly the *Selinuntians*, and then the Horsemen of the *Geloans*, about two hundred; and of the *Camarinæans* about twenty Horsemen, and fifty Archers. The Cavalry they placed in the right point of the Battel, being in all no less then a thousand two hundred, and with them the Darters. But the *Athenians* intending to begin the Battel, *Nicias* went up and down the Army, from one Nation to another, to whom, and to all in general, he spake to this effect.

The ORATION of N I C I A S to his Army.

WHat need I (Sirs) to make a long Exhortation, when this Battel is the thing for which we all came hither? For in my opinion the present preparation is more able to give you encouragement, then any Oration, how well soever made, if with a weak Army. For where we are together, *Argives*, *Mantineans*, *Athenians*, and the best of the Islanders, how can we choose, amongst so many and good Confederates, but conceive great hope of the Victory? especially against tag and rag, and not chosen men as we are ourselves, and against *Sicilians*, who though they contend us, cannot stand against us; their Skill not being answerable to their Courage. It must be remem-
bred

bred also, that we be far from our own, and not near to any amiable Territory, but such as we shall acquire by the Sword. My exhortation to you (I am certain) is contrary to that of the Enemy. For they say to theirs, You are to fight for your Countrey, I say to you, You are to fight out of your Countrey, where you must either get the Victory, or not easily get away. For many Horsemen will be upon us. Remember therefore every man his own worth, and charge valiantly, and think the present necessity and streight we are in, to be more formidable then the Enemy.

The Battel between
the Athenians and
Syracusians.

Nicias having thus exhorted the Army, led it presently to the charge. The Syracusians expected not to have fought at that instant, and the City being near, some of them were gone away; and some for haste came in running; and though late, yet every one, as he came, put himself in, where was the greatest number. For they wanted neither willingness, nor courage either in this or any other Battel, being no less valiant, so far forth as they had experience, then the Athenians. But the want of this made them even against their wills, to abate also somewhat of their courage.

Nevertheless, though they thought not the Athenians would have begun the Battel, and were thereby constrained to fight on a sudden, yet they resumed their Arms, and came presently forward to the Encounter.

And first, the Casters of Stones, and Slingers, and Archers of either side, skirmished in the midst between the Armies, mutually chasing each other, as amongst the Light-armed, was not unlikely.

After this, the Southsayers brought forth their Sacrifices according to the Law of the place, and the Trumpets instigated the men of Arms to the battel. And they came on to fight, the Syracusians for their Countrey, and their Lives for the present, and for their Liberty in the future. On the other side, the Athenians to win the Countrey of another, and make it their own, and not to weaken their own by being vanquished. The Argives and other free Confederates to help the Athenians to conquer the Countrey they came against, and to return to their own with Victory. And their Subject-confederates came also on with great courage, principally for their better Safety, as desperate if they overcame not, and withall upon the by, that by helping the Athenians to subdue the Countrey of another, their own subjection might be the easier.

After they were come to handstrokes, they fought long on both sides. But in the mean time there hapned some claps of Thunder and flashes of Lightning, together with a great showre of Rain; in so much as it added to the fear of the Syracusians that were now fighting their first Battel, and not familiar with the Wars; whereas to the other side that had more experience, the season of the Year seemed to expound that accident; and their greatest fear proceeded from the so long resistance of their Enemies, in that they were not all this while overcome. When the Argives first had made the left Wing of the Syracusians to give ground, and after them the Athenians also had done the like to those that were arranged against them, then the rest of the Syracusian Army was presently broken and put to flight. But the Athenians pursued them not far, (because the Syracusian Horsemen being many, and unvanquished, whensoever any men of Arms advanced far from the Body of the Army, charged upon them, and still drove them in again) but having followed as far as safely they might in great Troops, they retired again, and

The Athenians have
the Victory.

and erected a Trophy. The *Syracusians* having rallied themselves in the *Helorine* way, and recovered their Order as well as they could for that time, sent a Guard into *Olympieum*, lest the *Athenians* should take the Treasure there, and returned with the rest of the Army into the City. The *Athenians* went not to assault the Temple, but gathering together their dead, laid them upon the Funeral fire, and staid that night upon the place. The next day they gave Truce to the *Syracusians* to take up their dead (of whom and of their Confederates were slain about 260) and gathered up the bones of their own. Of the *Athenians* and their Confederates there died about fifty. And thus, having rifled the bodies of their dead Enemies, they returned to *Catana*. For it was now Winter, and to make War there they thought it yet unpossible, before they had sent for Horsemen to *Athens*, and levied other amongst their Confederates there in *Sicily*; to the end they might not be altogether over-mastered in Horse, and before they had also both levied money there and received more from *Athens*, and made League with certain Cities which they hoped after this Battel, would the more easily hearken thereunto; and before they had likewise provided themselves of Victuals and other things necessary, as intending the next Spring to undertake *Syracuse* again. With this mind they went to Winter at *Naxos* and *Catana*.

The *Syracusians* after they had buried their dead, called an Assembly, and *Hermocrates* the son of *Hermon*, a man not otherwise second to any in Wisdom and in War, both able for his Experience, and eminent for his Valour, standing forth, gave them encouragement, and would not suffer them to be dismaid with that which had happened.

Hermocrates encourageth the *Syracusians*, and is chosen General with two more.

Their courage, he said, was not overcome, though their want of Order had done them hurt. And yet in that they were not so far inferiour, as it was likely they would have been. Especially being (as one may say) home-bred Artificers against the most experienced in the War of all the Grecians. That they had also been hurt by the number of their Generals and Commanders, (for there were fifteen that commanded in chief) and by the many supernumerary Souldiers under no command at all. Whereas if they would make but a few and skilful Leaders, and prepare Armour this Winter for such as want it, to encrease as much as might be, the number of their men of Arms, and compel them in other things to the exercise of Discipline, in all reason they were to have the better of the Enemy. For valour they had already, and to keep their Order, would be learnt by practice; and both of these would still grow greater; Skill, by practising with danger; and their Courage would grow bolder of it self, upon the confidence of Skill. And for their Generals they ought to choose them few and absolute, and to take an Oath unto them, to let them lead the Army whithersoever they thought best. For by this means, both the things that require secrecie would the better be concealed, and all things would be put in readyness with Order, and less Tergiversation.

The *Syracusians*, when they had heard him, Decreed all that he advised, and elected three Generals, *Him*, *Heraclides* the son of *Lyfimachus*, and *Sicanus* the son of *Exegeftus*. They sent also Ambassadors to *Corinth* and *Lacedæmon*, as well to obtain a League with them, as also to perswade the *Lacedæmonians* to make a hotter War against the *Athenians*, and to declare themselves in the quarrel of the *Syracusians*, thereby either to withdraw them from *Sicily*, or to make them the less able to send supply to their Army which was there already.

The *Syracusians* send for aid into *Peloponnesus*.

The

The Athenians attempt *Messana*, but fail.

The *Syracusians* enlarge the compass of their Walls, and burn the Tents of the Athenians by *Catana*.

* The ground belonging to the Temple of *Apollo*.

Ambassadors both from the Athenians and *Syracuse* unto *Camarina*, for the friendship of that City.

The Athenian Army at *Catana* failed presently to *Messana* to receive it by Treason of some within, but the Plot came not to effect. For *Alcibiades* when he was sent for from his charge, being resolved to fly, and knowing what was to be done, discovered the same to the friends of the *Syracusians* in *Messana*, who with those of their Faction slew such as were accused; and being armed upon occasion of the Sedition, obtained to have the Athenians kept out. And the Athenians after 13 days stay, troubled with tempestuous weather, Provision also failing, and nothing succeeding, returned again to *Naxos*; and having fortified their Camp with a Palizado, they Wintered there, and dispatched a Gally to *Athens* for money, and Horsemen to be with them early in the Spring.

The *Syracusians* this Winter raised a Wall before their City, all the length of the side towards *Epipolæ*, including **Temenitis*; to the end, if they chanced to be beaten, they might not be so easily enclosed, as when they were in a narrower compass. And they put a Guard into *Megara*, and another into *Olympieum*, and made Palizadoes on the Sea-side, at all the places of landing. And knowing that the Athenians Wintered at *Naxos*, they marched with all the Power of the City unto *Catana*, and after they had wasted the Territory and burnt the Cabins and Camp where the Athenians had lodged before, returned home.

And having heard that the Athenians had sent Ambassadors to *Camarina*, according to a League made before in the time of *Laches*, to trie if they could win them to their side, they also sent Ambassadors to oppose it. For they suspected that the *Camarinaeans* had sent those succours in the former Battel with no great good will, and that now they would take part with them no longer, seeing the Athenians had the better of the day, but would rather join with the Athenians upon the former League. *Hermocrates* therefore and others being come to *Camarina* from the *Syracusians*, and *Euphemus* and others from the Athenians, when the Assembly was met, *Hermocrates* desiring to encrease their envy to the Athenians, spake unto them to this effect:

The Oration of HERMOCRATES.

MEN of *Camarina*, we come not hither upon fear that the Forces of the Athenians here present may affright you, but lest their Speeches which they are about to make, may seduce you, before you have also heard what may be said by us. They are come into Sicily with that pretence indeed which you hear given out, but with that intention which we all suspect. And to me they seem not to intend the replantation of the *Leontines*, but rather our supplantation; for surely it holdeth not in reason, that they who subvert the Cities yonder, should come to plant any City here; nor that they should have such a care of the *Leontines*, because *Chalcidæans*, for kindreds sake, when they keep in servitude the *Chalcidæans* themselves of *Eubœa*, of whom these here are but the Colonies. But they both hold the Cities there, and attempt those that are here in one and the same kind. For when the *Ionians*, and the rest of the Confederates, their own Colonies, had willingly made them their Leaders in the War, to avenge them on the *Medes*, the Athenians laying afterwards to their charge, to some the not sending of their Forces, to some their War among themselves, and so to the rest the most colourable criminations they could get, subdued them all to their obedience. And it was not for the liberty of the Grecians that these men, nor for the liberty of themselves that

the Grecians made head against the Medes; but the Athenians did it to make them serve, not the Medes, but them; and the Grecians to change their Master as they did, not for one less wise, but for one worse wise. But in truth we come not to accuse the Athenian State (though it be obnoxious enough) before you that know sufficiently the injuries they have done; but far rather to accuse our selves, who though we have the examples before our eyes, of the Grecians there, brought into servitude for want of defending themselves; and though we see them now with the same Sophistry of replanting the Leontines and their Kindred, and aiding of their Confederates the Egestæans, prepare to do the like unto us, do not yet unite our selves, and with better courage make them to know that we be not Ionians, nor Hellepontines, nor Islanders, that changing, serve always the Mede or some other Master; but that we are Dorians and Free-men come to dwell here in Sicily out of Peloponnesus, a Free Countrey. Shall we stand still till we be taken City after City? when we know, that that onely way we are conquerable, and when we find them wholly bent to this, that by drawing some from our Alliance with their words, and causing some to wear each other out with War, upon hope of their Confederacy, and winning others by other fit language, they may have the power to do us hurt. But we think, though one of the same Island perish, yet if he dwell far off, the danger will not come to us; and before it arrive, we count unhappy onely him that suffereth before us. If any therefore be of this opinion that it is not he, but the Syracusian that is the Athenians Enemy, and thinketh it a hard matter, that he should endanger himself for the Territory that is mine, I would have him to consider, that he is to fight not chiefly for mine, but equally for his own in mine, and with the more safety, for that I am not destroyed before, and he thereby destitute of my help, but stand with him in the Battel. Let him also consider, that the Athenians come not hither to punish the Syracusians for being Enemies to you, but by pretence of me, to make himself the stronger by your friendship. If any man here envieth, or also feareth us, (for the strongest are still liable unto both) and would therefore wish that the Syracusians might be weakned, to make them more modest, but not vanquished for their own safeties sake, that man hath conceived a hope beyond the power of man. For it is not reasonable, that the same man should be the disposer both of his desires and of his fortune. And if his aim should fail him, he might, deploring his own misery, peradventure wish to enjoy my prosperity again. But this will not be possible to him that shall abandon me, and not undertake the same dangers, though not in title, yet in effect the same that I do. For though it be our power in title, yet in effect it is your own safety you shall defend. And you men of Camarina that are our borderers, and likely to have the second place of danger, you should most of all have foreseen this, and not have aided us so dully. You should rather have come to us, and that which if the Athenians had come first against Camarina, you should in your need have implored at our hands, the same you should now also have been seen equally to hearten us withall, to keep us from yielding. But as yet neither you, nor any of the rest have been so forward. Perhaps upon fear you mean to deal evenly between us both, and alledge your League with the Athenians. You made no League against your friends, but against your enemies, in case any should invade you: and by it you are also tied to aid the Athenians when others wrong them, but not when (as now) they wrong their neighbours. For even the Rhegians who are Chalcideans, refuse to help them in replanting the Leontines, though these also be Chalcideans. And then it were a hard case, if they suspecting a bad Action under a fair Justification, are wise without a Reason, and you, upon pretence of Reason, should aid your natural

Enemies, and help them that most hate you, to destroy your more natural Kindred.

But this is no Justice; to fight with them is Justice, and not to stand in fear of their preparation. Which if we hold together is not terrible, but is, if contrarily (which they endeavour) we be disunited. For neither when they came against us being none but our selves, and had the upper hand in Battel, could they yet effect their purpose, but quickly went their ways. There is no reason therefore we should be afraid when we are all together, but that we should have the better will to unite our selves in a League. And the rather, because we are to have aid from Peloponnesus, who every way excel these men in Military sufficiency. Nor should you think that your purpose to aid neither, as being in League with both, is either just in respect of us, or safe for your selves. For it is not so just in substance, as it is in the pretence. For if through want of your aid the Assailed perish, and the Assailant become Victor, what do you by your Neutrality but leave the safety of the one undefended, and suffer the other to do evil? Whereas it were more noble in you, by joyning with the wronged, and with your Kindred, both to defend the Common Good of Sicily, and keep the Athenians as your Friends, from an act of injustice. To be short, we Syracusians say, That to demonstrate plainly to you, or to any other, the thing you already know, is no hard matter; but we pray you, and withall, if you reject our words, we protest, that whereas the Ionians, who have ever been our Enemies, do take Counsel against us, you that are Dorians as well as we, betray us. And if they subdue us, though it be by your Counsels that they do it, yet they onely shall have the honour of it. And for the prize of their Victory, they will have none other but even the Authors of their Victory. But if the Victory fall unto us, even you also, the Cause of this our danger, shall undergo the Penalty. Consider therefore now, and take your choice, whether you will have Servitude without the present danger, or saving your selves with us, both avoid the dishonour of having a Master, and escape our Enmity, which is likely otherwise to be lasting.

Thus spake HERMOCRATES.

After him, Euphemus, Ambassador from the Athenians, spake thus:

THE ORATION OF EUPHEMUS.

THough our coming were to renew our former League, yet seeing we are touched by the Syracusian, it will be necessary we speak something here of the right of our Dominion. And the greatest testimony of this right he hath himself given, in that he said the Ionians were ever Enemies to the Dorians. And it is true. For being Ionians, we have ever endeavoured to find out some means or other how best to free our selves from subjection to the Peloponnesians, that are Dorians, more in number then we, and dwelling near us. After the Median War, having gotten us a Navy, we were delivered thereby from the Command and Leading of the Lacedæmonians; there being no cause why they should rather be Leaders of us then we of them, save onely that they were then the stronger. And when we were made Commanders of those Grecians which before lived under the King, we took

took upon us the Government of them, because we thought, that having Power in our hands to defend our selves, we should thereby be the less subject to the Peloponnesians. And to say truth, we subjected the Ionians and Islanders, (whom the Syracusians say we brought into bondage, being our kindred) not without just cause: for they came with the Medes against ours their Mother City, and for fear of losing their wealth, durst not revolt as we did; that abandoned our very City. But as they were content to serve, so they would have imposed the same condition upon us. For these causes we took upon us our dominion over them, both as worthy of the same, in that we brought the greatest Fleet and promptest Courage to the service of the Grecians: whereas they with the like promptness in favour of the Medes, did us hurt: and also as being desirous to procure our selves a strength against the Peloponnesians. And follow any other we will not, seeing we alone have pulled down the Barbarian, (and therefore have right to command) or at least have put our selves into danger more for the liberty of the Peloponnesians, then of all the rest of Greece, and our own besides. Now to seek means for ones own preservation is a thing unblamable. And as it is for our own safeties cause that we are now here, so also we find that the same will be profitable for you. Which we will make plain, from those very things which they accuse, and you as most formidable suspect us of; being assured that such as suspect with vehement fear, though they may be won for the present with the sweetness of an Oration, yet when the matter comes to performance, will then do as shall be most for their turn. We have told you that we hold our Dominion yonder upon fear; and that upon the same cause we come hither now by the help of our friends, to assure the Cities here, and not to bring you into subjection, but rather to keep you from it.

And let no man object that we be solicitous for those that are nothing to us. For as long as you be preserved, and able to make head against the Syracusians, we shall be the less annoyed by their sending of Forces to the Peloponnesians. And in this point you are very much unto us. For the same reason it is meet also that we replant the Leontines, not to subject them, as their Kindred in Eubœa, but to make them as puissant as we can; that being near, they may from their own Territory weaken the Syracusians in our behalf. For as for our Wars at home, we are a match for our Enemies without their help. And the Chalcidean, (whom having made a Slave yonder, the Syracusian said, we absurdly pretend to vindicate into liberty here) is most beneficial to us there without Arms, paying money onely; but the Leontines, and other our friends here, are the most profitable to us, when they are most in liberty.

Now to a Tyrant, or City that reigneth, nothing can be thought absurd, if profitable, nor any man a friend that may not be trusted to. Friend or Enemy he must be, according to the several occasions. But here it is for our benefit not to weaken our Friends, but by our Friends strength to weaken our Enemies. This you must needs believe, in as much as yonder also, we so command over our Confederates, as every of them may be most useful to us. The Chians and Methymnæans redeem their liberty with providing us some Gallies: the most of the rest with a tribute of money, somewhat more pressing. Some again of our Confederates are absolutely free, notwithstanding that they be Islanders, and easie to be subdued. The reason whereof is this, they are situate in places commodious about Peloponnesus. It is probable therefore that here also we will so order our affairs, as shall be most for our own turn, and most according to our fear (as we told you) of the Syracusians. For they affect a dominion over you; and having by advantage of your suspicion of

us, drawn you to their side, will themselves by force, or (if we go home without effect) by your want of friends, have the sole command of Sicily. Which, if you join with them, must of necessity come to pass. For neither will it be easie for us to bring so great Forces again together, nor will the Syracusians want strength to subdue you if we be absent. Him that thinketh otherwise, the thing it self convinceth: for when you called us in to aid you at the first, the fear you pretended was onely this, that if we neglected you the Syracusians would subdue you, and we thereby should participate of the danger. And it were unjust that the argument you would needs have to prevail then with us, should now have no effect with your selves; or that you should be jealous of the much strength we bring against the power of the Syracusians, when much rather you should give the less ear unto them. We cannot so much as stay here without you; and if becoming perfidious, we should subdue these States, yet we are unable to hold them; both in respect of the length of the Voyage, and for want of means of guarding them, because they be great, and provided after the manner of the Continent. Whereas they, not lodged near you in a Camp, but inhabiting near you in a City of greater Power then this of ours, will be always watching their advantages against you: and when an opportunity shall be offered against any of your Cities, will be sure not to let it slip. This they have already made to appear, both in their proceedings against the Leontines, and also otherwise. And yet have these the face to move you against us that hinder this, and that have hitherto kept Sicily from falling into their hands. But we on the otherside, invite you to a far more real safety, and pray you not to betray that safety which we both of us hold from one another at this present, but to consider that they by their own number have way to you always, though without Confederates, whereas you shall seldom have so great an aid again to resist them. Which if through your jealousy you suffer to go away without effect; or if it miscarry, you will hereafter wish for the least part of the same, when their coming can no more do you good. But (Camarinaeans) be neither you nor others, moved with their calumnies. We have told you the very truth why we are suspected; and summarily we will tell it you again, claiming to prevail with you thereby. We say we command yonder, lest else we should obey, and we assert into liberty the Cities here, lest else we should be harmed by them. Many things we are forced to be doing, because many things we have to beware of. And both now and before we came not uncalled, but called as Confederates to such of you as suffer wrong. Make not your selves Judges of what we do, nor go about as Censors (which were now hard to do) to divert us; but as far this busie humour and fassion of ours may be for your own service, so far take and use it. And think not the same hurtful alike to all, but that the greatest part of the Grecians have good by it. For in all places, though we be not of any side, yet both he that looketh to be wronged, and he that contriveth to do wrong, by the obviousness of the hope that the one hath of our aid, and of the fear that the other hath of their own danger if we should come, are brought by necessity, the one to moderation against his will, the other into safety, without his trouble. Refuse not therefore the security now present, common both to us that require it, and to your selves. But do as others use to do; come with us, and in stead of defending your selves always against the Syracusians, take your turn once, and put them to their Guard as they have done you.

Thus spake EUPHEMUS.

The

The *Camarineans* stood thus affected: They bare good will to the *Athenians*, save that they thought to subjugate *Sicily*; and were ever at strife with the *Syracusians* about their Borders. Yet because they were afraid that the *Syracusians* that were near them might as well get the Victory as the other, they had both formerly sent them some few Horse, and also now resolved for the future to help the *Syracusians*, but underhand, and as sparingly as was possible; and withall that they might no less seem to favour the *Athenians* than the *Syracusians*, especially after they had won a Battel, to give for the present an equal answer unto both. So after deliberation had they answered thus: *That for as much as they that Warred were both of them their Confederates, they thought it most agreeable to their Oath, for the present to give aid to neither.* And so the Ambassadors of both sides went their ways: and the *Syracusians* made preparation for the War by themselves.

The resolution of the *Camarineans* for Neutrality.

The *Athenians* being encamped at *Naxos*, treated with the *Siculi*, to procure as many of them as they might to their side. Of whom, such as inhabited the Plain and were subject to the *Syracusians*, for the most part held off; but they that dwelt in the most in-land parts of the Island, being a free People, and ever before dwelling in Villages, presently agreed with the *Athenians*, and brought Corn into the Army, and some of them also money. To those that held off, the *Athenians* went with their Army, and some they forced to come in, and others they hindred from receiving the Aids and Garrisons of the *Syracusians*. And having brought their Fleet from *Naxos*, where it had been all the Winter till now, they lay the rest of the Winter at *Catana*, and re-erected their Camp formerly burnt by the *Syracusians*.

The *Athenians* seek to win the *Siculi*.

They bring their Fleet to *Catana*.

They sent a Gally to *Carthage* to procure Amity, and what help they could from thence: and into *Hetruria*, because some Cities there had of their own accord promised to take their parts. They sent likewise to the *Siculi* about them, and to *Egesta*, appointing them to send in all the Horse they could, and made ready Bricks and Iron, and whatsoever else was necessary for a Siege, and every other thing they needed, as intending to fall in hand with the War early the next Spring.

They send for aid to *Carthage*, and in to *Hetruria*: And prepare to besiege *Syracuse*.

The Ambassadors of *Syracuse*, which were sent to *Corinth* and *Lacedemon*, as they failed by, endeavoured also to move the *Italians* to a regard of this action of the *Athenians*. Being come to *Corinth*, they spake unto them, and demanded Aid upon the * Title of Consanguinity. The *Corinthians* having forthwith for their own part decreed chearfully to aid them, sent also Ambassadors from themselves along with these to *Lacedemon*, to help them to perswade the *Lacedemonians* both to make a more open War against the *Athenians* at home, and to send some Forces also into *Sicily*.

The *Syracusians* pray aid of the *Corinthians* and *Lacedemonians*.

* *Corinth* was the Mother City of *Syracuse*.

At the same time that these Ambassadors were at *Lacedemon* from *Corinth*, *Alcibiades* was also there with his fellow Fugitives; who presently upon their escape, passed over from *Thuria* first to *Cyllene* the Haven of the *Eleans* in a Ship, and afterwards went thence to *Lacedemon*, sent for by the *Lacedemonians* themselves under publick security: For he feared them for his doings about *Mantineia*. And it fell out, that in the Assembly of the *Lacedemonians*, the *Corinthians*, *Syracusians*, and *Alcibiades*, made all of them the same request. Now the *Ephores* and Magistrates, though intending to send Ambassadors to *Syracuse*, to hinder them from compounding with the *Athenians*, being yet not forward to send them aid, *Alcibiades* stood forth, and

Alcibiades at *Lacedemon*, instigateth the *Lacedemonians* against his Country.

and sharpened the *Lacedæmonians*, inciting them with words to this effect:

THE ORATION OF ALCIBIADES.

* Περσέων. The Lacedæmonian Ambassadors that came at any time to Athens, were entertained by his Ancestors; This was the Office which they after upon a quarrel renounced, and Alcibiades sought to repair.

† (i.) He favoured their Prisoners taken there, and imprisoned at Athens.

IT will be necessary that I say something first concerning mine own accusation, lest through jealousy of me you bring a prejudicate ear to the common business. My Ancestors having on a certain quarrel renounced the* Office of receiving you, I was the man that restored the same again, and shewed you all possible respect, both otherwise, and in the † matter of your loss at Pylus. Whilest I persisted in my good will to you, being to make a Peace at Athens, by treating the same with my adversaries, you invested them with Authority, and me with Disgrace. For which cause, if in applying my self afterwards to the Mantinæans and Argives, or in any thing else I did you hurt, I did it justly. And if any man here were causlessly angry with me then when he suffered, let him be now be content again, when he knows the true cause of the same. Or if any man think the worse of me for inclining to the People, let him acknowledge that therein also he is offended without a cause. For we have been always Enemies to Tyrants, and what is contrary to a Tyrant, is called the People; and from thence hath continued our adherence to the multitude. Besides, in a City governed by Democracie, it was necessary in most things to follow the present course; nevertheless we have endeavoured to be more moderate then suteth with the now headstrong humour of the People. But others there have been both formerly and now, that have incited the Common People to worse things then I, and they are those that have also driven out me. But as for us, when we had the charge of the whole, we thought it reason, by what form it was grown most great and most free, and in which we received it, in the same to preserve it. For though such of us as have judgment, do know well enough what the Democracie is, and I no less then another, (insomuch as I could inveigh against it, but of confessed madness nothing can be said that is new) yet we thought it not safe to change it, when you our Enemies were so near us. Thus stands the matter touching my own accusation. And concerning what we are to consult of both you and I, if I know any thing which your selves do not, hear it now. We made this Voyage into Sicily, first (if we could) to subdue the Sicilians; after them, the Italians; after them, to assay the dominion of Carthage, and Carthage it self. If these, or most of these Enterprizes succeeded, then next we would have undertaken Peloponnesus, with the accession both of the Greek Forces there, and with many Mercenary Barbarians, Iberians, and others of those parts, confessed to be the most warlike of the Barbarians that are now. We should also have built many Gallies, besides these which we have already, (there being plenty of Timber in Italy) with the which besieging Peloponnesus round, and also taking the Cities thereof with our Land forces, upon such occasions as should arise from the Land, some by assault, and some by siege, we hoped easily to have debelled it, and afterwards to have gotten the dominion of all Greece. As for Money and Corn to facilitate some points of this, the places we should have conquered there, besides what here we should have found, would sufficiently have furnished us.

Thus, from one that most exactly knoweth it, you have heard what is the Design of the Fleet now gone, and which the Generals there, as far as they can, will also put in execution.

Understand next, that unless you aid them, they yonder cannot possibly hold

hold out. For the Sicilians, though inexperienced, if many of them unite, may well subsist; but that the Syracusians alone, with their whole Power already beaten, and withall kept from the use of the Sea, should withstand the Forces of the Athenians already there, is a thing impossible. And if their City should be taken, all Sicily is had, and soon after Italy also, and the danger from thence, which I foretold you, would not belong ere it fell upon you. Let no man therefore think that he now consulteth of Sicily onely, but also of Peloponnesus, unless this be done with speed. Let the Army you send be of such, as being aboard, may row, and landing, presently be armed. And (which I think more profitable then the Army itself) send a Spartan for Commander, both to train the Souldiers already there, and to compel unto it such as refuse. For thus will your present Friends be the more encouraged, and such as be doubtful, come to you with the more assurance. It were also good to make War more openly upon them here, that the Syracusians seeing your care, may the rather hold out, and the Athenians be less able to send supply to their Army. You ought likewise to fortifie Decelea in the Territory of Athens, a thing which the Athenians themselves most fear, and reckon for the onely evil they have not yet tasted in this War. And the way to hurt an Enemy most, is to know certainly what he most feareth, and to bring the same upon him. For in reason a man therefore feareth a thing most, as having the precisest knowledge of what will most hurt him. As for the commodities which your selves shall reap, and deprive the Enemy of by so fortifying, letting much pass, I will sum you up the principal. Whatsoever the Territory is furnished withall, will come most of it unto you, partly taken, and partly of its own accord. The revenue of the Silver Mines in Laurium, and whatsoever other profit they have from their Land, or * from their Courts of Justice, will presently be lost. And which is worst, their Confederates will be remiss in bringing in their revenue, and will care little for the Athenians, if they believe once that you follow the War to the utmost.

* As Fees, and Fines, which would cease in the Towns abroad, the Enemy continually lying upon them, or not be able to be conveyed to the City.

That any of these things be put in act speedily and earnestly, (Men of Lacedæmon) it resteth onely in your selves: for I am confident, and I think I err not, that all these things are possible to be done. Now I must crave this, that I be neither the worse esteemed, for that having once been thought a Lover of my Countrey, I go now amongst the greatest Enemies of the same, against it; nor yet mistrusted as one that speaketh with the zeal of a Fugitive. For though I flie from the malice of them that drove me out, I shall not (if you take my counsel) flie your profit. Nor are you Enemies so much, who have hurt but your Enemies, as they are, that have made Enemies of Friends. I love not my Countrey, as wronged by it, but as having lived in safety in it. Nor do I think that I do herein go against any Countrey of mine, but that I far rather seek to recover the Countrey I have not. And he is truly a Lover of his Countrey, not that refuseth to invade the Countrey he hath wrongfully lost, but that desires so much to be in it, as by any means he can, he will attempt to recover it. I desire you therefore, (Lacedæmonians) to make use of my service, in whatsoever danger or labour, confidently, seeing you know, (according to the common saying) if I did hurt you much when I was your Enemy, I can help you much when I am your Friend. And so much the more, in that I know the state of Athens, and but conjectured at yours. And considering you are now in deliberation upon a matter of so extream importance, I pray you think not much to send an Army both into Sicily and Attica, as well to preserve the great matters that are there, with the presence of a small part of your Force,

Force, as also to pull down the Power of the Athenians, both present and to come; and afterwards to dwell in safety your selves, and to have the leading of all Greece; not forced, but voluntary, and with their good affection.

Thus spake ALCIBIADES.

The Lacedæmonians resolve to send Gylippus into Sicily.

And the Lacedæmonians, though before this they had a purpose of their own accord, to send an Army against Athens, but had delayed and neglected it, yet when these particulars were delivered by him, they were a great deal the more confirmed in the same, conceiving that what they had heard, was from one that evidently knew it. In so much as they had set their minds already upon the fortifying at Decelea, and upon the sending of some succours into Sicily for the present. And having assigned Gylippus the son of Cleandridas, unto the Syracusan Ambassadors for chief Commander, they willed him to consider both with them and the Corinthians, how best (for their present means) and with greatest speed, some help might be conveyed unto them in Sicily. He thereupon appointed the Corinthians to send him two Gallies presently to Asine, and to furnish the rest they meant to send, and to have them ready to sail when occasion should serve. This agreed upon, they departed from Lacedæmon.

The Athenians resolve to send provision and Horsemen.

In the mean time the Gally arrived at Athens, which the Generals sent home for Money and Horsemen. And the Athenians upon hearing, decreed to send both Provision and Horsemen to the Army. So the Winter ended, and the seventeenth Year of this War, written by Thucydides.

Year XVIII.

The Athenians burn the Fields of certain Towns of the Siculi, and take Centoripa.

In the very beginning of the next Spring, the Athenians in Sicily departed from Catana, and sailed by the Coast to Megara of Sicily. The Inhabitants whereof, in the time of the Tyrant Gelon, the Syracusians (as I mentioned before) had driven out, and now possess the Territory themselves. Landing here they wasted the Fields, and having assaulted a certain small Fortrefs of the Syracusians, not taking it, they went presently back part by Land and part by Sea, unto the River Tereas. And landing again in the plain Fields, wasted the same, and burnt up their Corn; and lighting on some Syracusians, not many, they slew some of them; and having set up a Trophy, went all again aboard their Gallies. Thence they returned to Catana, and took in Victual. Then with their whole Army they went to Centoripa, a small City of the Siculi, which yielding on Composition, they departed, and in their way burnt up the Corn of the Inesseans and the Hybleans. Being come again to Catana, they find there 250 Horsemen arrived from Athens without Horses, though not without the furniture, supposing to have Horses there; and 30 Archers on Horseback, and 300 Talents of Silver.

They receive money and Horsemen from Athens.

The Lacedæmonians invade Argia.

The Argives take a great Booty in Thyreatia.

* 4717 L. 10 s. sterl. The Commons of Thespie set upon the Few, but with ill success.

The same Spring the Lacedæmonians led forth their Army against Argos, and went as far as to Cleonæ; but an Earthquake happening, they went home again. But the Argives invaded the Territory of Thyrea, confining on their own, and took a great Booty from the Lacedæmonians, which they sold for no less than * 25 Talents.

Not long after, the Commons of Thespie set upon them that had the Government; but not prevailing, were part apprehended, and part escaped to Athens, the Athenians having also aided them.

The Syracusians the same Summer, when they heard that the Athenians had Horsemen sent to them from Athens, and that they were ready now

A. Acradina. B. Nasos. C. Sycha or Tycha. D. Temenitis. E. Epipolæ. F. The quarie
 Prison. G. The fort of Iabdaluri. H. Euryalus. I. The Campe of y^e Athenians.
 The walles made by the Athenians to beseege the City. L. Heapes of Stones
 ready for y^e finishing of the wall. M. The Marishes. N. The wall made by
 the Syracusians. O. Leon. P. Trogilus. Q. Thapsus. R. The great Hauen
 The little Hauen. T. Plemmyrium. V. Dascon. W. Olympicum.
 The high way to Helorus. y. The riuer Anapus. z. The lake:
 Lysimelia

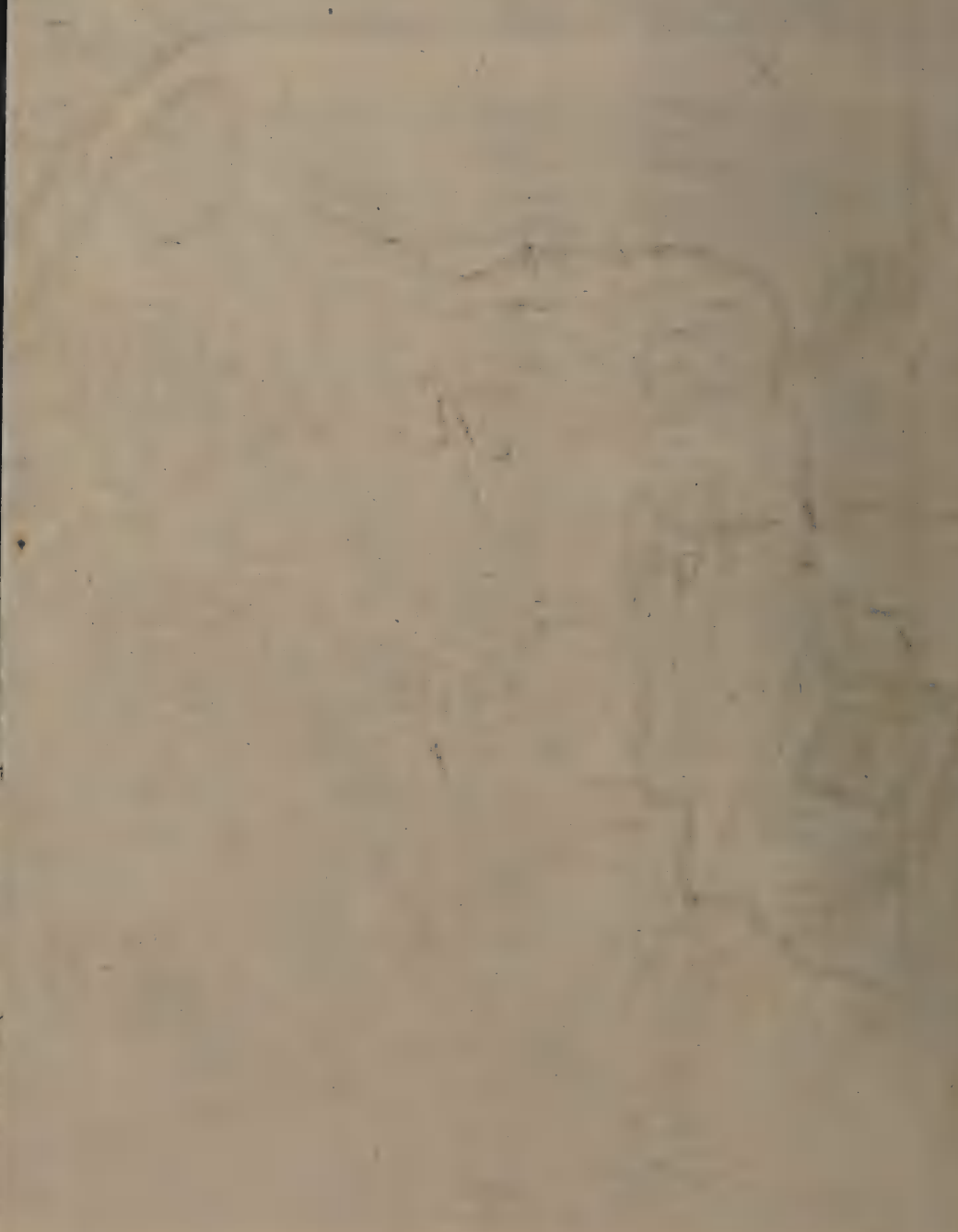
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SYRACVSE
 BESEEGED BY
 the Atheniana



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to come against them, conceiving that if the *Athenians* got not *Epipolæ*, a rocky ground, and lying just against the City, they would not be able, though Masters of the Field to take in the City with a Wall; intended therefore, lest the Enemy should come secretly up to keep the passages by which there was access unto it, with a Guard. For the rest of the place is to the out-side high and steep, falling to the City by degrees, and on the in-side wholly subject to the eye. And it is called by the *Syracusians*, *Epipolæ*, because it lieth above the level of the rest. The *Syracusians* coming out of the City with their whole power into a Meadow by the side of the River *Anapus*, betimes in the morning, (for *Hermocrates* and his fellow-Commanders had already received their charge) were there taking a view of their Arms; but first they had set apart 700 men of Arms, under the leading of *Diomilus*, an Out-law of *Andros*, both to guard *Epipolæ*, and to be ready together quickly upon any other occasion wherein there might be use of their service. The *Athenians* the day following, having been already mustered, came from *Catana* with their whole Forces, and landed their Souldiers at a place called *Leon* (6 or 7 Furlongs from *Epipolæ*) unperceived, and laid their Navy at Anchor under *Thapsus*. *Thapsus* is almost an Island, lying out into the Sea, and joined to the Land with a narrow *Isthmus*, not far from *Syracuse* neither by Sea nor Land. And the Naval Forces of the *Athenians* having made a Palizado across the said *Isthmus*, lay there quiet. But the Land Souldiers marched at high speed toward *Epipolæ*, and got up by *Euryalus* before the *Syracusians* could come to them from out of the Meadow where they were mustering. Nevertheless they came on, every one with what speed he could, not onely *Diomilus* with his 700, but the rest also. They had no less to go from the Meadow then 25 Furlongs, before they could reach the Enemy: The *Syracusians* therefore coming up in this manner, and thereby defeated in Battel at *Epipolæ*, withdrew themselves into the City. But *Diomilus* was slain, and 300 of the rest. The *Athenians* after this erected a Trophy, and delivered to the *Syracusians* the bodies of their dead under Truce, and came down the next day to the City. But when none came out to give them Battel, they retired again, and built a Fort upon *Labdalum*, in the very brink of the precipices of *Epipolæ*, on the side that looketh towards *Megara*, for a place to keep their Utensils and Money in when they went out either to fight or to work.

Epipolæ a high ground before the City of *Syracuse*.

Diomilus slain.

The *Athenians* fortified *Labdalum*;

Not long after there came unto them from *Egesta*, three hundred Horsemen: and from the *Siculi*, namely the *Naxians* and some others, about one hundred: and the *Athenians* had of their own two hundred and fifty; for which they had Horses, part from the *Egestæans* and *Cataneans*, and part they bought. So that they had together in the whole, six hundred and fifty Horsemen. Having put a Guard into *Labdalum*, the *Athenians* went down to * *Syca*, and raised there a Wall in circle very quickly, so that they strook a terrour into the *Syracusians* with the celerity of the Work. Who therefore coming forth, intended to have given them battel, and no longer to have neglected the matter. But when the Armies were one set against the other, the *Syracusan* Generals perceiving their own to be in disarray, and not easily to be imbatteled, led them again into the City, save onely a certain part of their Horsemen, which staying, kept the *Athenians* from carrying of Stone, and stragling far abroad from their Camp. But the *Athenians* with one Squadron of Men of Arms, together with their whole number of Horse,

* *Tyca*, or *Tycha*, it was a Temple of Fortune, part of the City of *Syracusa*.

The *Athenians* begin to build on the North side of the Fortification where in they lay, the Wall wherewith to begirt the City.

The *Syracusians* make a Cross Wall in their way.

charged the Horsemen of the *Syracusians*, and put them to flight. Of whom they slew a part, and erected a Trophy for this Battel of Horse.

The next day the *Athenians* fell to work upon their Wall, to the North side of their circular Wall, some building, and some fetching Stone and Timber, which they still laid down toward the place called *Trogilus*, in the way by which the Wall should come, with the shortest compass from the great Haven to the other Sea. The *Syracusians*, by the perswasion of their Generals, and principally of *Hermocrates*, intended not to hazard Battel with their whole power against the *Athenians* any more, but thought fit rather in the way where the *Athenians* were to bring their Wall, to raise a Counter-wall, which if they could but do, before the Wall of the *Athenians* came on, it would exclude their further building. And if the *Athenians* should set upon them as they were doing it, they might send part of the Army to defend it, and præoccupate the accessses to it with a Palizado. And if they would come with their whole Army to hinder them, then must they also be forced to let their own Work stand still. Therefore they came out, and beginning at their own City, drew a Cross Wall beneath the circular Fortification of the *Athenians*, and set Wooden Turrets upon it, made of the Olive Trees which they felled in the ground belonging to the Temple. The *Athenian* Navy was not yet come about into the great Haven from *Thapsus*, but the *Syracusians* were Masters of the places near the Sea; and the *Athenians* brought their Provision to the Army from *Thapsus* by Land.

The *Syracusians*, when they thought both their Palizado and Wall sufficient, and considering that the *Athenians* came not to impeach them in the Work, as they that feared to divide their Army, and to be thereby the more easie to be fought withall, and that also hasted to make an end of their own Wall, wherewith to encompass the City, left one Squadron for a guard of their Works, and retired with the rest into the City. And the *Athenians* cut off the Pipes of their Conduits, by which their Water to drink was conveyed under ground into the Town.

And having observed also, that about Noon the *Syracusians* kept within their Tents, and that some of them were also gone into the City, and that such as were remaining at the Palizado kept but negligent Watch, they commanded three hundred chosen men of Arms, and certain other picked out and armed from amongst the unarmed, to run suddenly to that Counter-wall of the *Syracusians*. The rest of the Army divided in two, went one part with one of the Generals to stop the succour which might be sent from the City; and the other with the other General to the Palizado, next to the Gate of the Counter-wall. The three hundred assaulted and took the Palizado; the Guard whereof forsaking it, fled within the Wall into the Temple ground, and with them entered also their pursuers, but after they were in were beaten out again by the *Syracusians*, and some slain both of the *Argives* and *Athenians*, but not many. Then the whole Army went back together, and pulled down the Wall, and plucked up the Palizado, the Pales whereof they carried with them to their Camp, and erected a Trophy. The next day the *Athenians* beginning at their circular Wall, built on-wards to that Crag over the Marshes, which on that part of *Epipole*, looketh to the great Haven, and by which the way to the Haven for their Wall to come through the Plain and Marsh was the shortest. As this was doing, the *Syracusians* came out again, and made another Palizado, begin-

The *Athenians* build from their own Fortification, to the Crag, towards the great Haven.

beginning at the City, through the middle of the Marsh, and a Ditch at the side of it to exclude the *Athenians* from bringing their Wall to the Sea. But the *Athenians*, when they had finished their Work, as far as to the Crag, assaulted the Palizado and Trench of the *Syracusians* again. And having commanded their Gallies to be brought about from *Thapsus* into the great Haven of *Syracusa*, about break of day, went straight down into the Plain; and passing through the Marsh, where the ground was Clay, and firmest, and partly upon Boards and Planks, won both the Trench and Palizado, all but a small part, betimes in the morning, and the rest not long after. And here also they fought, and the Victory fell to the *Athenians*. The *Syracusians*, those of the Right Wing, fled to the City; and they of the Left, to the River. The three hundred chosen *Athenians*, desiring to cut off their passage, marched at high speed towards the * Bridge; but the *Syracusians* fearing to be prevented (for most of the Horsemen were in this number) set upon these three hundred, and putting them to flight, drove them upon the right Wing of the *Athenians*, and following, affrighted also the foremost Guard of the Wing. *Lamachus* seeing this, came to aid them with a few *Archers* from the left Wing of their own, and with all the *Argives*; and passing over a certain Ditch, having but few with him, was deserted and slain, with some six or seven more. These the *Syracusians* hastily snatched up, and carried into a place of safety beyond the River. And when they saw the rest of the *Athenian* Army coming towards them, they departed. In the mean time they that fled at first to the City, seeing how things went, took heart again, and reimbattelled themselves against the same *Athenians* that stood ranged against them before, and withall sent a certain portion of their Army against the circular Fortification of the *Athenians* upon *Epipolæ*; supposing to find it without Defendants, and so to take it. And they took and demolished the Out-work ten * Plethers in length; but the Circle it self was defended by *Nicias*, who chanced to be left within it for infirmity. For he commanded his Servants to set fire on all the Engines, and whatsoever wooden matter lay before the Wall, knowing there was no other possible means to save themselves, for want of men. And it fell out accordingly. For by reason of this fire they came no nearer, but retired. For the *Athenians* having by this time beaten back the Enemy below, were coming up to relieve the Circle; and their Gallies withall (as is before mentioned) were going about from *Thapsus* into the great Haven. Which they above perceiving, speedily made away, they, and the whole Army of the *Syracusians* into the City; with opinion that they could no longer hinder them with the strength they now had from bringing their Wall through unto the Sea. After this the *Athenians* erected a Trophy, and delivered to the *Syracusians* their dead, under Truce; and they on the other side delivered to the *Athenians* the body of *Lamachus*, and of the rest slain with him. And their whole Army, both Land and Sea Forces being now together, they began to enclose the *Syracusians* with a double Wall, from *Epipolæ* and the Rocks, unto the Sea side. The necessities of the Army were supplied from all parts of *Italy*: and many of the *Siculi*, who before stood aloof to observe the way of Fortune, took part now with the *Athenians*, to whom came also three Penteconteri [long-boats of 50 Oars apiece] from *Hetruria*; and divers other ways their hopes were nourished. For the *Syracusians* also, when there came no help from *Peloponnesus*, made no longer account to subsist by War, but conferred both

The *Athenians* take their Palizado again

* The Bridge of the River *Anapus*.

Lamachus slain.

Nicias assaulted in his Camp, defendeth it.

* Ten Plethers 680 Cubits, a Plether containing, according to *Suidas*, 68 Cubits.

The *Syracusians* change their Generals.

Gylippus despaireth of *Sicily*, and seeks to save *Italy*.

amongst themselves and with *Nicias*, of Composition; for *Lamachus* being dead, the sole command of the Army was in him. And though nothing were concluded, yet many things (as was likely with men perplexed, and now more straitly besieged then before) were propounded unto *Nicias*, and more amongst themselves. And the present ill success had also bred some jealousy amongst them, one of another. And they discharged the Generals under whose Conduct this happened, as if their harm had come, either from their unluckiness, or from their perfidiousness, and chose *Heracles*, *Eucles*, and *Tellias* in their places.

Whilest this passed, *Gylippus* of *Lacedæmon*, and the *Corinthian* Gallies were already at *Leucas*, purposing with all speed to go over into *Sicily*. But when terrible reports came unto them from all hands, agreeing in an untruth, That *Syracuse* was already quite enclosed, *Gylippus* had hope of *Sicily* no longer, but desiring to assure *Italy*, he and *Pythen* a *Corinthian*, with two *Laconick* and two *Corinthian* Gallies, with all speed crossed the *Ionick* Sea to *Tarentum*. And the *Corinthians* were to man ten Gallies of their own, two of *Leucas*, and three of *Ambracia*, and come after. *Gylippus* went first from *Tarentum* to *Thuria*, as Ambassador, by his Fathers right, who was free of the City of *Tarentum*; but not winning them to his side, he put out again and sailed along the Coast of *Italy*. Passing by the *Terinaean* Gulf, he was put from the Shore (by a Wind which in that quarter bloweth strongly against the North) and driven into the main Sea; and after another extream Tempest, brought in again into *Tarentum*, where he drew up such of his Gallies as had been hurt by the weather, and repaired them.

Nicias despiseth the coming of *Gylippus*.

Nicias hearing that he came, contemned the small number of his Gallies, as also the *Thurians* had before, supposing them furnished as for Piracy, and appointed no Watch for them yet.

About the same time of this Summer the *Lacedæmonians* invaded the Territory of *Argos*, they and their Confederates, and wasted a great part of their Land. And the *Athenians* aided the *Argives* with thirty Gallies, which most apparently broke the Peace between them and the *Lacedæmonians*. For before, they went out from *Pylus* with the *Argives* and *Mantineans*, but in the nature of Free-booters; and that also not into *Laconia*, but other parts of *Peloponnesus*. Nay, when the *Argives* have often entreated them but onely to land with their Arms in *Laconia*, and having wasted never so little of their Territory to return, they would not. But now, under the Conduct of *Pythodorus*, *Lesbadius*, and *Demaratus*, they landed in the Territory of *Epidaurus Limera*, and in *Prasæa*, and there and in other places wasted the Countrey, and gave unto the *Lacedæmonians* a most justifiable cause to fight against the *Athenians*. After this, the *Athenians* being departed from *Argos* with their Gallies, and the *Lacedæmonians* gone likewise home, the *Argives* invaded *Phliasia*, and when they had wasted part of their Territory, and killed some of their men, returned.

THE HISTORY OF THUCYDIDES.

BOOK VII.

THE PRINCIPAL CONTENTS.

Gylippus arriveth at Syracuse, checketh the fortune of the Athenians, and cutteth off their Works with a Counterwall. The Lacedæmonians invade Attica, and fortifie Decelea. The Confederates of each side are solicited for supplies to be sent to Syracuse. Two Battels fought in the great Haven; in the first of which the Syracusians are beaten, in the second, superiour; Demosthenes arriveth with a new Army, and attempting the Works of the Enemy in Epipolæ by night, is repulsed with great slaughter of his men. They fight the third time, and the Syracusians having the Victory, block up the Haven with Boats. A Catalogue of the Confederates on each side. They fight again at the Bars of the Haven, where the Athenians losing their Gallies, prepare to march away by Land. In their march they are afflicted, beaten, and finally subdued by the Syracusians; The death of Nicias and Demosthenes, and misery of the Captives in the Quarrey; which happened in the nineteenth Year of this War.

Gylippus and Pythen having repaired their Gallies, from Tarentum, went along the Coast to Locri Epizephyriz. And upon certain intelligence now, that Syracuse was not wholly enclosed, but that coming with an Army, there was entrance still by Epipolæ, they consulted whether it were better to take Sicily on their right hand, and adventure into the Town by Sea; or on the left, and so first to go to Himera, and then taking along both them and as many other as they could get to their side, to go into it by Land. And it was resolved to go to Himera; the rather because

Gylippus and Pythen resolve to go to Syracuse.

They took the aid
of the men of Hi-
mera.

because the four *Attick Gallies* which *Nicias* (though he contemned them before) had now when he heard they were at *Locri*, sent to wait for them, were not arrived yet at *Rhegium*. Having prevented this Guard, they crossed the Streight, and touching at *Rhegium* and *Messana* by the way, came to *Himera*. Being there, they prevailed so far with the *Himeraans*, that they not onely followed them to the War themselves, but also furnished with Armour, such of *Gylippus* and *Pythens* Mariners as wanted. For at *Himera* they had drawn their Gallies to Land. They likewise sent to the *Selinuntians* to meet them at a place assigned with their whole Army. The *Geloans* also, and other of the *Siculi*, promised to send them Forces, though not many; being much the willinger to come to the side, both for that *Archonidas* was lately dead, who reigning over some of the *Siculi* in those parts, and being a man of no mean power, was Friend to the *Athenians*, and also for that *Gylippus* seemed to come from *Lacedæmon* with a good will to the business. *Gylippus* taking with him of his own Mariners and Sea Souldiers, for whom he had gotten Arms, at the most 700, and *Himeraans* with Armour, and without, in the whole 1000, and 100 Horse, and some Light-armed *Selinuntians*, with some few Horse of the *Geloans*, and of the *Siculi* in all, about 1000, marched with these towards *Syracuse*.

The *Corinthian* Gallies left by *Gylippus*, make haste after him, and *Gongylus* arriving first, keepeth the *Syracusians* from compounding.

Gylippus arriveth at *Syracuse*.

In the mean time the *Corinthians*, with the rest of their Gallies, putting to Sea from *Leucas*, made after as they were, every one with what speed he could, and *Gongylus* one of the *Corinthian* Commanders, though the last that set forth arrived first at *Syracuse* with one Gally, and but a little before the coming of *Gylippus*. And finding them ready to call an Assembly about an end of the War, he hindred them from it, and put them into heart, relating both how the rest of the Gallies were coming, and also *Gylippus* the son of *Cleandridas* for General, sent unto them by the *Lacedæmonians*. With this the *Syracusians* were reconfirmed, and went presently out with their whole Army to meet him; for they understood now that he was near. He, having taken *Jegas*, a Fort in his way as he passed through the Territory of the *Siculi*, and imbattelled his men, cometh to *Epipolæ*, and getting up by *Euryalus*, where also the *Athenians* had gotten up before, marched together with the *Syracusians* towards the Wall of the *Athenians*. At the time when he arrived the *Athenians* had finished a double Wall of seven or eight Furlongs towards the great Haven, save onely a little next the Sea, which they were yet at work on. And on the other side of their Circle towards *Trogilus*, and the other Sea, the Stones were for the most part laid ready upon the place, and the work was left in some places half, and in some wholly finished. So great was the danger that *Syracuse* was now brought into.

Gylippus offereth the *Athenians* five days Truce to be gone in.

The *Athenians*, at the sudden coming on of *Gylippus*, though somewhat troubled at first, yet put themselves in order to receive him. And he, making a stand when he came near, sent a Herald to them, saying, That if they would abandon *Sicily* within five days with Bag and Baggage, he was content to give them Truce. Which the *Athenians* contemning, sent him away without any answer. After this they were putting themselves into order of Battel one against another; but *Gylippus* finding the *Syracusians* troubled, and not easily falling into their ranks, led back his Army in a more open ground. *Nicias* led not the *Athenians* out against him, but lay still at his own Fortification. And *Gylippus* seeing he came not up, withdrew his Army into the top called *Temenites*,

Temenites, where he lodged all night. The next day he drew out the greatest part of his Army, and imbattelled them before the Fortification of the *Athenians*, that they might not send succour to any other place, but a part also they sent to the Fort of *Labdalum*, and took it, and slew all those they found within it. For the place was out of sight to the *Athenians*. The same day the *Syracusians* took also an *Athenian* Gally as it entered into the great Haven.

The *Syracusians* win *Labdalum*.

After this, the *Syracusians* and their Confederates began a Wall through *Epipolæ*, from the City towards the single Cross Wall upwards; that the *Athenians*, unless they could hinder it, might be excluded from bringing their own Wall any further on. And the *Athenians* by this time, having made an end of their Wall to the Sea, were come up again; and *Gylippus* (for some part of the Wall was but weak) rising with his Army by night, went to assault it; but the *Athenians* also knowing it (for they lodged all night without the Wall) went presently to relieve it; which *Gylippus* perceiving, again retired. And the *Athenians* when they had built it higher, kept the Watch in this part themselves, and divided the rest of the Wall to the charge of their Confederates. Also it seemed good to *Nicias* to fortifie the place called *Plemmyrium*, (it is a Promontory over against the City, which shooting into the entrance of the great Haven, streightneth the mouth of the same) which fortified, he thought would facilitate the bringing in of necessaries to the Army. For by this means their Gallies might ride nearer to the * Haven of the *Syracusians*, and not upon every motion of the Navy of the Enemies to be to come out against them, as they were before from the bottom of the [great] Haven. And he had his mind set chiefly now upon the War by Sea, seeing his hopes by Land diminished, since the arrival of *Gylippus*. Having therefore drawn his Army and Gallies to that place, he built about it three Fortifications, wherein he placed his Baggage, and where now also lay at Road both his great Vessels of Carriage, and the nimblest of his Gallies. Hereupon principally ensued the first occasion of the great loss of his Sea Souldiers. For having but little Water, and that far to fetch, and his Mariners going out also to fetch in Wood, they were continually intercepted by the *Syracusan* Horsemen that were Masters of the Field. For the third part of the *Syracusan* Cavalry were quartered in a little Town called * *Olympieum*, to keep those in *Plemmyrium* from going abroad to spoil the Countrey.

The *Syracusians* build a Wall upwards through *Epipolæ*, to stop the proceeding of the Wall of the *Athenians*.

The *Athenians* fortifie *Plemmyrium*.

* *Viz. The lesser Haven.*

Nicias was advertised moreover of the coming of the rest of the *Corinthian* Gallies, and sent out a Guard of twenty Gallies, with Order to wait for them about *Locri* and *Rhegium*, and the passage there into *Sicily*.

Gylippus in the mean time went on with the Wall through *Epipolæ*, using the Stones laid ready there by the *Athenians*, and withall drew out the *Syracusians* and their Confederates beyond the point of the same, and ever as he brought them forth, put them into their Order; and the *Athenians* on the other side imbattelled themselves against them. *Gylippus* when he saw his time, began the Battel; and being come to hands, they fought between the Fortifications of them both, where the *Syracusians* and their Confederates had no use at all of their Horsemen. The *Syracusians* and their Confederates being overcome, and the *Athenians* having given them Truce to take up their dead, and erected a Trophy, *Gylippus* assembled the Army, and told them, *That this was not theirs, but his own fault, who by pitching the Battel so far within the Fortifications,*

* The Temple there and whole Town was consecrate to Jupiter Olympius.

Nicias sendeth 20 Gallies to lie in wait for the aid coming from *Peloponnesus*.

Gylippus goeth on with his Wall, and fighteth with the *Athenians* twice, and in the latter Battel, having the Victory, he finished his Wall and utterly excluded the proceeding of the Wall of the *Athenians*.

fications, had deprived them of the use both of their Cavalry and Darters; and that therefore he meant to bring them on again; and wished them to consider, that for Forces they were nothing inferiour to the Enemy: and for courage, it were a thing not to be indured, that being Peloponnesians and Dorians, they should not master, and drive out of the Countrey Ionians, Islanders, and a rabble of mixed Nations.

After this, when he saw his opportunity, he brought on the Army again. *Nicias* and the *Athenians*, who thought it necessary, if not to begin the Battel, yet by no means to set light by the Wall in hand (for by this time it wanted little of passing the point of theirs, and proceeding, would give the Enemy advantage both to win if he fought, and not to fight unless he listed) did therefore also set forth to meet the *Syracusians*.

Gylippus, when he had drawn his men of Arms further without the Walls then he had done before, gave the onset. His Horsemen and Darters he placed upon the Flank of the *Athenians*, in ground enough, to which neither of their Walls extended. And these Horsemen, after the Fight was begun, charging upon the left Wing of the *Athenians* next them, put them to flight; by which means the rest of the Army was by the *Syracusians* overcome likewise, and driven headlong within their Fortifications. The night following, the *Syracusians* brought up their Wall beyond the Wall of the *Athenians*, so as they could no longer hinder them, but should be utterly unable, though Masters of the Field, to enclose the City.

The rest of the Gallies come in from Peloponnesus, unseen of the *Athenians* that were set to watch them.

Gylippus goeth about Sicily, and sendeth into Peloponnesus for more aid.

After this, the other 12 Gallies of the *Corinthians*, *Ambraciots* and *Leucadians*, undescried of the *Athenian* Gallies that lay in wait for them, entered the Haven, under the Command of *Erasinides* a *Corinthian*, and helped the *Syracusians* to finish what remained to the cross Wall.

Now *Gylippus* went up and down Sicily raising Forces both for Sea and Land, and soliciting to his side all such Cities as formerly either had not been forward, or had wholly abstained from the War. Other Ambassadors also, both of the *Syracusians* and *Corinthians* were sent to *Lacedemon* and *Corinth* to procure new Forces to be transported either in Ships or Boats, or how they could, because the *Athenians* had also sent to *Athens* for the like. In the mean time the *Syracusians* both manned their Navy, and made trial of themselves, as intending to take in hand that part also; and were otherwise exceedingly encouraged.

Nicias writeth to *Athens* for supply, and to be eased of his charge.

Nicias perceiving this, and seeing the strength of the Enemy, and his own necessities daily increasing, he also sent Messengers to *Athens*, both at other times and often, upon the occasion of every action that passed; and now especially, as finding himself in danger, and that unless they quickly sent for those away that were there already, or sent a great supply unto them, there was no hope of safety: and fearing lest such as he sent, through want of utterance or judgment, or through desire to please the Multitude, should deliver things otherwise then they were, he wrote unto them a Letter. Conceiving that thus the *Athenians* should best know his mind, whereof no part could now be suppressed by the Messenger, and might therefore enter into deliberation upon true grounds.

With these Letters and other their Instructions, the Messengers took their Journey; and *Nicias* in the mean time, having a care to the well guarding of his Camp, was weary of entering into any voluntary dangers.

In

In the end of this Summer, *Euction* General for the *Athenians*, with *Perdiccas*, together with many *Thracians*, warring against *Amphipolis*, took not the City; but bringing his Gallies about into *Strymon*, besieged it from the River lying at *Imeræum*: And so this Summer ended.

The *Athenians* besiege *Amphipolis*.

The next Winter the Messengers from *Nicias* arrived at *Athens*; and having spoken what they had in charge, and answered to such questions as they were asked, they presented the Letter, which the Clerk of the City standing forth, read unto the *Athenians*, containing as followeth:

The end of the eighteenth Summer.

THE LETTER of N I C I A S to the People of A T H E N S.

A Thenians, You know by many other my Letters, what hath passed formerly: nor is it less needful for you to be informed of the state we are in, and to take Counsel upon it at this present. When we had in many Battels beaten the *Syracusians*, against whom we were sent, and had built the Walls within which we now lie, came *Gylippus* a *Lacedæmonian*, with an Army out of *Peloponnesus*, and also out of some of the Cities of *Sicily*; and in the first Battel was overcome by us; but in the second, forced by his many Horsemen and Darters, we retired within our Works. Whereupon giving over our walling up of the City, for the multitude of our Enemies, we now sit still. Nor can we indeed have the use of our whole Army, because some part of the men of Arms are employed to defend our Walls. And they have built a single Wall up to us, so that now we have no more means to enclose it, except one should come with a great Army and win that cross Wall of theirs by assault. And so it is, that we who seemed to besiege others, are besieged our selves, for so much as concerneth the Land. For we cannot go far abroad by reason of their Cavalry. They have also sent Ambassadors for another Army into *Peloponnesus*; and *Gylippus* is gone amongst the Cities of *Sicily*, both to sollicite such to join with him in the War, as have not yet stirred; and of others to get (if he can) both more Land Souldiers, and more Munition for their Navy. For they intend (as I have been informed) both to assault our Wall by Land with their Army, and to make trial what they are able to do with their Navy by Sea. For though our Fleet (which they also have heard) were vigorous at first, both for soundness of the Gallies, and entireness of the men; yet our Gallies are now soaked with lying so long in the Water, and our men consumed. For we want the means to hale on Land our Gallies, and trim them, because the Gallies of the Enemy, as good as ours, and more in number, do keep us in a continual expectation of assault, which they manifestly endeavour. And seeing it is in their own choice to attempt or not, they have therefore liberty to dry their Gallies at their pleasure. For they lie not, as we, in attendance upon others. Nay, we could hardly do it, though we had many Gallies spare, and were not constrained, as now, to keep Watch upon them with our whole number. For should we abate, though but a little, of our observance, we should want Provision, which as we are, being to pass so near their City, is brought in with difficulty; and hence it is that our Mariners both formerly have been, and are now wasted. For our Mariners fetching Wood and Water, and foraging far off, are intercepted by the Horsemen; and our Slaves, now we are on equal terms, run over to the

* These were they
which Nicias upon the
taking of Hyccara,
made sale of himself.

Enemy. As for Strangers, some of them having come aboard by constraint, return presently to their Cities; and others having been levied at first with great Wages, and thinking they came to enrich themselves rather than to fight, now they see the Enemy make so strong resistance, both otherwise beyond their expectation, and especially with their Navy, partly take pretext to be gone, that they may serve the Enemy, and partly (Sicily being large) shift themselves away every one as he can. Some there are also, who having bought here * Hyccarian Slaves, have gotten the Captains of Gallies to accept of them in the room of themselves, and thereby destroyed the purity of our Naval strength. To you I write, who know how small a time any Fleet continueth in the height of vigour, and how few of the Mariners are skilful both how to hasten the course of a Gally, and how to contain the Oar. But of all, my greatest trouble is this, that being General, I can neither make them do better, (for your natures are hard to be governed) nor get Mariners in any other place, (which the Enemy can do from many places) but must of necessity have them from whence we brought both these we have, and those we have lost. For our now Confederate Cities, Naxos and Catana, are not able to supply us. Had the Enemy but this one thing more, that the Towns of Italy that now send us Provision, seeing what estate we are in, and you not help us, would turn to them, the War were at an end, and we expugned without another stroke. I could have written to you other things more pleasing than these, but not more profitable, seeing it is necessary for you to know certainly the affairs here, when you go to Council upon them; withall, (because I know your natures to be such, as though you love to hear the best, yet afterwards when things fall not out accordingly, you will call in question them that writ it) I thought best to write the truth for my own safeties sake. And now think thus, that though we have carried our selves, both Captains and Souldiers, in that for which we came at first hither, unblameably; yet since all Sicily is united against us, and another Army expected out of Peloponnesus, you must resolve (for those we have here, are not enough for the Enemies present Forces) either to send for these away, or to send hither another Army both of Land and Sea Souldiers, no less then the former, and Money not a little; and also a General to succeed me, who am able no longer to stay here, being troubled with the Stone in the Kidney. I must crave your pardon. I have done you many good services in the Conducts of your Armies when I had my health. What you will do, do in the very beginning of Spring, and delay it not. For the Enemy will soon have furnished himself of his Sicilian aids; and though those from Peloponnesus will be later, yet if you look not to it, they will get hither partly unseen, as before, and partly by preventing you with speed.

These were the Contents of the Letter of N I C I A S.

The Athenians conclude to send a new Army to Syracuse.

The Athenians, when they had heard it read, though they released not Nicias of his Charge, yet for the present till such time as others chosen to be in Commission might arrive, they joined with him two of those that were already in the Army, Menander and Euthydemon, to the end that he might not sustain the whole burthen alone in his sickness. They concluded likewise to send another Army, as well for the Sea as the Land, both of Athenians enrolled, and of their Confederates. And for fellow-Generals with Nicias, they elected Demosthenes the son of Alcisthenes, and Eurymedon the son of Thucles. Eurymedon they sent away presently for Sicily, about the time of the Winter Solstice, with ten Gallies and twenty Talents of Silver, to tell them there that Aid was coming, and

and that there was care taken of them. But *Demosthenes* staying, made preparation for the Voyage, to set out early the next Spring; and sent unto the Confederates, appointing what Forces they should provide, and to furnish himself amongst them with Money and Gallies, and Men of Arms.

The *Athenians* sent also twenty Gallies about *Peloponnesus*, to watch that none should go over into *Sicily*, from *Corinth* or *Peloponnesus*. For the *Corinthians*, after the Ambassadors were come to them, and had brought news of the amendment of the affairs in *Sicily*, thought it was well that they had sent thither those other Gallies before; but now they were encouraged a great deal more, and prepared men of Arms to be transported into *Sicily* in Ships, and the *Lacedæmonians* did the like for the rest of *Peloponnesus*. The *Corinthians* manned five and twenty Gallies to present Battel to the Fleet that kept Watch at *Naupactus*, that the Ships with the Men of Arms, whilst the *Athenians* attended these Gallies so imbattelled against them, might pass by unhindered.

The *Lacedæmonians*, as they intended before, and being also instigated to it by the *Syracusians* and *Corinthians*, upon advertisement now of the *Athenians* new supply for *Sicily*, prepared likewise to invade *Attica*, thereby to divert them. And *Alcibiades* also importunately urged the fortifying of *Decelea*, and by no means to War remissly. But the *Lacedæmonians* were heartned thereunto principally because they thought the *Athenians* having in hand a double War, one against them and another against the *Sicilians*, would be the easilier pulled down; and because they conceived the breach of the last Peace was in themselves; for in the former War the injury proceeded from their own side, in that the *Thebans* had entered *Platea* in time of Peace; and because also whereas it was inserted in the former Articles, that Arms should not be carried against such as would stand to trial of Judgment, they had refused such trial when the *Athenians* offered it. And they thought all their misfortunes had deservedly befallen them for that cause; remembring amongst others the calamity at *Pylus*. But when the *Athenians* with a Fleet of thirty sail had spoiled part of the Territory of *Epidaurus* and of *Prasie*, and other places, and their Souldiers that lay in Garrison in *Pylus* had taken booty in the Countrey about: And seeing that as often as there arose any controversie touching any doubtful point of the Articles, the *Lacedæmonians* offering trial by Judgment, they refused it; then indeed the *Lacedæmonians* conceiving the *Athenians* to be in the same fault that themselves had been in before, betook themselves earnestly to the War. And this Winter they sent about unto their Confederates, to make ready Iron, and all Instruments of Fortification. And for the aid they were to transport in Ships to the *Sicilians*, they both made provision amongst themselves, and compelled the rest of *Peloponnesus* to do the like. So ended this Winter, and the eighteenth Year of the War, written by *Thucydides*.

The next Spring, in the very beginning, earlier then ever before, the *Lacedæmonians* and their Confederates entered with their Army into *Attica*, under the Command of *Agis* the son of *Archidamus* their King. And first they wasted the Champaign Countrey, and then went in hand with the Wall at *Decelea*, dividing the Work amongst the Army according to their Cities. This *Decelea* is from the City of *Athens*, at the most but 120 Furlongs, and about as much, or a little more from *Bæotia*. This Fort they made in the Plain, and in the most opportune place that

They send twenty Gallies to *Naupactus* to keep the *Corinthians* from transporting their Forces into *Sicily*.

The *Lacedæmonians* prepare to invade *Attica*, and fortifie *Decelea*, supposing the *Athenians* to have broken the Peace.

Year XIX.

The *Peloponnesians* invade *Attica*, and fortifie *Decelea*.

The Peloponnesians
send away their
men of Arms for
Sicily.

could be to annoy the *Athenians*, and in sight of the City. Now the *Peloponnesians* and their Confederates in *Attica* went on with their Fortification.

They in *Peloponnesus* sent away their Ships with the men of Arms about the same time into *Sicily*. Of which, the *Lacedæmonians*, out of the best of their *Helots*, and men made newly Free, sent in the whole six hundred, and *Eccritus* a *Spartan* for Commander. And the *Bæotians* three hundred, under the Conduct of *Xenon* and *Nicon*, *Thebans*, and *Hegessander* a *Theſſian*. And these ſet forth firſt, and put to Sea at *Tenarus* in *Laconia*. After them a little, the *Corinthians* ſent away five hundred more, part from the City it ſelf of *Corinth*, and part mercenary *Arcadians*, and *Alexarchus* a *Corinthian* for Captain. The *Sicyonians* alſo ſent two hundred with them that went from *Corinth*, and *Sargeus* a *Sicyonian* for Captain. Now the 25 *Corinthian* Gallies that were manned in Winter, lay oppoſite to the 20 Gallies of *Athens* which were at *Nanpaſtus*, till ſuch time as the men of Arms in the Ships from *Peloponnesus* might get away; for which purpoſe they were alſo ſet out at firſt, that the *Athenians* might not have their minds upon theſe Ships, ſo much as upon the Gallies.

The Athenians ſend
out *Demosthenes* to-
ward *Sicily*.

In the mean time alſo the *Athenians*, whileſt *Decelea* was fortifying, in the beginning of the Spring ſent twenty Gallies about *Peloponnesus*, under the Command of *Charicles* the ſon of *Apollodorus*, with Order when he came to *Argos* to take aboard the men of Arms which the *Argives* were to ſend them according to League; and ſent away *Demosthenes* (as they intended before) into *Sicily*, with threeſcore Gallies of *Athens*, and five of *Chios*, and one thouſand two hundred men of Arms of the Roll of *Athens*, and as many of the Islanders as they could get, provided by their ſubject Confederates of all other neceſſaries for the War: But he had Order to join firſt with *Charicles*, and help him to make War firſt upon *Laconia*. So *Demosthenes* went to *Ægina*, and ſtaid there both for the remnant of his own Army, if any were left behind, and for *Charicles* till he had taken aboard the *Argives*.

Gylippus perſwadeth
the *Syracusians* to
fight by Sea.

In *Sicily* about the ſame time of the Spring, *Gylippus* alſo returned to *Syracuſe*, bringing with him from the Cities he had dealt withall, as great Forces as ſeverally he could get from them. And having aſſembled the *Syracuſians*, he told them that they ought to man as many Gallies as they could, and make trial of a Battel by Sea, and that he hoped thereby to perform ſomewhat to the benefit of the War, which ſhould be worthy the danger. *Hermocrates* alſo was none of the leaſt means of getting them to undertake the *Athenians* with their Navy, who told them, That neither the *Athenians* had this ſkill by Sea hereditary, or from everlaſting, but were more Inland men then the *Syracuſians*, and forced to become Sea-men by the *Medes*: And that to daring men, ſuch as the *Athenians* are, they are moſt formidable that are as daring againſt them. For wherewith they terrifie their Neighbours, which is not always the advantage of Power, but boldneſs of Enterprizing, with the ſame ſhall they in like manner be terrified by their Enemies. He knew it, he ſaid, certainly that the *Syracuſians* by their unexpected daring to encounter the *Athenian* Navy, would get more advantage in reſpect of the fear it would cauſe, then the *Athenians* ſhould endamage them by their odds of ſkill. He bade them therefore, To make trial of their Navy, and to be afraid no longer. The *Syracuſians* on theſe perſwaſions of *Gylippus* and *Hermocrates*, and others, if any were, became now

extreamly desirous to fight by Sea; and presently manned their Gallies.

Gylippus, when the Navy was ready, drew out his whole Power of Land Souldiers in the beginning of night, meaning to go himself and assault the Fortifications in *Plemmyrium*. Withall the Gallies of the *Syracusians* by appointment, 35 of them came up towards it out of the great Haven, and 45 more came about out of the little Haven, where also was their Arsenal with purpose to join with those within, and to go together to *Plemmyrium*, that the *Athenians* might be troubled on both sides. But the *Athenians* having quickly manned 60 Gallies to oppose them, with 25 of them they fought with the 35 of the *Syracusians* in the great Haven, and with the rest went to meet those that came about from the little Haven. And these fought presently before the mouth of the great Haven, and held each other to it for a long time; one side endeavouring to force the other to defend the entrance. In the mean time *Gylippus* (the *Athenians* in *Plemmyrium* being now come down to the Water side, and having their minds busied upon the fight of the Gallies) betimes in the Morning, and on a sudden assaulted the Fortifications before they could come back again to defend them; and possessed first the greatest, and afterwards the two lesser: for they that watched in these, when they saw the greatest so easily taken, durst stay no longer. They that fled upon the losing of the first Wall, and put themselves into Boats and into a certain Ship, got hardly into the Camp; for whilest the *Syracusians* in the great Haven had yet the better in the fight upon the Water, they gave them chase with one nimble Gally. But by that time that the other two Walls were taken, the *Syracusians* upon the Water were overcome, and the *Athenians* which fled from those two Walls, got to their Camp with more ease. For those *Syracusan* Gallies that fought before the Havens mouth, having beaten back the *Athenians*, entered in disorder, and falling foul one on another, gave away the Victory unto the *Athenians*, who put to flight not onely them, but also those other by whom they had before been overcome within the Haven, and sunk eleven Gallies of the *Syracusians*, and slew most of the men aboard them, save onely the men of three Gallies, whom they took alive. Of their own Gallies they lost onely three.

The *Syracusians* win *Plemmyrium*, but are beaten by Sea.

The *Syracusians* win the Works of the *Athenians* in *Plemmyrium*.

The *Athenians* get the Victory by Water.

When they had drawn to Land the Wreck of the *Syracusan* Gallies, and erected a Trophy in the little Island over against *Plemmyrium*, they returned to their Camp. The *Syracusians*, though such were their success in the Battel by Sea, yet they won the Fortification in *Plemmyrium*, and set up three Trophies, for every Wall one. One of the two Walls last taken, they demolished, but two they repaired and kept with a Garrison.

At the taking of these Walls many men were slain, and many taken alive, and their Goods, which all together was a great matter, were all taken. For the *Athenians* using these Works for their Store-house, there was in them much Wealth and Victual belonging unto Merchants, and much unto Captains of Gallies: For there were Sails within it for forty Gallies, besides other furniture, and three Gallies drawn to Land. And this loss of *Plemmyrium* was it that most and principally impaired the *Athenians* Army. For the entrance of their Provision was now no longer safe, (for the *Syracusians* lying against them there with their Gallies, kept them out) and nothing could be brought in unto them

them but by fight, and the Army besides was thereby otherwise terrified and dejected.

After this the *Syracusians* sent out twelve Gallies under the Command of *Agatharchus* a *Syracusan*. Of which one carried Ambassadors into *Peloponnesus* to declare what hope they had now of their business, and to instigate them to a sharper War in *Attica*. The other eleven went into *Italy*, upon intelligence of certain Vessels laden with Commodities coming to the *Athenians* Army: which also they met with, and destroyed most of them; and the Timber which for building of Gallies the *Athenians* had ready framed, they burned in the Territory of *Caulonia*.

After this they went to *Locri*, and riding here, there came unto them one of the Ships that carried the men of Arms of the *Thessians*; whom the *Syracusians* took aboard, and went homeward by the Coast. The *Athenians* that watched for them with twenty Gallies at *Megara*, took one of them, and the men that were in her, but could not take the rest: So that they escaped through to *Syracuse*.

There was also a light Skirmish in the Haven of *Syracuse*, about the Piles which the *Syracusians* had driven down before their old Harbour, to the end that the Gallies might ride within, and the *Athenians* not annoy them by assault. The *Athenians* having brought to the place a Ship of huge greatness, fortified with wooden Turrets, and covered against Fire, caused certain men with little Boats to go and fasten Cords unto the Pile, and so broke them up with craning. Some also the Divers did cut up with Saws. In the mean time the *Syracusians* from the Harbour, and they from the great Ship shot at each other, till in the end the greatest part of the Piles were by the *Athenians* gotten up. But the greatest difficulty was to get up those Piles which lay hidden; for some of them they had so driven in, as that they came not above the Water. So that he that should come near was in danger to be thrown upon them as upon a Rock. But these also for reward the Divers went down and sawed asunder. But the *Syracusians* continually drave down other in their stead. Other devices they had against each other, (as was not unlikely between Armies so near opposed) and many light Skirmishes passed, and attempts of all kinds were put in execution.

The *Syracusians* moreover sent Ambassadors, some *Corinthians*, some *Ambraciots*, and some *Lacedaemonians*, unto the Cities about them, to let them know that they had won *Plemmyrium*, and that in the Battel by Sea, they were not overcome by the strength of the Enemy, but by their own disorder; and also to shew what hope they were in, in other respects, and to intreat their aid both of Sea and Land Forces, for so much as the *Athenians* expecting another Army, if they would send aid before it came, whereby to overthrow that which they had now there, the War would be at an end. Thus stood the affairs of *Sicily*.

Demosthenes, as soon as his Forces which he was to carry to the succour of those in *Sicily* were gotten together, put to Sea from *Aegina*, and sailing into *Peloponnesus*, joined with *Charicles* and the 30 Gallies that were with him. And having taken aboard some men of Arms of the *Argives*, came to *Laconia*, and first wasted part of the Territory of *Epidaurus* *Limera*. From thence going to that part of *Laconia* which is over against the Island *Cythera*, (where is a Temple of *Apollo*) they wasted a part of the Countrey, and fortified an Isthmus there, both that the *Helots* might have

Demosthenes in his way to *Sicily*, fortified a neck of Land in *Laconia*.

have a refuge in it, running away from the *Lacedaemonians*, and that Free-booters from thence, as from *Pylus*, might fetch in Prizes from the Territory adjoining. As soon as the place was taken in, *Demosthenes* himself went on to *Corcyra* to take up the Confederates there, with intent to go thence speedily into *Sicily*. And *Charicles* having staid to finish, and put a Garrison into the Fortification, went afterwards with his thirty Gallies to *Athens*, and the *Argives* also went home.

The same Winter also came to *Athens* a thousand and three hundred Targettiers, of those called *Macharophori*, of the race of them that are called *Dii*, and were to have gone with *Demosthenes* into *Sicily*. But coming too late, the *Athenians* resolved to send them back again into *Thrace*, as being too chargeable a matter to entertain them onely for the War in *Decelea*; for their pay was to have been a Drachma a man by the day. For *Decelea* being this Summer fortified, first by the whole Army, and then by the several Cities maintained with a Garrison by turns, much endangered the *Athenians*, and weakned their estate, both by destroying their Commodities and consuming of their Men, so as nothing more. For the former Invasions having been short, hindred them not from reaping the benefit of the Earth for the rest of the time; but now, the Enemy continually lying upon them, and sometimes with greater Forces, sometimes of necessity with the ordinary Garrison making Incursions, and fetching in Booties, *Agis* the King of *Lacedaemon* being always there in person, and diligently prosecuting the War, the *Athenians* were thereby very grievously afflicted: for they were not onely deprived of the fruit of the Land, but also above twenty thousand of their Slaves fled over to the Enemy, whereof the greatest part were Artificers.

The aids of the *Thracians* come too late to go into *Sicily*.

The incommodities which beset the *Athenians* by the Fortification in *Decelea*.

Besides they lost all their Sheep and Oxen. And by the continual going out of the *Athenian* Horsemen, making excursions to *Decelea*, and defending the Countrey, their Horses became partly lamed through incessant labour in rugged grounds, and partly wounded by the Enemy. And their provision which formerly they used to bring in from *Eubœa* by *Oropus*, the shortest way, through *Decelea* by Land, they were now forced to fetch in by Sea, at great cost, about the Promontory of *Sunium*. And whatsoever the City was wont to be served withall from without, it now wanted, and in stead of a City was become as it were a Fort. And the *Athenians* watching on the Battlements of the Wall in the day time by turns but in the night both Winter and Summer all at once, (except the Horsemen) part at the Walls, and part at the Arms, were quite tired. But that which pressed them most, was that they had two Wars at once. And yet their obstinacy was so great as no man would have believed, till now they saw it. For being besieged at home, from the Fortification of the *Peloponnesians*, no man would have imagined, that they should not onely not have recalled their Army out of *Sicily*, but have also besieged *Syracuse* there, a City of it self no less then *Athens*, and therein so much to have exceeded the expectation of the rest of the *Grecians*, both in power and courage, (who in the beginning of this War conceived, if the *Peloponnesians* invaded their Territory, some of them that they might hold out two years, others three, no man more) as that in the seventeenth Year after they were first invaded, they should have undertaken an Expedition into *Sicily*, and being every way weakned already by the former War, have undergone another, not inferiour to that which they had before with the *Peloponnesians*. Now their Treasure being by these Wars and by the detriment sustained from

Decelea,

Decelea, and other great expences that came upon them, at a very low ebb, about this time they imposed on such as were under their Dominion, a twentieth part of all Goods passing by Sea, for a Tribute, by this means to improve their comings in. For their expences were not now as before, but so much greater, by how much the War was greater, and their Revenue besides cut off.

The *Thracians* sent back, in their way sack the City of *Mycaleſſus*.

*The Streight between *Eubœa* and *Bœotia*.

The barbarous cruelty of the *Thracians*.

The *Thracians* therefore, that came too late to go with *Demosthenes*, they presently sent back, as being unwilling to lay out money in such a scarcity; and gave the charge of carrying them back to *Diitrephes*, with command as he went along those Coasts, (for his way was through the **Euripus*) if occasion served, to do somewhat against the Enemy. He accordingly landed them by *Tanagra*, and hastily fetched in some small Booty. Then going over the *Euripus* from *Chalcis* in *Eubœa*, he disbarqued again in *Bœotia*, and led his Souldiers towards *Mycaleſſus*, and lay all night at the Temple of *Mercury* undiscovered, which is distant from *Mycaleſſus* about sixteen Furlongs. The next day he cometh to the City, being a very great one, and taketh it. For they kept no Watch, nor expected that any man would have come in and assaulted them so far from the Sea. Their Walls also were but weak, in some places fallen down, and in others low built, and their Gates open through security. The *Thracians* entering into *Mycaleſſus*, spoiled both Houses and Temples, slew the People without mercy on old or young, but killed all they could light on, both Women and Children, yea, and the labouring Cattel, and whatsoever other living thing they saw. For the Nation of the *Thracians*, where they dare, are extream bloody, equal to any of the *Barbarians*. Inſomuch as there was put in practice at this time, besides other disorder, all forms of slaughter that could be imagined. They likewise fell upon the School-house (which was in the City a great one, and the Children newly entered into it) and killed them every one. And the Calamity of the whole City, as it was as great as ever befel any, so also was it more unexpected, and more bitter. The *Thebans* hearing of it, came out to help them; and overtaking the *Thracians* before they were gone far, both recovered the Booty, and chased them to the *Euripus*, and to the Sea, where the Gallies lay that brought them. Some of them they killed, of those most, in their going aboard. For swim they could not; and such as were in the small Boats, when they saw how things went on Land, had thrust off their Boats, and lay without the *Euripus*. In the rest of the retreat, the *Thracians* behaved themselves not unhandsomely against the *Theban* Horsemen, by whom they were charged first; but running out, and again rallying themselves in a Circle, according to the manner of their Countrey, defended themselves well, and lost but few men in that action. But some also they lost in the City it self, whilst they staid behind for pillage. But in the whole, of 1300 there were slain onely 250. Of the *Thebans* and others that came out to help the City, there were slain, Horsemen and men of Arms one with another, about 20; and amongst them *Scirphondas* of *Thebes*, one of the Governours of *Bœotia*. And of the *Mycaleſſians* there perished a part. Thus went the matter at *Mycaleſſus*, the loss which it received being for the quantity of the City, no less to be lamented then any that happened in the whole War.

Demosthenes going from *Corcyra*, after his fortifying in *Laconia*, found a Ship lying in *Phia* of *Elis*, and in her certain men of Arms of *Corinth*, ready to go into *Sicily*. The Ship he sunk, but the men escaped,

ped, and afterwards getting another Ship, went on in their Voyage.

After this, *Demosthenes* being about *Zacynthus* and *Cephalonia*, took aboard their men of Arms, and sent to *Naupactus* for the *Messenians*. From thence he crossed over to the Continent of *Acarnania*, to *Alyzeæ*, and *Anactorium*, which belonged to the *Athenians*. Whilest he was in these parts, he met with *Eurymedon* out of *Sicily*, that had been sent in Winter unto the Army with Commodities, who told him amongst other things, how he had heard by the way after he was at Sea, that the *Syracusians* had won *Plemmyrium*. *Conon* also the Captain of *Naupactus* came to them, and related that the 25 Gallies of *Corinth* that lay before *Naupactus* would not give over War, and yet delayed to fight; and therefore desired to have some Gallies sent him, as being unable with his 18 to give battel to 25 of the Enemy. Whereupon *Demosthenes* and *Eurymedon* sent 20 Gallies more to those at *Naupactus*, the nimblest of the whole Fleet, by *Conon* himself; and went themselves about furnishing of what belonged to the Army. Of whom *Eurymedon* went to *Corcyra*, and having appointed them there to man 15 Gallies, levied men of Arms; for now giving over his course to *Athens*, he joined with *Demosthenes*, as having been elected with him, in the charge of General; and *Demosthenes* took up Slingers and Darters in the parts about *Acarnania*.

Eurymedon cometh to *Demosthenes* out of *Sicily*, and telleth him of the taking of *Plemmyrium*.

Demosthenes and *Eurymedon* levy Forces for *Sicily*.

The Ambassadors of the *Syracusians*, which after the taking of *Plemmyrium*, had been sent unto the Cities about, having now obtained, and levied an Army amongst them, were conducting the same to *Syracuse*. But *Nicias* upon intelligence thereof, sent unto such Cities of the *Siculi* as had the passages and were their Confederates, the *Centoripines*, *Halicycæans*, and others, not to suffer the Enemy to go by, but to unite themselves and stop them; for that they would not so much as offer to pass any other way, seeing the *Agrigentines* had already denied them. When the **Sicilians* were marching, the †*Siculi*, as the *Athenians* had desired them, put themselves in ambush in three several places, and setting upon them unawares, and on a sudden, slew about eight hundred of them, and all the Ambassadors, save onely one, a *Corinthian*, which conducted the rest that escaped, being about 1500, to *Syracuse*.

Nicias overthroweth the new supply going to *Syracuse* from the neighbouring Cities, and killeth 800 of them.

* Ζικελῶν.
† Ζικελοί.

About the same time came unto them also the aid of the *Camarinaeans*, 500 men of Arms, 300 Darters, and 300 Archers. Also the *Geloans* sent them men for five Gallies, besides 400 Darters, and 200 Horsemen. For now all *Sicily* (except the *Agrigentines*, who were Neutral) but all the rest, who before stood looking on, came in to the *Syracusan* side against the *Athenians*. Nevertheless, the *Syracusians* after this blow received amongst the *Siculi*, held their hands, and assaulted not the *Athenians* for a while.

Demosthenes and *Eurymedon* having their Army now ready, crossed over from *Corcyra* and the *Continent with the whole Army to the Promontory of *Iapygia*. From thence they went to the *Cherades*, Islands of *Iapygia*, and here took in certain *Iapygian* Darters, to the number of 250, of the *Messapian* Nation. And having renewed a certain ancient alliance with *Artas*, who reigned there, and granted them those Darters, they went thence to *Metapontium*, a City of *Italy*. There by vertue of a League they got two Gallies, and 200 Darters, which taken aboard, they kept along the Shore till they came to the Territory of *Thuria*. Here they found the adverse Faction to the *Athenians* to have been late-

* The Continent about *Acarnania*, for there was *Demosthenes*; and at *Corcyra* was *Eurymedon*.

The battel by Sea,
before Naupactus,
between the Corin-
thians and Athenians

ly driven out into a Sedition. And because they desired to muster their Army here, that they might see if any were left behind, and perswade the *Thurians* to join with them freely in the War, (and as things stood) to have for Friends and Enemies the same that were so to the *Athenians*, they staid about that in the Territory of the *Thurians*.

The *Peloponnesians* and the rest, who were at the same time in the 25 Gallies that for safeguard of the Ships, lay opposite to the Gallies before *Naupactus*, having prepared themselves for Battel, and with more Gallies, so as they were little inferiour in number to those of the *Athenians*, went to an Anchor under *Erineus* of *Achaia* in *Rhypica*. The place where they rid, was in form like a half Moon, and their Land Forces they had ready on either side to assist them, both *Corinthians* and other their Confederates of those parts, imbattelled upon the points of the Promontory, and their Gallies made up the space between, under the Command of *Polyanthes* a *Corinthian*. Against these the *Athenians* came up with 33 Gallies from *Naupactus*, commanded by *Dipphilus*. The *Corinthians* at first lay still, but afterwards when they saw their time, and the Signal given, they charged the *Athenians*, and the fight began. They held each other to it long. The *Athenians* sunk three Gallies of the *Corinthians*. And though none of their own were sunk, yet seven were made unserviceable, which having encountered the *Corinthian* Gallies ahead, were torn on both sides between the Beak and the Oars, by the Beaks of the *Corinthian* Gallies, made stronger for the same purpose. After they had fought with equal fortune, and so as both sides challenged the Victory, (though yet the *Athenians* were Masters of the Wrecks, as driven by the wind into the Main, and because the *Corinthians* came not out to renew the fight) they at length parted. There was no chasing of men that fled, nor a Prisoner taken on either side, because the *Peloponnesians* and *Corinthians* fighting near the Land, easily escaped, nor was there any Gally of the *Athenians* sunk. But when the *Athenians* were gone back to *Naupactus*, the *Corinthians* presently set up a Trophy as Victors, in regard that more of the *Athenian* Gallies were made unserviceable then of theirs; and thought themselves not to have had the worse, for the same reason that the others thought themselves not to have had the better. For the *Corinthians* think they have the better, when they have not much the worse; and the *Athenians* think they have the worse, when they have not much the better. And when the *Peloponnesians* were gone, and their Army by Land dissolved, the *Athenians* also set up a Trophy in *Achaia*, as if the Victory had been theirs, distant from *Erineus*, where the *Peloponnesians* rid, about 20 Furlongs. This was the success of that Battel by Sea.

Demosthenes and Eu-
rymedon come along
the Shore of Italy,
and take up Forces.

Demosthenes and *Eurymedon*, after the *Thurians* had put in readiness to go with them 700 men of Arms and 300 Darters, commanded their Gallies to go along the Coast to *Croton*, and conducted their Land Souldiers, having first taken a Muster of them all upon the side of the River *Sycarris*, through the Territory of the *Thurians*. But coming to the River *Hylias*, upon word sent them from the men of *Croton*, that if the Army went thorow their Territory, it should be against their will, they marched down to the Sea side, and to the mouth of the River *Hylias*, where they staid all that night, and were met by their Gallies.

The next day imbarcking, they kept along the Shore, and touched at every Town saving *Locri* till they arrived at *Petra*, in the Territory of *Rhegium*.

The *Syracusians* in the mean time, upon intelligence of their coming on, resolved to try again what they could do with their Navy, and with their new supply of Land-men, which they had gotten together on purpose, to fight with the *Athenians* before *Demosthenes* and *Eury-medon* should arrive. And they furnished their Navy both otherwise, according to the advantages they had learnt in the last Battel, and also made shorter the heads of their Gallies, and thereby stronger, and made beaks to them of a great thickness, which they also strengthened with Rafter's fastened to the sides of the Gallies, both within and without, of 6 cubits long, in such manner as the *Corinthians* had armed their Gallies ahead to fight with those before *Naupactus*. For the *Syracusians* made account that against the *Athenian* Gallies not so built, but weak before, as not using so much to meet the Enemy ahead, as upon the side, by fetching a compass, they could not but have the better; and that to fight in the great Haven many Gallies in not much room, was an advantage to them, for that using to direct encounter, they should break with their firm and thick beaks the hollow and infirm foreparts of the Gallies of their Enemies; and that the *Athenians* in that narrow room, would want means both to go about, and to go through them, which was the point of Art they most relied on. For as for their passing through, they would hinder it themselves as much as they could, and for fetching compass, the streightness of the place would not suffer it. And that fighting ahead, which seemed before to be want of skill in the Masters [to do otherwise,] was it they would now principally make use of; for in this would be their principal advantage. For the *Athenians*, if overcome, would have no retiring but to the Land, which was but a little way off, and little in compass, near their own Camp, and of the rest of the Haven themselves should be Masters, and the Enemy being prest, could not chuse, thronging together into a little room, and all into one and the same place, but disorder one another, which was indeed the thing that in all their Battels by Sea, did the *Athenians* the greatest hurt; having not as the *Syracusians* had, the liberty of the whole Haven to retire unto) and to go about into a place of more room, they having it in their power to set upon them from the main Sea, and to retire again at pleasure, they should never be able; especially having *Plemmyrium* for Enemy, and the Havens mouth not being large. The *Syracusians* having devised thus much over and above their former skill and strength, and far more confident now since the former Battel by Sea, assaulted them both with their Army and with their Navy at once. The Land-men from the City *Gylippus* drew sooner out a little, and brought them to the Wall of the *Athenians* Camp, upon the side towards the City; and from *Olympicum*, the Men of Arms, all that were there, and the Horsemen and light-armed of the *Syracusians*, came up to the Wall on the other side. And by and by after came sailing forth also the Gallies of the *Syracusians* and their Confederates. The *Athenians* that thought at first they would have made the attempt onely with their Land-men, seeing also the Gallies on a sudden coming towards them, were in confusion, and some of them put themselves in order upon and before the Walls, against those that came from the City, and others went out to meet the Horsemen and Darters, that were coming in great numbers and with speed from *Olympicum*, and the parts without. Others again went aboard, and withall came to aid those ashore; but when the Gallies were manned they put off, being 75 in number, and those of *Syracuse* about 80.

The *Syracusians* make ready their Gallies to fight with the *Athenians* there, before the supply came. Their manner of strengthening their Gallies.

The Athenians and
Syracusians fight.

Having spent much of the day in charging and retiring, and trying each other, and performed nothing worth the mentioning, save that the *Syracusians* sunk a Gally or two of the *Athenians*, they parted again, and the Land Souldiers retired at the same time from the Wall of the *Athenian* Camp. The next day the *Syracusians* lay still, without shewing any sign of what they meant to do. Yet *Nicias* seeing that the Battel by Sea was with equality, and imagining that they would fight again, made the Captains to repair their Gallies, such as had been torn, and two great Ships to be mored, without those Piles which he had driven into the Sea before his Gallies, to be in stead of a Haven enclosed. These Ships he placed about two Acres bredth asunder, to the end if any Gally chanced to be pressed, it might safely run in, and again go safely out at leisure. In performing of this, the *Athenians* spent a whole day from morning until night.

The Athenians and
Syracusians fight a-
gain.

The stratagem of
Ariston, a Master of
a Gally.

The next day the *Syracusians* assaulted the *Athenians* again with the same Forces both by Sea and Land, that they had done before, but begun earlier in the morning, and being opposed Fleet against Fleet, they drew out a great part of the day now again, as before, in attempting upon each other without effect. Till at last *Ariston* the son of *Pyrrhichus* a *Corinthian*, the most expert Master that the *Syracusians* had in their Fleet perswaded the Commanders of the Navy to send to such in the City as it belonged to, and command that the Market should be speedily kept at the Sea side, and to compel every man to bring thither whatsoever he had fit for meat, and there to sell it, that the Mariners disbarking might presently dine by the Gallies sides, and quickly again unlooked for, assault the *Athenians* afresh the same day.

This advice being liked, they sent a Messenger, and the Market was furnished. And the *Syracusians* suddenly rowed astern towards the City, and disbarking dined there-right on the Shore. The *Athenians* supposing they had retired towards the City as vanquished, landed at leisure, and amongst other business, went about the dressing of their dinner, as not expecting to have fought again the same day. But the *Syracusians* suddenly going aboard, came towards them again. And the *Athenians* in great tumult, and for the most part undined, imbarking disorderly, at length with much ado went out to meet them. For a while they held their hands on both sides, and but observed each other: But anon after the *Athenians* thought not fit by longer dallying to overcome themselves with their own labour, but rather to fight as soon as they could; and thereupon at once with a joint shout, charged the Enemy, and the fight began. The *Syracusians* received and resisted their charges; and fighting as they had before determined, with their Gallies head to head with those of the *Athenians*, and provided with beaks for the purpose, brake the Gallies of the *Athenians* very much, between the heads of the Gallies and the Oars. The *Athenians* were also annoyed much by the Darters from the Decks, but much more by those *Syracusians*, who going about in small Boats, passed under the rows of the Oars of the Enemies Gallies, and coming close to their sides, threw their Darts at the Mariners from thence.

The *Syracusians* having fought in this manner with the utmost of their strength, in the end got the Victory, and the *Athenians* between the two Ships escaped into their Harbor. The *Syracusan* Gallies chased them as far as to those Ships, but the Dolphins hanging from the Masts over the entrance of the Harbour, forbad them to follow any further. Yet there

there were two Gallies, which upon a jollity after Victory approached them, but were both lost, of which one with her men and all was taken. The *Syracusians* after they had sunk seven Gallies of the *Athenians*, and torn many more, and of the men had taken some alive, and killed others, retired, and for both the Battels erected Trophies, and had already an assured hope, of being far superiour by Sea, and also made account to subdue the Army by Land. And they prepared to assault them again in both kinds.

The *Syracusians* have the Victory.

In the mean time *Demosthenes* and *Eurymedon* arrived with the *Athenian* supply, being about 73 Gallies, and men of Arms of their own and of their Confederates about 5000. Besides Darters, as well *Barbarians* as *Greeks*, not a few, and Slingers and Archers, and all other Provision sufficient. For the present it not a little daunted the *Syracusians* and their Confederates to see no end of their danger, and that notwithstanding the fortifying in *Decelea*, another Army should come now, equal and like unto their former, and that their power should be so great in every kind. And on the other side it was a kind of strengthening after weakness to the *Athenian* Army that was there before. *Demosthenes* when he saw how things stood, and thinking it unfit to loyter and fall into *Nicias* his case, (for *Nicias* who was formidable at his first coming, when he set not presently upon *Syracuse*, but Wintered at *Catana*, both grew into contempt, and was prevented also by the coming of *Gylippus* thither with an Army out of *Peloponnesus*. The which if *Nicias* had gone against *Syracuse* at first, had never been so much as sent for. For supposing themselves to have been strong enough alone, they had at once both found themselves too weak, and the City been enclosed with a Wall, whereby though they had sent for it, it could not have helped them as it did. *Demosthenes* I say considering this, and that he also even at the present, and the same day was most terrible to the Enemy, intended with all speed to make use of this present terribleness of the Army. And having observed that the cross Wall of the *Syracusians*, wherewith they hindred the *Athenians* from enclosing the City, was but single, and that if they could be Masters of the ascent to *Epipolæ*, and again of the Camp there, the same might easily be taken, (for none would have stood against them) hastened to put it to trial, and thought it his shortest way to the dispatching of the War. For either he should have success he thought, and so win *Syracuse*, or he would lead away the Army, and no longer without purpose consume both the *Athenians* there with him, and the whole State. The *Athenians* therefore went out, and first wasted the Territory of the *Syracusians* about the River *Anapus*, and were the stronger as at first, both by Sea and Land. For the *Syracusians* durst neither way go out against them, but onely with their Horsemen and Darters from *Olympieum*.

Demosthenes and *Eurymedon* with a new Army arrive at *Syracuse*.

Demosthenes attempteth to win the Wall which the *Syracusians* had built through *Epipolæ*, to exclude the proceeding of the Wall of the *Athenians*.

After this *Demosthenes* thought good to try the Wall which the *Athenians* had built to enclose the City withall, with Engines; but seeing the Engines were burnt by the Defendants fighting from the Wall, and that having assaulted it in divers parts with the rest of his Army, he was notwithstanding put back, he resolved to spend the time no longer, but (having gotten the consent of *Nicias* and the rest in Commission thereunto) to put in execution his design for *Epipolæ*, as was before intended. By day it was thought impossible not to be discovered, either in their approach, or in their ascent. Having therefore first commanded to take five days provision of Victual, and all the Masons and Work-

men,

men, as also store of Casting Weapons, and whatsoever they might need if they overcame, for Fortification, He, and *Eurymedon*, and *Menander*, with the whole Army, marched about midnight to *Epipolæ*, leaving *Nicias* in the Camp. Being come to *Epipolæ* at *Euryalus* (where also the Army went up before) they were not onely not discovered by the *Syracusians* that kept the Watch, but ascending, took a certain Fortification of the *Syracusians* there, and killed part of them that kept it. But the greatest number escaping, ran presently to the Camps, of which there were in *Epipolæ* three walled about without the City, one of *Syracusians*, one of other *Sicilians*, and one of Confederates, and carried the news of their coming in, and told it to those 600 *Syracusians* that kept this part of *Epipolæ* at the first, who presently went forth to meet them. But *Demosthenes* and the *Athenians* lighting on them, though they fought valiantly, put them to flight, and presently marched on, making use of the present heat of the Army to finish what he came for, before it were too late. And others going on, in their first course took the cross Wall of the *Syracusians*; they flying that kept it, and were throwing down the Battlements thereof. The *Syracusians* and their Confederates, and *Gylippus* and those with him, came out to meet them from their Camps; but because the attempt was unexpected, and in the night, they charged the *Athenians* timorously, and were even at first forced to retire. But as the *Athenians* advanced more out of order, chiefly as having already gotten the Victory, but desiring also quickly to pass through all that remained yet unfoughten with, (lest through their remissness in following, they might again rally themselves) the *Bæotians* withstood them first, and charging, forced them to turn their backs. And here the *Athenians* were mightily in disorder and perplexed, so that it hath been very hard to be informed of any side, in what manner each thing passed. For if in the day time, when things are better seen, yet they that are present cannot tell how all things go, save onely what every man with much ado seeth near unto himself: how then in a Battel by night, (the onely one that happened between great Armies in all this War) can a man know any thing for certain? For though the Moon shined bright, yet they saw one another no otherwise then (as by Moon-light was likely) so as to see a body, but not be sure whether it were a Friend, or not. And the Men of Arms on both sides being not a few in number, had but little ground to turn in. Of the *Athenians*, some were already overcome, others went on in their first way. Also a great part of the rest of the Army was already part gotten up, and part ascending, and knew not which way to march; for after the *Athenians* once turned their backs, all before them was in confusion; and it was hard to distinguish of any thing for the noise. For the *Syracusians* and their Confederates prevailing, encouraged each other, and received the assailants with exceeding great shouts, (for they had no other means in the night to express themselves.) And the *Athenians* fought each other, and took for Enemies all before them, though Friends, and of the number of those that fled. And by often asking the Word, there being no other means of distinction, all asking at once, they both made a great deal of stir amongst themselves, and revealed the Word to the Enemy. But they did not in like manner know the Word of the *Syracusians*, because these being victorious and undistracted, knew one another better. So that when they lighted on any number of the Enemy, though they themselves were more, yet the Enemy escaped, as knowing the Watch-word; but they

they, when they could not answer, were slain. But that which hurt them most was the Tune of the * *Paan*, which being in both Armies the same, drove them to their wits end. For the *Argives* and *Corcyraans*, and all other of the Dorick Race on the *Athenians* part, when they sounded the *Paan*, terrified the *Athenians* on one side, and the Enemy terrified them with the like on the other side. Wherefore at the last falling one upon another in divers parts of the Army, Friends against Friends, and Countreymen against Countreymen, they not onely terrified each other, but came to hand-stroaks, and could hardly again be parted.

* A Hymn with Trumpets or other loud Musick, both before and after battel.

As they fled before the Enemy, the way of the descent from *Epipole*, by which they were to go back, being but streight, many of them threw themselves down from the Rocks and died so; and of the rest that got down safely into the Plain, though the greatest part, and all that were of the old Army, by their knowledge of the Countrey escaped into the Camp, yet of these that came last, some lost their way, and straying in the Fields, when the day came on, were cut off by the *Syracusan* Horsemen that ranged the Countrey about.

The *Athenians* fled.

The next day the *Syracusians* erected two Trophies, one in *Epipole* at the ascent, and another where the first check was given by the *Bæotians*. The *Athenians* received their dead under Truce; and many there were that died, both of themselves and of their Confederates. But the Arms taken, were more then for the number of the slain: for of such as were forced to quit their Bucklers, and leap down from the Rocks, though some perished, yet some there also were that escaped.

After this, the *Syracusians* having by such unlooked for prosperity recovered their former courage, sent *Sicanus* with fifteen Gallies to *Agri-gentum* being in Sedition, to bring that City if they could to their obedience. And *Gylippus* went again to the *Sicilian* Cities by Land, to raise yet another Army, as being in hope to take the Camp of the *Athenians* by assault, considering how the matter had gone in *Epipole*.

The *Syracusians* send for more supplies, and hope to win the *Athenian* Camp.

In the mean time the *Athenian* Generals went to Council upon their late overthrow, and present general weakness of the Army. For they saw, not onely that their designs prospered not, but that the Souldiers also were weary of staying. For they were troubled with sickness, proceeding from a double cause; this being the time of the year most obnoxious to diseases, and the place where they lay Moorish and noisom. And all things else appeared desperate.

The *Athenian* Commanders take counsel what to do.

Demosthenes thought fit to stay no longer; and since the execution of his Design at *Epipole* had failed, delivered his opinion for going out of the Haven whilst the Seas were open, and whilst, at least with this addition of Gallies, they were stronger then the Army of the Enemy. For it was better, he said, for the City to make War upon those which fortifie against them at home, then against the *Syracusians*, seeing they cannot now be easily overcome; and there was no reason why they should spend much money in lying before the City. This was the opinion of *Demosthenes*.

The advice of *Demosthenes*.

Nicias, though he also thought their Estate bad, yet was unwilling to have their weakness discovered, and by decreeing of their departure openly with the Votes of many, to make known the same to the Enemy. For if at any time they had a mind to be gone, they should then be less able to do it secretly. Besides, the estate of the Enemy, in as much as he understood it better then the rest, put him into some hope that it might yet grow worse then their own, in case they pressed the Siege, especially being already Masters of the Sea far and near with their present

The opinion of Nicias.

present Fleet. There was moreover a party for the *Athenians* in *Syracuse* that desired to betray the State into their hands, and that sent messengers unto him, and suffered him not to rise and be gone. All which he knowing, though he were in truth doubtful what opinion to be of, and did yet consider, nevertheless openly in his Speech, he was against the withdrawing the Army, and said, *That he was sure the People of Athens would take it ill, if he went thence without their Order: For that they were not to have such Judges as should give sentence upon their own sight of things done, rather then upon the report of Calumniators, but such as would believe whatsoever some fine Speaker should accuse them of. That many, nay most of the Souldiers here, who now cry out upon their misery, will there cry out on the contrary, and say the Generals have betrayed the State, and come away for a bribe. That he would not therefore, knowing the nature of the Athenians so well, chuse to be put to death unjustly, and charged with a dishonourable crime by the Athenians, rather then if he must needs do one, to suffer the same at the hand of the Enemy by his own adventure. And yet he said the State of the Syracusians was still inferiour to their own: For paying much money to Strangers, and laying out much more on Forts without and about the City, having also had a great Navy a year already in pay, they must needs want money at last, and all these things fail them. For they have spent already two thousand Talents, and are much in debt besides. And whensoever they shall give over this course, and make pay no longer, their strength is gone, as being auxiliary, and not constrained to follow the War, as the Athenians are. Therefore it was fit, he said, to stay close to the City, and not to go away, as if they were too weak in money, wherein they were much superiour.*

Nicias, when he spake thus, assured them of it, as knowing the State of *Syracuse* precisely, and their want of money; and that there were some that desired to betray the City to the *Athenians*, and sent him word not to go. Withall he had now confidence in the Fleet, which as being before overcome, he had not. As for lying where they did, *Demosthenes* would by no means hear of it. But if the Army might not be carried away without Order from the *Athenians*, but must needs stay in *Sicily*, then he said they might go to *Thapsus*, or *Catana*, from whence by their Land men they might invade and turn much of the Countrey to them, and wasting the Fields of the Enemies, weaken the *Syracusians*, and be to fight with their Gallies in the main Sea, and not in a narrow (which is the advantage of the Enemy) but in a wide place, where the benefit of skill should be theirs, and where they should not be forced in charging and retiring, to come up, and fall off in narrow and circumscribed limits. In sum, he said he by no means liked to stay where they were, but with all speed, no longer delaying the matter, to arise and be gone. *Eurymedon* also gave the like counsel. Nevertheless upon the contradiction of *Nicias*, there grew a kind of sloth and procrastination in the business, and a suspicion withall, that the asseveration of *Nicias* was grounded on somewhat that he knew above the rest, and thereupon the *Athenians* deferred their going thence, and staid upon the place.

In the mean time *Gylippus* and *Sycanus* returned unto *Syracuse*. *Sycanus* without his purpose at *Agrigentum* (for whilest he was yet in *Gela*, the Sedition which had been raised in the behalf of the *Syracusians*, was turned into friendship;) but *Gylippus* not without another great Army out of *Sicily*, besides the men of Arms, which having set forth from

Peloponnesus

Gylippus returneth with another Army from the Cities of *Sicily*.

Peloponnesus in Ships the Spring before, were then lately arrived at *Selinus* from out of *Africk*: For having been driven into *Africk*, and the *Cyreneans* having given them two Gallies with *Pilots*, in passing by the Shore they aided the *Euesperitæ* besieged by the *Africans*; and having overcome the *Africans*, they went on to *Neapolis*, a Town of Traffique belonging to the *Carthaginians*, where the passage into *Sicily* is shortest, and but two days and a nights sail over. And from thence they crossed the Sea to *Selinus*. As soon as they were come, the *Syracusians* again presently prepared to set upon the *Athenians* both by Sea and Land. The *Athenian* Generals seeing them have another Army, and their own not bettering, but growing every day worse then other, but especially as being pressed to it by the sickness of the Souldiers, repented now that they removed not before; and *Nicias* being now no longer against it as he was, but desirous onely that it might not be concluded openly, gave order unto all, as secretly as was possible, to put forth of the Harbour, and to be ready when the sign should be given.

But when they were about it, and every thing was ready, the Moon happened to be eclipsed; for it was Full Moon: and not onely the greatest part of the *Athenians* called upon the Generals to stay, but *Nicias* also (for he was addicted to Superstition and observations of that kind somewhat too much) said, that it should come no more into debate, whether they should go or not, till the three times nine days be past, which the Soothsayers appoint in that behalf. And the *Athenians*, though upon going, staid still for this reason.

The *Athenians* out of superstition forbear to remove, because of an eclipse of the Moon.

The *Syracusians* also having intelligence of this, were encouraged unto the pressing of the *Athenians* much the more, for that they confessed themselves already too weak for them both by Sea and Land; for else they would never have fought to have run away.

The *Syracusians* assault the *Athenian* Camp with their Land Souldiers.

Besides they would not have them sit down in any other part of *Sicily*, and become the harder to be Warred on; but had rather there-right, and in a place most for their own advantage compel them to fight by Sea. To which end they manned their Gallies, and after they had rested as long as was sufficient, when they saw their time, the first day they assaulted the *Athenians* Camp, and some small number of men of Arms and Horsemen of the *Athenians* sallied out against them by certain Gates, and the *Syracusians* intercepting some of the men of Arms, beat them back into the Camp. But the entrance being streight, there were 70 of the Horsemen lost, and men of Arms some, but not many.

The next day they came out with their Gallies, 76 in number, and the *Athenians* set forth against them with 86; and being come together they fought. *Eurymedon* had charge of the right Wing of the *Athenians*, and desiring to encompass the Gallies of the Enemies, drew forth his own Gallies in length more toward the Shore; and was cut off by the *Syracusians*, that had first overcome the middle Battel of the *Athenians* from the rest in the bottom and inmost part of the Haven; and both slain himself, and the Gallies that were with him lost. And that done, the rest of the *Athenian* Fleet was also chased and driven ashore.

The *Syracusians* overcome the *Athenians* again by Sea.

Gylippus when he saw the Navy of the Enemy vanquished, and carried past the Piles, and their own Harbour, came with a part of his Army to the Peer to kill such as landed, and to cause that the *Syracusians* might the easilier pull the Enemies Gallies from the Shore, whereof themselves were masters. But the *Tuscans*, who kept Guard in that

part for the *Athenians*, seeing them coming that was in disorder, made head, and charging these first, forced them into the Marish called *Lysimelia*. But when afterwards a greater number of the *Syracusians* and their Confederates came to help them, then also the *Athenians* to help the *Tuscans*, and for fear to lose their Gallies, fought with them, and having overcome them, pursued them, and not onely slew many of their men of Arms, but also saved the most of their Gallies, and brought them back into the Harbour. Nevertheless the *Syracusians* took eighteen, and slew the men taken in them. And amongst the rest they let drive before the Wind (which blew right upon the *Athenians*) an old Ship full of Faggots and Brands set on fire to burn them. The *Athenians* on the other side, fearing the loss of their Navy, devised remedies for the fire, and having quenched the flame, and kept the Ship from coming near, escaped that danger.

After this the *Syracusians* set up a Trophy, both for the Battel by Sea, and for the men of Arms which they intercepted above before the Camp, where also they took the Horses. And the *Athenians* erected a Trophy likewise, both for the flight of those Footmen which the *Tuscans* drove into the Marish, and for those which they themselves put to flight with the rest of the Army.

The *Athenians* dejected, repent of the Voyage.

When the *Syracusians* had now manifestly overcome their Fleet (for they feared at first the supply of Gallies that came with *Demosthenes*) the *Athenians* were in good earnest utterly out of heart. And as they were much deceived in the event, so they repented more of the Voyage.

For having come against these Cities, the onely ones that were for Institution like unto their own, and governed by the People as well as themselves; and which had a Navy, and Horses, and Greatness, seeing they could create no dissention amongst them about change of Government, to win them that way, nor could subdue it with the greatness of their Forces when they were far the stronger, but misprospered in most of their designs, they were then at their Wits end. But now, when they were also vanquished by Sea (which they would never have thought) they were much more dejected then ever.

The *Syracusians* intend to keep in the *Athenians*, and reckon upon the glory of a full Victory.

The *Syracusians* went presently about the Haven without fear, and meditated how to shut up the same, that the *Athenians* might not steal away without their knowledge, though they would. For now they studied not onely how to save themselves, but how to hinder the safety of the *Athenians*. For the *Syracusians* conceived (not untruly) that their own strength was at this present the greater, and that if they could vanquish the *Athenians* and their Confederates both by Sea and Land, it would be a Mastery of great honour to them, amongst the rest of the *Grecians*. For all the rest of Greece should be one part freed by it, and the other part out of fear of subjection hereafter. For it would be impossible for the *Athenians*, with the remainder of their strength to sustain the War that would be made upon them afterwards; and they being reputed the Authors of it, should be had in admiration, not onely with all men now living, but also with posterity. And to say truth, it was a worthy Mastery, both for the causes shewn, and also for that they became Victors not of the *Athenians* onely, but many others their Confederates; nor again they themselves alone, but their Confederates also having been in joint command with the *Corinthians* and *Lacedaemonians* and both exposed their City to the first hazard, and of the business by Sea performed the greatest part themselves.

The

The greatest number of Nations, except the General Roll of those which in this War adhered to *Athens* and *Lacedæmon*, were together at this one City. And this number on both sides against *Sicily*, and for it, some to help win, and some to help save it, came to the War at *Syracuse*, not on any pretence of right, nor as Kindred to aid Kindred, but as profit or necessity severally chanced to induce them. The *Athenians* being *Ionique* went against the *Syracusians* that be *Dorique*, voluntarily. With these, as being their Colonies, went the *Lemnians* and *Imbrians*, and the *Æginetæ* that dwelt in *Ægina* then, all of the same Language and Institutions with themselves.

Also the *Hestians* of *Eubœa*. Of the rest, some went with them as their Subjects, and some as their Free Confederates, and some also hired. Subjects and Tributaries; as the *Eretrians*, *Chalcideans*, *Styrians*, and *Carystians*, from *Eubœa*. *Ceians*, *Andrians*, *Tenians*, from out of the Islands. *Milesians*, *Samians*, and *Chians*, from *Ionia*. Of these the *Chians* followed them as Free, not as Tributaries of money but of Gallies. And these were almost all of them *Ionians*, descended from the *Athenians*, except onely the *Carystians* that are of the Nation of the *Dryopes*. And though they were Subjects and went upon constraint, yet they were *Ionians* against *Dorians*. Besides these there went with them *Æolians*, namely the *Methymneans*, Subjects to *Athens*, not Tributaries of Money, but of Gallies, and the *Tenedians* and *Ænians* Tributaries. Now here *Æolians* were constrained to fight against *Æolians*, namely against their Founders the *Bœotians*, that took part with the *Syracusians*. But the *Platæans*, and onely they being *Bœotians*, fought against *Bœotians* upon just quarrel. The *Rhodians* and *Cytherians* *Dorique* both, by constraint, bore Arms; one of them, namely the *Cytherians* a Colony of the *Lacedæmonians*, with the *Athenians* against the *Lacedæmonians* that were with *Gylippus*; and the other, that is to say, the *Rhodians*, being by descent *Argives*, not only against the *Syracusians*, who were also *Dorique*, but against their own Colony the *Gelans*, which took part with the *Syracusians*. Then of the Islanders about *Peloponnesus*, there went with them the *Cephalonians* and *Zacynthians*, not but that they were Free States, but because they were kept in awe as Islanders, by the *Athenians* who were Masters of the Sea. And the *Corcyraens* being not onely *Dorique*, but *Corinthians* fought openly against both *Corinthians* and *Syracusians*, though a Colony of the one, and of kin to the other: which they did necessarily (to make the best of it) but indeed no less willingly, in respect of their hatred to the *Corinthians*. Also the *Messenians* now so called in *Naupactus*, were taken along to this War, and the *Messenians* at *Pylus* then holden by the *Athenians*. Moreover the *Megarean* Outlaws, though not many, by advantage taken of their misery, were fain to fight against the *Selinuntians* that were *Megareans* likewise. But now the rest of their Army was rather voluntary. The *Argives* not so much for the League as for their Enmity with the *Lacedæmonians* and their present particular spleen, followed the *Athenians* to the War though *Ionique*, against *Dorians*. And the *Mantineans* and other *Arcadian* Mercenaries went with him, as men accustomed ever to invade the Enemy shewed them, and now for gain, had for Enemies as much as any those other *Arcadians* which went thither with the *Corinthians*. The *Cretans* and *Ætolians* were all Mercenary, and it fell out that the *Cretans*, who together with the *Rhodians* were Founders of *Gela*, not only took not part with their Colony, but fought against it willingly for their hire. And some *Acarnanians* also went with them for

The Nations that were at the Wars of *Syracuse* on one side or other.

Athenians

Lemnians, *Imbrians*, *Æginetæ*,

Hestians of *Eubœa*,

Eretrians, *Chalcideans*, *Styrians*, *Carystians*, *Ceians*, *Andrians*, *Tenians*, *Milesians*, *Samians*, *Chians*,

Methymneans, *Tenedians*, *Ænians*,

Platæans, *Rhodians*, and *Cytherians*,

Cephalonians, *Zacynthians*.

Corcyraens,

Messenians,

Megareans,

Argives,

Mantineans and other *Arcadians*,

Cetans, *Ætolians*,

Acarnanians,

Thurians, Metapontians, Naxians, Catanæans, Egestæans,

Tuscans, Iapygians,

Syracusians, Camarineans,

Himereans,

Siculi,

Lacedæmonians.

* *Νεοδευότας*, newly made free.

Corinthians,

Leucadians, Ambraciots, Arcadian Mercenaries, Sicyonians.

gain, but most of them went as Confederates, in love to *Demosthenes*, and for good will to the State of *Athens*. And thus many within the bound of the *Ionian* Gulf. Then of *Italians* fallen into the same necessity of seditious times, there went with them to this War, the *Thurians*, and *Metapontians*. Of *Greek Sicilians*, the *Naxians* and *Catanæans*. Of *Barbarian*, the *Egestæans*, who also drew with them the most of those *Greek Sicilians*. Without *Sicily*, there went with them some *Thuscans*, upon quarrels between them and the *Syracusians*, and some *Iapygian* Mercenaries. These were the Nations that followed the Army of the *Athenians*.

On the other side, there opposed them, on the part of the *Syracusians*, the *Camarineans* their borderers. And beyond them again the *Geloans*. And then (the *Agrigentines* not stirring) beyond them again the same way, the *Selinuntians*. These inhabit the part of *Sicily* that lieth opposite to *Africk*. Then the *Himereans* on the side that lieth to the *Tyrrhen* Sea, where they are the onely *Grecians* inhabiting, and onely aided them. These were their Confederates of the *Greek* Nation, within *Sicily*; all *Doreans* and Free States. Then of the *Barbarians* there, they had the *Siculi*, all but what revolted to the *Athenians*. For *Grecians* without *Sicily*, the *Lacedæmonians* sent them a *Spartan* Commander, with some *Helots*, and the rest * Freed men. Then aided them both with Gallies and with Land men the *Corinthians* onely; and for Kindreds sake, the *Leucadians* and *Ambraciots*. Out of *Arcadia*, those Mercenaries sent by the *Corinthians*. And *Sicyonians* on constraint. And from without *Peloponnesus*, the *Bœotians*. To the foreign aids, the *Sicilians* themselves, as being great Cities, added more in every kind then as much again; for they got together men of Arms, Gallies and Horses, great store, and other number in abundance. And to all these again the *Syracusians* themselves added, as I may say, above as much more, in respect of the greatness both of their City and of their danger.

These were the succours assembled on either part, which were then all there, and after them came no more neither to the one side nor the other. No marvel then, if the *Syracusians* thought it a noble mastery, if to the Victory by Sea already gotten, they could add the taking of the whole *Athenian* Army, so great as it was, and hinder their escape both by Sea and Land.

The *Syracusians* shut up the Haven.

Presently therefore they fall in hand with stopping up the mouth of the great Haven, being about eight Furlongs wide, with Gallies laid cross, and Lighters and Boats upon their Anchors, and withall prepared whatsoever else was necessary, in case the *Athenians* would hazard another Battel, meditating on no small matters in any thing.

The *Athenians* seeing the shutting up of the Haven, and the rest of the Enemies designs, thought good to go to Counsel upon it: and the Generals and Commanders of Regiments having met, and considered their present wants, both otherwise, and in this, that they neither had provision for the present, (for upon their resolution to be gone, they had sent before to *Catana* to forbid the sending in of any more) nor were likely to have for the future, unless their Navy got the upper hand, they resolved to abandon their Camp above, and to take in some place, no greater then needs they must, near unto their Gallies with a Wall, and leaving some to keep it, to go aboard with the rest of the Army, and to man every Gally that they had, serviceable and less serviceable, and having

ving caused all sorts of men to go aboard and fight it out, if they got the Victory to go to *Catana*; if not, to make their retreat in order of Battel, by Land (having first set fire on their Navy) the nearest way unto some amicable place, either *Barbarian* or *Grecian*, that they should best be able to reach unto before the Enemy. As they had concluded, so they did; for they both came down to the Shore from their Camp above, and also manned every Gally they had, and compelled to go on board every man of Age, of any ability whatsoever. So the whole Navy was manned, to the number of 110 Gallies, upon which they had many Archers and Darters, both *Acarnanians* and other strangers, and all things else provided according to their means and purpose. And *Nicias*, when almost every thing was ready, perceiving the Souldiers to be dejected for being so far overcome by Sea, contrary to their custom, and yet in respect of the scarcity of Victual, desirous as soon as could be to fight, called them together, and encouraged them then the first time, with words to this effect:

THE ORATION of N I C I A S.

Souldiers, Athenians, and other our Confederates, though the trial at hand will be common to all alike, and will concern the safety and Countrey, no less of each of us, then of the Enemy: (For if our Gallies get the Victory, we may every one see his Native City again) yet ought we not to be discouraged, like men of no experience, who failing in their first adventures, ever after carry a fearfutable to their misfortunes. But you Athenians here present, having had experience already of many Wars, and you our Confederates, that have always gone along with our Armies, remember how often the event falleth out otherwise in War then one would think; and in hope that Fortune will once also be of our side, prepare your selves to fight again, in such manner as shall be worthy the number you see your selves to be. What we thought would be helps in the narrowness of the Haven, against such a multitude of Gallies as will be there, and against the provision of the Enemy upon their Decks, whereby we were formerly annoyed, we have with the Masters now considered them all, and as well as our present means will permit, made them ready. For many Archers and Darters shall go aboard, and that multitude, which if we had been to fight in the main Sea, we would not have used, because by slugging the Gallies, it would take away the use of Skill, will nevertheless be useful here, where we are forced to make a Land fight from our Gallies. We have also devised, in stead of what should have been provided for in the building of our Gallies against the thickness of the beaks of theirs, which did most hurt us, to lash their Gallies unto ours with Iron Grapnels; whereby (if the men of Arms do their part) we may keep the Gallies which once come close up, from falling back again. For we are brought to a necessity now of making it a Land fight upon the Water; and it will be the best for us neither to fall back our selves, nor to suffer the Enemy to do so. Especially, when except what our men on Land shall make good, the Shore is altogether hostile, Which you remembring, must therefore fight it out to the utmost, and not suffer your selves to be beaten back unto the Shore. But when Gally to Gally shall once be fallen close, never think any cause worthy to make you part, unless you have first beaten off the men of Arms of the Enemy from their Decks. And this I speak to you rather that are the men of Arms, then to the Mariners, in as much as that part belongeth rather unto you that fight above; and

in you it lieth, even yet to atchieve the Victory for the most part with the Land men. Now for the Mariners, I advise, and withall beseech them not to be too much daunted with the losses past, having now both a greater number of Gallies, and greater Forces upon the Decks. Think it a pleasure worth preserving, that being taken, by your knowledge of the Language, and imitation of our Fashions for Athenians, (though you be not so) you are not onely admired for it through all Greece, but also partake of our dominion in matter of profit no less then our selves; and for awfulness to the Nations subject, and protection from injury, more. You therefore that alone participate freely of our Dominion, cannot with any justice betray the same. In desight therefore of the Corinthians, whom you have often vanquished; and of the Sicilians, who as long as our Fleet was at the best, durst never so much as stand us, repel them, and make it appear, that your knowledge even with weakness and loss, is better then the strength of another with Fortune. Again, to such of you as are Athenians I must remember this, that you have no more such Fleets in your Harbors, nor such able men of Arms; and that if ought happen to you but Victory, your Enemies here will presently be upon you at home; and those at home will be unable to defend themselves, both against those that shall go hence, and against the Enemy that lieth there already. So one part of us shall fall into the mercy of the Syracusians, against whom you your selves know with what intent you came hither, and the other part which is at home shall fall into the hands of the Lacedæmonians. Being therefore in this one Battel to fight both for your selves and them; be therefore valiant now if ever, and bear in mind every one of you, that you that go now aboard are the Land Forces, the Sea Forces, the Whole Estate, and Great Name of Athens. For which, if any man excel others in skill or courage, he can never shew it more opportunely then now, when he may both help himself with it, and whole.

Nicias having thus encouraged them, commanded presently to go aboard.

Gylippus and the Syracusians might easily discern that the Athenians meant to fight, by seeing their preparation. Besides they had advertisement of their purpose to cast Iron Grapnels into their Gallies. And as for every thing else, so also for that they had made provision. For they covered the fore-part of their Gallies, and also the Decks for a great way with Hides that the Grapnels cast in might slip, and not be able to take hold, When all was ready, Gylippus likewise, and other the Commanders used unto the Souldiers this Hortative.

The ORATION of GYLIPPUS;
and the Syracusan Generals.

That not onely our former acts have been honourable, but that we are to fight now also for further honour, (Men of Syracuse, and Confederates) the most of you seem to know already (for else you never would so valiantly have undergone it.) And if there be any man that is not so sensible of it as he ought, we will make it appear unto him better. For whereas the Athenians came into this Countrey with design first to enslave Sicily, and then if that succeeded, Peloponnesus and the rest of Greece. And whereas already they had the greatest Dominion of any Grecians whatsoever, either present or past, You, the first that ever withstood their Navy, wherewith they were every where Masters, have in the former Battels overcome them, and shall in likelihood overcome them again in this. For men that are cut short where they thought themselves to exceed, become afterwards further out of opinion with themselves then they would have been if they had never thought so. And when they come short of their hope in things they glory in, they come short also in courage of the true strength of their Forces. And this is likely now to be the case of the Athenians. Whereas with us it falleth out, that our former courage wherewith, though unexperienced, we durst stand them, being now confirmed, and an opinion added of being the stronger, giveth to every one of us a double hope. And in all enterprizes, the greatest hope conferreth for the most part the greatest courage. As for their imitation of our provisions, they are things we are acquainted withall, and we shall not in any kind be unprovided for them. But they when they shall have many men of Arms upon their Decks, (being not used to it) and many (as I may term them) * Land-Darters, both Acarnanians and others, who would not be able to direct their Darts, though they should sit, how can they choose but put the Gallies into danger, and be all in confusion amongst themselves, moving in a fashion † not their own? As for the number of their Gallies it will help them nothing, (if any of you fear also that, as being to fight against odds in number,) for many in little room are so much the slower to do what they desire, and easiest to be annoyed by our munition. But the very truth you shall now understand by these things, whereof we suppose we have most certain intelligence.

* Ἀκονιστὰς χερσὶν αἰ.
Such as being upon Land, could use their Darts, but not tottering upon the Water.
† That is, according to the motion of the Gally, not steadfastly as upon Land.

Overwhelmed with Calamities, and forced by the difficulties which they are in at this present, they are grown desperate, not trusting to their Forces, but willing to put themselves upon the decision of Fortune as well as they may, that so they may either go out by force, or else make their retreat afterward by Land, as men whose estates cannot change into the worse.

Against such confusion therefore, and against the fortune of our greatest Enemies, now betraying it self into our hands, let us fight with anger, and with an opinion not onely that it is most lawful to fulfil our hearts desire upon these our Enemies that justified their coming hither, as a righting of themselves against an assailant; but also that to be revenged on an Enemy is both most natural, and as is most commonly said, the sweetest thing in the World. And that they are our Enemies, and our greatest Enemies, you all well enough know, seeing them come hither into our Dominion to bring us into servitude. Wherein if they had sped, they had put the men to the greatest tortures, the women and children to the greatest dishonesty, and the whole City to the most

igno-

* The name of Subject. *ignominious* * name in the World. In regard whereof, it is not fit that any of you should be so tender as to think it gain, if they go away without putting you to further danger, for so they mean to do though they get the Victory: But effecting (as it is likely we shall) what we intend, both to be revenged of these, and to deliver unto all Sicily their liberty which they enjoyed before, but now is more assured. Honourable is that Combat, and rare are those hazards wherein the Failing bringeth little Loss, and the Success a great deal of Profit.

When *Gylippus* and the Commanders of the *Syracusians* had in this manner encouraged their Souldiers, they presently put their men aboard, perceiving the *Athenians* to do the same.

Nicias encourageth his Souldiers anew.

Nicias perplexed with this present estate, and seeing how great and how near the danger was, being now on the point to put forth from the Harbour, and doubting (as in great Battels it falleth out) that somewhat in every kind was still wanting, and that he had not yet sufficiently spoken his mind, called unto him again all the Captains of Gallies and spake unto them every one by their Fathers, their Tribes, and their Proper Names, and entreated every one of them that had reputation in any kind, not to betray the same; and those whose Ancestors were eminent, not to deface their hereditary Vertues; remembring them of their Countries Liberty, and the Uncontrolled Power of all men to live as they pleased; and saying whatsoever else in such a pinch men are accustomed, not out of their Store to * utter things stale, and in all occasions the same, touching their Wives, Children, and Patrial Gods, but such things as being thought by them available in the present discouragement, they use to cry into their ears. And when he thought he had admonished them not enough, but as much as the time would permit, he went his way and drew out those Forces that were to serve on Land to the Sea side, and imbattelled them so, as they might take up the greatest length of ground they were able, thereby so much the more to confirm the courage of them that were aboard. And *Demosthenes*, *Menander*, and *Eudemus*, (for those of the *Athenian* Commanders went aboard) putting forth of the Harbour, went immediately to the Lock of the Haven, and to the passage that was left open, with intention to force their way out. But the *Syracusians* and their Confederates, being out already with the same number of Gallies, they had before disposed part of them to the Guard of the open passage, and the rest in circle about the Haven, to the end they might fall upon the *Athenians* from all parts at once, and that their Land Forces might withall be near to aid them wheresoever the Gallies touched. In the *Syracusan* Navy, commanded *Sicanus* and *Agatharchus*, each of them over a Wing, and *Pythen* with the *Corinthians* had the middle Battel. After the *Athenians* were come to the Lock of the Haven, at the first charge they overcame the Gallies placed there to guard it, and endeavoured to break open the Bars thereof. But when afterwards the *Syracusians* and Confederates came upon them from every side, they fought not at the Lock onely, but also in the Haven it self. And the Battel was sharp, and such as there had never before been the like. For the courage wherewith the Mariners on both sides brought up their Gallies to any part they were bidden, was very great, and great was the plotting and counterplotting, and contention one against another of the Masters. Also the Souldiers when the Gallies boarded each other, did their utmost to excel each other in all points

* Ἀρχαιολογεῖν. To speak old or stale sentences.

He prepareth to fight.

The *Athenians* and *Syracusians* fight.

points of skill that could be used from the Decks, and every man in the place assigned him, put himself forth to appear the foremost. But many Gallies falling close together in a narrow compass (for they were the most Gallies that in any Battel they had used, and fought in the least room, being little fewer on the one side and the other then 200) they ran against each other but seldom, because there was no means of retiring, nor of passing by; but made assaults upon each other oftner, as Gally with Gally, either flying or pursuing chanced to fall foul. And as long as a Gally was making up, they that stood on the Decks used their Darts and Arrows and Stones in abundance, but being once come close, the Souldiers at hand-strokes attempted to board each other. And in many places it so fell out through want of room, that they which ran upon a Gally on one side, were run upon themselves on the other; and that two Gallies, or sometimes more, were forced to lie aboard of one, and that the Masters were at once to have a care, not in one place onely, but in many together, how to defend on the one side, and how to offend on the other. And the great noise of many Gallies fallen foul of one another, both amazed them and took away their hearing of what their * *Directors* directed; for they directed thick and loud on both sides, not onely as Art required, but out of their present eagerness; the *Athenians* crying out to theirs to force the passage, and now if ever, valiantly to lay hold upon their safe return to their Countrey; and the *Syracusians* and their Confederates to theirs, how honourable a thing to every one of them it would be to hinder their escape, and by this Victory to improve every man the honour of his own Countrey. Moreover the Commanders of either side, where they saw any man without necessity to row a Stern, would call unto the Captain of the Gally by his name, and ask him, The *Athenians*, Whether he retired because he thought the most hostile Land to be more their friend then the Sea, which they had so long been Masters of? The *Syracusians* theirs, Whether when they knew that the *Athenians* desired earnestly by any means to flie, they would nevertheless flie from the Fliers? Whilest the Conflict was upon the Water, the Land-men had a Conflict, and sided with them in their affections. They of the place contending for increase of the honours they had already gotten, and the Invaders fearing a worse estate then they were already in. For the *Athenians* who had their whole Fortune at stake in their Gallies, were in such a fear of the event, as they had never been in the like; and were thereby of necessity to behold the fight upon the Water with very different passions. For the fight being near, and not looking all of them upon one and the same part, he that saw their own side prevail, took heart and fell to calling upon the *Gods*, that they would not deprive them of their safety; and they that saw them have the worse, not onely lamented, but shrieked outright, and had their minds more subdued by the sight of what was done, then they that were present in the battel it self. Others that looked on some part where the fight was equal, because the contention continued so, as they could make no judgment on it, with gesture of body on every occasion, agreeable to their expectation, passed the time in a miserable perplexity. For they were ever within a little either of escaping, or of perishing. And one might hear in one and the same Army, as long as the fight upon the Water was indifferent, at one and the same time, *Lamentations, Shouts, That they won, That they lost*, and whatsoever else a great Army in great danger is forced differently to utter.

* *Kindusay.*

The diversity of passion of them that beheld the fight from the Shore.

The Athenians flee.

They also that were aboard suffered the same, till at last the *Syracusians* and their Confederates, after long resistance on the other side, put them to flight, and manifestly pressing, chased them with great clamour and encouragement of their own, to the Shore. And the Sea Forces making to the Shore, some one way and some another, except onely such as were lost by being far from it, escaped into the Harbour. And the Army that was upon the Land, no longer now of different passions, with one and the same vehemence, all with shrieks and sighs, unable to sustain what befel, ran part to save the Gallies, part to the defence of the Camp; and the residue, who were far the greatest number, fell presently to consider every one of the best way to save himself. And this was the time wherein of all other they stood in greatest fear, and they suffered now the like to what they had made others to suffer before at *Pylus*. For the *Lacedamonians* then, besides the loss of their Fleet, lost the men which they had set over into the Island, and the *Athenians* now (without some accident not to be expected) were out of all hope to save themselves by Land. After this cruel Battel, and many Gallies and men on either side consumed the *Syracusians* and their Confederates having the Victory took up the Wreck, and Bodies of their dead, and returning into the City, erected a Trophy. But the *Athenians*, in respect of the greatness of their present loss, never thought upon asking leave to take up their Dead or Wreck, but fell immediately to consultation how to be gone the same night. And *Demosthenes* coming unto *Nicias*, delivered his opinion for going once again aboard, and forcing the passage if it were possible betimes the next morning; saying that their Gallies which were yet remaining, and serviceable, were more then those of the Enemy, (for the *Athenians* had yet left them about 60, and the *Syracusians* under 50.) But when *Nicias* approved the advice, and would have manned out the Gallies, the Mariners refused to go aboard, as being not onely dejected with their defeat, but also without opinion of ever having the upper hand any more. Whereupon they now resolved all to make their retreat by Land. But *Hermocrates* of *Syracuse* suspecting their purpose, and apprehending it as a matter dangerous, that so great an Army going away by Land, and sitting down in some part or other of *Sicily*, should there renew the War, repaired unto the Magistrates, and admonished them that it was not fit through negligence to suffer the Enemy in the night time to go their ways, (alleging what he thought best to the purpose) but that all the *Syracusians* and their Confederates should go out and fortifie in their way, and prepossess all the narrow passages with a Guard. Now they were all of them of the same opinion, no less then himself, and thought it fit to be done, but they conceived withall that the Souldier now joyful, and taking his ease after a sore Battel, being also Holiday, (for it was their day of Sacrifice to *Hercules*) would not easily be brought to obey. For through excess of joy for the Victory, they would most of them, being Holyday, be drinking, and look for any thing, rather then to be perswaded at this time to take Arms again and go out. But seeing the Magistrates upon this consideration thought it hard to be done, *Hermocrates* not prevailing, of his own head contrived this. Fearing lest the *Athenians* should pass the worst of their way in the night, and so at ease out-go them, as soon as it grew dark, he sent certain of his friends, and with them certain Horsemen, to the *Athenian* Camp, who approaching so near

The stratagem of *Hermocrates*, to hinder the escape of the *Athenians*.

as to be heard speak, called to some of them to come forth, as if they had been friends of the *Athenians* (for *Nicias* had some within that used to give him intelligence) and bade them to advise *Nicias* not to dislodge that night, for that the *Syracusians* had beset the ways, but that the next day, having had the leisure to furnish their Army, they might march away. Upon this advertisement they abode that night, supposing it had been without fraud. And afterwards, because they went not presently, they thought good to stay there that day also; to the end that the Souldiers might pack up their necessaries as commodiously as they could, and begone, leaving all things else behind them, save what was necessary for their bodies. But *Gylippus* and the *Syracusians* with their Land Forces went out before them, and not onely stopped up the ways in the Countrey about, by which the *Athenians* were likely to pass, and kept a Guard at the Foords of Brooks and Rivers, but also stood imbat-telled to receive and stop their Army in such places as they thought convenient. And with their Gallies they rowed to the Harbour of the *Athenians* and towed their Gallies away from the Shore; some few whereof they burnt, as the *Athenians* themselves meant to have done; but the rest at their leisure, as any of them chanced in any place to drive ashore, they afterwards haled into the City. After this, when every thing seemed unto *Nicias* and *Demosthenes*, sufficiently prepared, they dislodged, being now the third day from their fight by Sea.

Gylippus goeth out with his Forces, and besets the way.

The *Athenians* march away from before *Syracuse* by Land.

It was a lamentable departure, not onely for the particulars, as that they marched away with the loss of their whole Fleet, and that in stead of their great hopes, they had indangered both themselves and the State, but also for the dolorous objects which were presented both to the eye and mind of every of them in particular in the leaving of their Camp. For their dead lying unburied, when any one saw his Friend on the ground it strook him at once both with fear and grief. But the living that were sick or wounded, both grieved them more then the dead, and were more miserable. For with intreaties and lamentations they put them to a stand, pleading to be taken along by whomsoever they saw of their fellows or familiars, and hanging on the necks of their Comrades, and following as far as they were able. And when the strength of their bodies failed that they could go no further, with Ah-meas and Imprecations were there left. Insomuch as the whole Army filled with tears, and irresolute, could hardly get away, though the place were hostile, and they had suffered already, and feared to suffer in the future more then with tears could be expressed, but hung down their heads and generally blamed themselves. For they seemed nothing else, but even the people of some great City expugned by siege, and making their escape. For the whole number that marched were no less one with another then 40000 men. Of which not onely the ordinary sort carried every one what he thought he should have occasion to use, but also the men of Arms and Horsemen contrary to their custom, carried their Victuals under their Arms, partly for want, and partly for distrust of their Servants; who from time to time ran over to the enemy; but at this time went the greatest number: and yet what they carried was not enough to serve the turn. For not a jot more provision was left remaining in the Camp. Neither were the sufferings of others and that equal division of misery, which nevertheless is wont to lighten it, in that we suffer with many; at this time so much as thought light in it self. And the rather, because they considered from

what splendor and glory which they enjoyed before, into how low an estate they were now fallen : For never Grecian Army so differed from it self. For whereas they came with a purpose to enslave others, they departed in greater fear of being made Slaves themselves, and in stead of Prayers and Hymns, with which they put to Sea, they went back again with the contrary maledictions : and whereas they came out Seamen, they departed Land-men, and relied not upon their Naval Forces, but upon their men of Arms. Nevertheless in respect of the great danger yet hanging over them, these miseries seemed all but tolerable. *Nicias* perceiving the Army to be dejected, and the great change that was in it, came up to the Ranks and encouraged and comforted them, as far as for the present means he was able. And as he went from part to part, he exalted his voice more then ever before, both as being earnest in his exhortation, and because also he desired that the benefit of his words might reach as far as might be.

The ORATION of *NICIAS*
to his afflicted Army.

A Thenians and Confederates, we must hope still even in our present Estate. Men have been saved ere now from greater dangers then these are. Nor ought you too much to accuse your selves, either for your losses past, or the undeserved miseries we are now in. Even I my self, that have the advantage of none of you in strength of body, (you see how I am in my sickness,) nor am thought inferiour to any of you for prosperity past, either in respect of my own private person or otherwise, am nevertheless now in as much danger as the meanest of you. And yet I have worshipped the gods frequently according to the Law, and lived justly and unblamably towards men. For which cause, my hope is still confident of the future, though these calamities, as being not according to the measure of our desert, do indeed make me fear. But they may perhaps cease. For both the Enemies have already had sufficient Fortune, and the gods if any of them have been already displeased with our Voyage, have already sufficiently punished us. Others have invaded their neighbours as well as we ; and as their offence, which proceeded of humane infirmity, so their punishment also hath been tolerable. And we have reason now both to hope for more favour from the gods, (for our case deserveth their pity rather then their hatred) and also not to despair of our selves, seeing how good and how many men of Arms you are, marching together in order of Battel. Make account of this, that wheresoever you please to sit down, there presently of your selves you are a City, such as not any other in Sicily can either easily sustain if you assault, or remove if you be once seated. Now for your March, that it may be safe and orderly, look to it your selves, making no other account any of you, but what place soever he shall be forced to fight in, the same if he win it, must be his Countrey and his Walls. March you must with diligence, both night and day alike, for our Victual is short ; and if we can but reach some amicable Territory of the Siculi, (for these are still firm to us for fear of the Syracusians) then you may think your selves secure. Let us therefore send before to them, and bid them meet us, and bring us forth some supplies of Victual. In sum, Souldiers, let me tell you, it is necessary that you be valiant ; for there is no place near, where being Cowards, you can possibly be saved. Whereas if you escape through the Enemies at this time, you may every one see again whatsoever
any

any where he most desires, and the Athenians may re-erect the great Power of their City, how low soever fallen. For the men, not the Walls, nor the empty Gallies, are the City.

Nicias, as he used this Hortative, went withall about the Army, and where he saw any man straggle and not march in his Rank, he brought him about and set him in his place. *Demosthenes* having spoken to the same or like purpose, did as much to those Souldiers under him; and they marched forward, those with *Nicias* in a square Battalion, and then those with *Demosthenes* in the Reer. And the men of Arms received those that carried the Baggage, and the other multitude, within them.

When they were come to the Foord of the River *Anapus*, they there found certain of the *Syracusians* and their Confederates imbattelled against them on the Bank, but these they put to flight, and having won the passage, marched forward. But the *Syracusan* Horsemen lay still upon them, and their Light-armed plied them with their Darts in the Flank. This day the *Athenians* marched forty Furlongs, and lodged that night at the foot of a certain Hill. The next day, as soon as it was light, they marched forwards, about 20 Furlongs, and descending into a certain Champaign ground, encamped there with intent both to get Victual at the houses, (for the place was inhabited) and to carry Water with them thence; for before them, in the way they were to pass for many Furlongs together there was little to be had. But the *Syracusians* in the mean time got before them, and cut off their passage with a Wall. This was at a steep Hill, on either side whereof was the Channel of a Torrent with steep and rocky Banks, and it is called *Acraum Lepas*. The next day the *Athenians* went on. And the Horsemen and Darters of the *Syracusians* and their Confederates, being a great number of both, pressed them so with their Horses and Darts, that the *Athenians* after long fight, were compelled to retire again into the same Camp: but now with less Victual then before, because the Horsemen would suffer them no more to straggle abroad. In the morning betimes they dislodged, and put themselves on their March again, and forced their way to the Hill which the Enemy had fortified, where they found before them, the *Syracusan* Foot imbattelled in great length above the Fortification, on the Hills side (for the place it self was but narrow.) The *Athenians* coming up assaulted the Wall, but the shot of the Enemy, who were many, and the steepness of the Hill (for they could easily cast home from above) making them unable to take it, they retired again and rested. There hapned withall some claps of Thunder and a shower of Rain, as usually falleth out at this time of the Year, being now near Autumn, which further disheartned the *Athenians*, who thought that also this did tend to their destruction. Whilest they lay still, *Gylippus* and the *Syracusians* sent part of their Army to raise a Wall at their backs in the way they had come, but this the *Athenians* hindered by sending against them part of theirs. After this the *Athenians* retiring with their whole Army into a more Champaign ground, lodged there that night, and the next day went forward again. And the *Syracusians* with their Darts from every part round about, wounded many of them; and when the *Athenians* charged, they retired, and when they retired, the *Syracusians* charged; and that especially upon the hindmost, that by putting to flight a few, they might terrifie the whole Army. And for a good

The *Athenians* march, and the *Syracusians* assault them always as they go.

while

while the *Athenians* in this manner withstood them; and afterwards being gotten five or six Furlongs forward, they rested in the Plain; and the *Syracusians* went from them to their own Camp.

Nicias and *Demosthenes* rise in the night, and march a contrary way, *Nicias* foremost, and in order, but *Demosthenes* in the Reer slower and more in disorder.

This night it was concluded by *Nicias* and *Demosthenes*, seeing the miserable estate of their Army, and the want already of all necessaries, and that many of their men in many assaults of the Enemy were wounded, to lead away the Army as far as they possibly could, not the way they purposed before, but toward the Sea, which was the contrary way to that which the *Syracusians* guarded. Now this whole journey of the Army lay not towards *Catana*, but towards the other side of *Sicily*, *Camarina* and *Gela*, and the Cities, as well *Grecian* as *Barbarian*, that way. When they had made many fires accordingly, they marched in the night, and (as usually it falleth out in all Armies, and most of all in the greatest, to be subject to affright and terrour, especially marching by night, and in hostile ground, and the Enemy near) were in confusion. The Army of *Nicias* leading the way, kept together and got far before; but that of *Demosthenes*, which was the greater half, was both severed from the rest, and marched more disorderly. Nevertheless by the morning betimes they got to the Sea side, and entering into the *Helorine* way, they went on towards the River *Caeyparis*, to the end when they came thither to march upwards along the River side, through the heart of the Countrey. For they hoped that this way, the *Siculi* to whom they had sent, would meet them. When they came to the River, here also they found a certain Guard of the *Syracusians* stopping their passage with a Wall and with Piles. When they had quickly forced this Guard they passed the River, and again marched on, to another River called *Erineus*, for that was the way which the Guides directed them. In the mean time the *Syracusians* and their Confederates, as soon as day appeared, and that they knew the *Athenians* were gone, most of them accusing *Gylippus*, as if he had let them go with his consent, followed them with speed the same way, which they easily understood they were gone, and about dinner time overtook them. When they were come up to those with *Demosthenes*, who were the hindmost, and had marched more slowly and disorderly then the other part had done, as having been put into disorder in the night, they fell upon them and fought. And the *Syracusan* Horsemen hemmed them in, and forced them up into a narrow compass, the more easily now, because they were divided from the rest. Now the Army of *Nicias* was gone by this time 150 Furlongs further on. For he led away the faster, because he thought not that their safety consisted in staying and fighting voluntarily, but rather in a speedy retreat, and then onely fighting when they could not choose. But *Demosthenes* was both in greater and in more continual toil, in respect that he marched in the Reer, and consequently was pressed by the Enemy. And seeing the *Syracusians* pursuing him, he went not on, but put his men in order to fight, till by his stay he was encompassed and reduced, he and the *Athenians* with him into great disorder. For being shut up within a place enclosed round with a Wall, and which on either side had a way open amongst abundance of Olive trees, they were charged from all sides at once with the Enemies shot. For the *Syracusians* assaulted them in this kind, and not in close Battel, upon very good Reason. For to hazard Battel against men desperate, was not so much for theirs, as for the *Athenians* advantage. Besides, after so manifest successes, they spared themselves somewhat, because they were loth to wear themselves out

Demosthenes overtaken by the Enemy, resisteth as long as he can, and is taken.

out before the end of the business, and thought by this kind of fight, to subdue and take them alive. Whereupon after they had plied the *Athenians* and their Confederates, all day long from every side with shot, and saw that with their wounds and other annoyance, they were already tired; *Gylippus* and the *Syracusians* and their Confederates, first made Proclamation that if any of the Islanders would come over to them, they should be at liberty; and the men of some few Cities went over. And by and by after they made agreement with all the rest that were with *Demosthenes*, That they should deliver up their Arms, and none of them be put to death, neither violently, nor by bonds, nor by want of the necessities of life. And they all yielded, to the number of 6000 men, and the silver they had they laid it all down, casting it into the hollow of Targets, and filled with the same four Targets. And these men they carried presently into the City.

Demosthenes yieldeth

Nicias and those that were with him attained the same day to the River *Erineus*, which passing, he caused his Army to sit down upon a certain ground, more elevate then the rest; where the *Syracusians* the next day overtook and told him, that those with *Demosthenes* had yielded themselves, and willed him, to do the like. But he, not believing it, took Truce for a Horseman to enquire the truth. Upon return of the Horseman, and word that they had yielded, he sent a Herald to *Gylippus* and the *Syracusians*, saying, That he was content to compound on the part of the *Athenians*, to repay whatsoever money the *Syracusians* had laid out, so that his Army might be suffered to depart. And that till payment of the money were made, he would deliver them Hostages, *Athenians*, every Hostage rated at a Talent. But *Gylippus* and the *Syracusians* refusing the condition, charged them, and having hemmed them in, plied them with shot, as they had done the other Army, from every side, till Evening. This part of the Army was also pinched with the want both of Victual and other necessities. Nevertheless observing the quiet of the night, they were about to march: But no sooner took they their Arms up, then the *Syracusians* perceiving it gave the Alarm. Whereupon the *Athenians* finding themselves discovered, fate down again, all but 300, who breaking by force through the Guards, marched as far as they could that night. And *Nicias* when it was day led his Army forward, the *Syracusians* and their Confederates still pressing them in the same manner, shooting and darting at them from every side. The *Athenians* hastened to get the River *Asinarus*, not onely because they were urged on every side by the assault of the many Horsemen, and other multitude, and thought to be more at ease when they were over the River, but out of weariness also, and desire to drink. When they were come unto the River, they rushed in without any order, every man striving who should first get over. But the pressing of the Enemy made the passage now more difficult: for being forced to take the River in heaps, they fell upon and trampled one another under their feet; and falling amongst the Spears and Utensils of the Army, some perished presently, and others catching hold one of another, were carried away together down the stream. And not onely the *Syracusians* standing along the farther Bank being a steep one, killed the *Athenians* with their shot from above, as they were many of them greedily drinking, and troubling one another in the hollow of the River, but the *Peloponnesians* came also down and slew them with their Swords, and those especially that were in the River. And suddenly the Water

The offer of *Nicias* to redeem his Army, not accepted.

was

was corrupted. Nevertheless they drunk it, foul as it was with blood and mire, and many also fought for it. In the end, when many dead lay heaped in the River, and the Army was utterly defeated, part at the River, and part (if any got away) by the Horsemen, *Nicias* yielded himself unto *Gylippus*, (having more confidence in him then in the *Syracusians*) To be for his own person at the discretion of him and the *Lacedæmonians*, and no further slaughter to be made of the Souldiers. *Gylippus* from thenceforth commanded to take prisoners. So the residue, except such as were hidden from them (which were many) they carried alive into the City. They sent also to pursue the 300 which broke through their Guards in the night, and took them. That which was left together of this Army to the publick, was not much; but they that were conveyed away by stealth were very many: and all *Sicily* was filled with them, because they were not taken as those with *Demosthenes* were, by composition. Besides, a great part of these were slain; for the slaughter at this time was exceeding great, none greater in all the *Sicilian War*. They were also not a few that died in those other assaults in their March. Nevertheless many also escaped, some then presently, and some by running away after servitude, the Rendezvous of whom was *Catana*.

The *Syracusians* and their Confederates being come together, returned with their Prisoners, all they could get, and with the spoil, into the City. As for all other the Prisoners of the *Athenians* and their Confederates, they put themselves into the * *Quarries*, as the safest custody. But *Nicias* and *Demosthenes* they killed against *Gylippus* his will. For *Gylippus* thought the Victory would be very honourable, if over and above all his other success he could carry home both the Generals of the Enemy to *Lacedæmon*. And it fell out that the one of them, *Demosthenes*, was their greatest Enemy, for the things he had done in the * *Island*, and at *Pylus*; and the other, upon the same occasion, their greatest Friend. For *Nicias* had earnestly laboured to have those Prisoners which were taken in the *Island* to be set at liberty by perswading the *Athenians* to the Peace. For which cause the *Lacedæmonians* were inclined to love him. And it was principally in confidence of that, that he rendred himself to *Gylippus*. But certain *Syracusians* (as it is reported) some of them for fear (because they had been tampering with him) lest being put to the torture, he might bring them into trouble, whereas they were now well enough; and others (especially the *Corinthians*) fearing he might get away by corruption of one or other, (being wealthy) and work them some mischief afresh, having perswaded their Confederates to the same, killed him. For these, or for causes near unto these, was he put to death, being the man that of all the *Grecians* of my time, had least deserved to be brought to so great a degree of misery. As for those in the *Quarries*, the *Syracusians* handled them at first but ungently: for in this hollow place, first the Sun and suffocating Air (being without Roof) annoyed them one way; and on the other side, the nights coming upon that heat, autumnal and cold, put them (by reason of the alteration) into strange diseases. Especially doing all things for want of room, in one and the same place; and the Carcasses of such as died of their wounds, or change of air, or other like accident, lying together there on heaps. Also the smell was intolerable, besides that they were afflicted with hunger and thirst. For for eight Moneths together they allowed them no more but to every man a * *Cotyle* of Water by

* *Atθoσoύιας*.

■ *Sphaῆτρια*.

* A small measure,
about half our Pint.

by the day, and two *Cotiles* of Corn. And whatsoever misery is probable that men in such a place may suffer, they suffered. Some 70 days they lived thus thronged. Afterwards retaining the *Athenians* and such *Sicilians* and *Italians* as were of the Army with them, they sold the rest. How many were taken in all, it is hard to say exactly; but they were 7000 at the fewest. And this was the greatest action that hapned in all this War, or at all, that we have heard of amongst the *Grecians*, being to the Victors most glorious, and most calamitous to the Vanquished. For being wholly overcome in every kind, and receiving small loss in nothing, their Army and Fleet, and all that ever they had, perished (as they use to say) with an universal destruction. Few of many returned home. And thus passed the business concerning *Sicily*.

The end of the Seventh Book.

THE HISTORY OF THUCYDIDES.

BOOK VIII.

THE PRINCIPAL CONTENTS.

The Revolt of the Athenian Confederates, and the Offers made by Tissaphernes and Pharnabazus the Kings Lieutenants of the Lower Asia, draw the Lacedæmonians to the War in Ionia and Hellespont. First in Ionia and the Provinces of Tissaphernes, who by the Counsel of Alcibiades, and connivence of Aftyochus, hindereth their proceedings. Alcibiades in the mean while to make way for his return into his Countrey, giveth occasion of Sedition about the Government, whence ensued the Authority of the 400, under the pretext of the 5000; the recalling of Alcibiades by the Army; and at length by his countenance the deposing again of the 400, and end of the Sedition. But in the mean time they lose Eubœa. Mindarus, Successor of Aftyochus, finding himself abused by Tissaphernes, carrieth the War to Pharnabazus into Hellespont, and there presently loseth a Battel to the Athenians before Abydus, being then Summer, and the 21 Year of the War.

When the news was told at *Athens*, they believed not a long time, though it were plainly related, and by those very Souldiers that escaped from the defeat it self, that all was so utterly lost, as it was. When they knew it they were mightily offended with the

Orators that furthered the Voyage, as if they themselves had never decreed it. They were angry also with those that gave out Prophecies, and with the Soothsayers, and with whosoever else had at first by any divination put them into hope that *Sirily* should be subdued. Every

The fear and sorrow of the *Athenians* upon the hearing of the news.

The *Athenians* resolve to stand it out.

The end of the nineteenth Summer.

The *Grecians* take part all of them against the *Athenians*.

The hopes of the *Lacedæmonians*.

Agis levieeth money.

thing from every place grieved them; and fear and astonishment, the greatest that ever they were in, beset them round. For they were not onely grieved for the loss which both every man in particular, and the whole City sustained, of so many men of Arms, Horsemen and serviceable men, the like whereof they saw was not left; but seeing they had neither Gallies in their Haven nor Money in their Treasury, nor Furniture in their Gallies, were even desperate at that present of their safety, and thought the Enemy out of *Sicily* would come forthwith with their Fleet into *Piræus*, (especially after the vanquishing of so great a Navy) and that the Enemy here would surely now, with double preparation in every kind, press them to the utmost both by Sea and Land, and be aided therein by their revolting Confederates. Nevertheless, as far as their means would stretch, it was thought best to stand it out, and getting Materials and Money where they could have it, to make ready a Navy, and to make sure of their Confederates, especially those of *Eubæa*,; and to introduce a greater frugality in the City, and to erect a Magistracie of the elder sort, as occasion should be offered, to præconsult of the business that passed. And they were ready, in respect of their present fear, (as is the Peoples fashion) to order every thing aright. And as they resolved this, so they did it. And the Summer ended.

The Winter following, upon the great overthrow of the *Athenians* in *Sicily*, all the *Grecians* were presently up against them. Those who before were Confederates of neither side, thought fit no longer, though uncalled, to abstain from the War, but to go against the *Athenians* of their own accord, as having not onely every one severally this thought, that had the *Athenians* prospered in *Sicily*, they would afterwards have come upon them also; but imagined withall, that the rest of the War would be but short, whereof it would be an honour to participate. And such of them as were Confederates of the *Lacedæmonians*, longed now more then ever, to be freed as soon as might be of their great toil. But above all, the Cities subject to the *Athenians* were ready, even beyond their ability, to revolt, as they that judged according to their passion, without admitting reason in the matter, that the next Summer they were to remain with Victory. But the *Lacedæmonians* themselves took heart, not only from all this, but also principally from that, that their Confederates in *Sicily*, with great power, having another Navy now necessarily added to their own, would in all likelihood be with them in the beginning of the Spring. And being every way full of hopes, they purposed without delay to fall close to the War; making account if this were well ended, both to be free hereafter from any more such dangers as the *Athenians*, if they had gotten *Sicily*, would have put them into, and also having pulled them down, to have the principality of all *Greece*, now secure unto themselves.

Whereupon *Agis* their King went out with a part of his Army the same Winter from *Decelea*, and levied Money amongst the Confederates for the building of a Navy. And turning into the *Melian* Gulf upon an old grudge, took a great Booty from the *Oetæans*, which he made money of, and forced those of *Phiotis* being *Achaïans*, and others in those parts, Subjects to the *Thessalians*, (the *Thessalians* complaining, and unwilling) to give him Hostages and Money. The Hostages he put into *Corinth*, and endeavoured to draw them into the League.

And

And the *Lacedæmonians* imposed upon the States Confederate the charge of building 100 Gallies, [that is to say] on their own State, and on the *Bœotians*, each 25; on the *Phoceans* and *Locrians* 15; on the *Corinthians* 15; on the *Arcadians*, *Sicyonians*, and *Pellenians*, 10; and on the *Megareans*, *Træzcnians*, and *Hermionians* 10: and put all things else in readines, presently with the Spring to begin the War.

The *Lacedæmonians* appoint a Fleet of 100 Gallies to be made ready amongst the Cities of League.

The *Athenians* also made their preparations, as they had designed, having gotten Timber and built their Navy this same Winter, and fortified the Promontory of *Sunium*, that their Corn-boats might come about in safety. Also they abandoned the Fort in *Laconia*, which they had had built as they passed by for *Sicily*. And generally where there appeared expence upon any thing unuseful, they contracted their charge.

The *Athenians* build their Navy, and contract their charges.

Whilest they were on both sides doing thus, there came unto *Agis*, about their revolt from the *Athenians*, first the Ambassadors of the *Eubœans*. Accepting the motion, he sent for *Alcamenes* the son of *Sthenelaidas*, and for *Melanthon*, from *Lacedæmon*, to go Commanders into *Eubœa*. Whom, when he was come to him with about 300 freed men, he was now about to send over. But in the mean time came the *Lesbians*, they also desiring to revolt, and by the means of the *Bœotians*, *Agis* changed his former resolution, and prepared for the revolt of *Lesbos*, deferring that of *Eubœa*, and assigned them *Alcamenes*, the same that should have gone into *Eubœa*, for their Governour. And the *Bœotians* promised them ten Gallies, and *Agis* other ten. Now this was done without acquainting therewith the State of *Lacedæmon*. For *Agis*, as long as he was about *Decelea* with the power he had, had the Law in his own hands, to send what Army, and whither he listed, and to levy men and money at his pleasure. And at this time the Confederates of him (as I may call them) did better obey him, then the Confederates of the *Lacedæmonians* did them at home. For having the power in his hands, he was terrible wheresoever he came. And he was now for the *Lesbians*. But the *Chians* and *Erythræans*, they also desiring to revolt, went not to *Agis*, but to the *Lacedæmonians* in the City, and with them went also an Ambassador from *Tissaphernes*, Lieutenant to King *Darius* in the Low Countries of *Asia*. For *Tissaphernes* also instigated the *Peloponnesians*, and promised to pay their Fleet. For he had lately begged of the King the Tribute accruing in his own Province, for which he was in arrears, because he could receive nothing out of any of the Greek Cities, by reason of the *Athenians*. And therefore he thought by weakning the *Athenians* to receive his Tribute the better, and withall to draw the *Lacedæmonians* into a League with the King, and thereby, as the King had commanded, to kill or take alive *Amorges*, *Pissuthnes* his Bastard son, who was in Rebellion against him about *Caria*. The *Chians* therefore and *Tissaphernes* followed this business jointly.

The *Eubœans* offer to revolt to *Agis*.

The *Lesbians* offer to revolt to *Agis*.

The *Chians* and *Erythræans* desire to revolt.

Tissaphernes Lieutenant of the Lower *Asia*, laboureth to have the *Lacedæmonians* come unto him.

Caligetus the son of *Laophon* a *Megarcian*, and *Timagoras* the son of *Athenagoras* a *Cyzicene*, both banished their own Cities, and abiding with *Pharnabazus* the son of *Pharnaces* came also about the same time to *Lacedæmon*, sent by *Pharnabazus* to procure a Fleet for the *Hellepont*, that he also, if he could, might cause the *Athenian* Cities in his Province to revolt for his Tributes sake, and be the first to draw the *Lacedæmonians* into a League with the King. Just the same things that were desired before by *Tissaphernes*. Now *Pharnabazus* and *Tissaphernes* treating apart, there was great canvassing at *Lacedæmon*, between the one side that perswaded to send

Pharnabazus Lieutenant of *Hellepont*, laboureth the like for himself.

send to *Ionia* and *Chius*, and the other, that would have the Army and Fleet go first into the *Helleſpont*. But the *Lacedæmonians* indeed approved beſt by much of the buſineſs of the *Chians* and of *Tiſſaphernes*. For with theſe cooperated *Alcibiades*, hereditary Gueſt and Friend of *Endius*, the *Ephore* of that year, in the higheſt degree; inſomuch as in reſpect of that Gueſthood, *Alcibiades*, his Family received a *Lacæonique* name. For *Endius* was called *Endius* * *Alcibiadis*. Nevertheleſs the *Lacedæmonians* ſent firſt one *Phrynīs* (a man of thoſe parts) to *Chius* to ſee if the Gallies they had were ſo many as they reported, and whether the City were otherwiſe ſo ſufficient as it was ſaid to be. And when the Meſſenger brought back word that all that had been ſaid was true, they received both the *Chians* and the *Erythræans* preſently into their League, and decreed to ſend them forty Gallies, there being at *Chius* from ſuch places as the *Chians* named, no leſs then 60 already. And of theſe at firſt they were about to ſend out 10 with *Melancrias* for Admiral; but afterwards, upon occaſion of an Earthquake, for *Melancrias* they ſent *Chalcidens*, and inſtead of 10 Gallies, they went about the making ready of 5 onely in *Laconia*. So the Winter ended, and nineteenth year of this War, written by *Thucydides*.

* The name of *Endius* his Father was *Alcibiades*, to whom *Clinias* being Gueſt, for that cauſe gave the name of *Alcibiades* to his ſon, this *Alcibiades Clinias*.

Year XX.

The *Lacedæmonians* ſend to *Corinth* to haſten away the Fleet to *Chius*.

In the beginning of the next Summer, becauſe the *Chians* preſſed to have the Gallies ſent away, and feared leſt the *Athenians* ſhould get notice what they were doing, (for all their Ambaſſadors went out by ſtealth) the *Lacedæmonians* ſend away to *Corinth* three *Spartans*, to will them with all ſpeed to transport their Gallies over the *Iſthmus* to the other Sea towards *Athens*, and to go all to *Chius*, as well thoſe which *Agis* had made ready to go to *Lesbos*, as the reſt. The number of the Gallies of the League, which were then there, being forty wanting one.

* 4687 l. to s. ſterl.

But *Calligetis* and *Timagoras*, who came from *Pharnabazus*, would have no part in this Fleet that went for *Chius*, nor would deliver the Money, * twenty five Talents, which they had brought with them to pay for their ſetting forth, but made account to go out with another Fleet afterwards by themſelves.

The Confederates in Council at *Corinth* ſet down an Order for the War following, with which to begin, and which to follow.

When *Agis* ſaw that the *Lacedæmonians* meant to ſend firſt to *Chius*, he reſolved not of any other courſe himſelf, but the Confederates aſſembling at *Corinth*, went to Council upon the matter, and concluded thus, That they ſhould go firſt to *Chius* under the Command of *Chalcidens*, who was making ready the five Gallies in *Laconia*: and then to *Lesbos* under the charge of *Alcamenes*, intended alſo to be ſent thither by *Agis*; and laſtly into *Helleſpont*, in which Voyage they ordained that *Clearchus* the ſon of *Ramphias* ſhould have the Command; and concluded to carry over the *Iſthmus*, firſt the one half of their Gallies, and that thoſe ſhould preſently put to Sea, that the *Athenians* might have their minds more upon thoſe, then on the other half to be transported afterwards. For they determined to paſs that Sea openly, contemning the weakneſs of the *Athenians*, in reſpect they had not any Navy of importance yet appearing. As they reſolved, ſo preſently they carried over one and twenty Gallies. But when the reſt urged to put to Sea, the *Corinthians* were unwilling to go along, before they ſhould have ended the celebration of the *Iſthmian* Holidays, then come. Hereupon *Agis* was content that they for their parts ſhould obſerve the *Iſthmian* Truce; and he therefore to take the Fleet upon himſelf as his own.

But

But the *Corinthians* not agreeing to that, and the time passing away, the *Athenians* got intelligence the easilier of the practice of the *Chians*, and sent thither *Aristocrates*, one of their Generals to accuse them of it. The *Chians* denying the matter, he commanded them, for their better credit, to send along with him some Gallies for their aid, due by the League; and they sent seven. The cause why they sent these Gallies, was the *Many* not acquainted with the practice, and the *Few* and conscious not willing to undergo the enmity of the multitude, without having strength first, and their not expecting any longer the coming of the *Lacedemonians*, because they had so long delayed them.

The *Athenians* understand the purpose of the *Chians* to revolt.

In the mean time the *Isthmian* Games were celebrating, and the *Athenians* (for they had word sent them of it) came and saw; and the business of the *Chians* grew more apparent. After they went thence they took order presently that the Fleet might not pass from *Cenchreae* undiscovered. And after the Holidays were over, the *Corinthians* put to Sea for *Chius*, under the Conduct of *Alcarnenes*. And the *Athenians* at first with equal number came up to them, and endeavoured to draw them out into the main Sea. But seeing the *Peloponnesians* followed not far, but turned another way, the *Athenians* went also from them. For the seven Gallies at *Chius*, which were part of this number, they durst not trust. But afterwards having manned thirty seven others, they gave chase to the Enemy by the Shore, and drove them into *Piræus* in the Territory of *Corinth*, (this *Piræus* is a desert Haven, and the utmost upon the Confines of *Epidauria*.) One Gally that was far from Land the *Peloponnesians* lost, the rest they brought together into the Haven. But the *Athenians* charging them by Sea with their Gallies, and withall setting their men on Land, mightily troubled and disordered them, brake their Gallies upon the Shore, and slew *Alcarnenes* their Commander: and some they lost of their own.

The *Athenians* drive the *Peloponnesian* Gallies into *Piræus*, a desert Haven, and there besiege them.

The Fight being ended, they assigned a sufficient number of Gallies to lie opposite to those of the Enemy, and the rest to lie under a little Island not far off, in which also they encamped, and sent to *Athens* for supply. For the *Peloponnesians* had with them for aid of their Gallies, the *Corinthians* the next day, and not long after divers others of the Inhabitants thereabouts. But when they considered that the guarding of them in a desert place would be painful, they knew not what course to take, and once they thought to have set the Gallies on fire; but it was concluded afterwards to draw them to the Land, and guard them with their Land-men till some good occasion should be offered for their escape. And *Agis* also, when he heard the news, sent unto them *Thermon*, a *Spartan*.

The *Lacedemonians* having been advertised of the departure of these Gallies from the *Isthmus*, (for the *Ephores* had commanded *Alcarnenes* when he put to Sea to send him word by a Horseman) were minded presently to have sent away the five Gallies also that were in *Laconia*, and *Chalcidens* the Commander of them, and with him *Alcibiades*; but afterwards, as they were ready to go out, came the news of the Gallies chased into *Peiræus*: which so much discouraged them, in respect they stumbled in the very entrance of the *Ionique* War, that they purposed now, not onely not to send away those Gallies of their own, but also to call back again some of those that were already at Sea.

The Voyage of *Chalcidens* and *Alcibiades* to *Chius*.

When *Alcibiades* saw this, he dealt with *Endius*, and the rest of the *Ephores* again not to fear the Voyage, alledging that they would make

haste

haste and be there before the *Chians* should have heard of the misfortune of the Fleet. And that as soon as he should arrive in *Ionia* himself, he could easily make the Cities there to revolt, by declaring unto them the weakness of the *Athenians*, and the diligence of the *Lacedæmonians*, wherein he should be thought more worthy to be believed than any other. Moreover to *Endius* he said, that it would be an honour in particular to him that *Ionia* should revolt, and the King be made Confederate to the *Lacedæmonians* by his own means, and not to have it the Mastery of *Agis*, for he was at difference with *Agis*. So having prevailed with *Endius* and the other *Ephores*, he took Sea with 5 Gallies together with *Chalcidens* of *Lacedæmon*, and made haste.

Sixteen Gallies of *Peloponnesus* intercepted, and hardly handled, in their return from *Sicily*, by the *Athenians*, arrive in *Corinth*.

About the same time, came back from *Sicily* those 16 Gallies of the *Peloponnesians*, which having aided *Gylippus* in that War, were intercepted by the way about *Leucadia*, and evil intreated by twenty seven Gallies of *Athens*, that watched thereabouts under the Command of *Hippocles* the son of *Menippus*, for such Gallies as should return out of *Sicily*. For all the rest, saving one, avoiding the *Athenians*, were arrived in *Corinth* before.

Chalcidens and *Alcibiades*, as they sailed, kept Prisoner every man they met with by the way, to the end that notice might not be given of their passage, and touching first at *Corycus* in the Continent, where they also dismissed those whom they had apprehended, after conference there with some of the Conspirators of the *Chians* that advised them to go to the City, without sending them word before they came upon the *Chians* suddenly and unexpected. It put the Commons into much wonder and astonishment, but the *Few* had so ordered the matter before hand, that an Assembly chanced to be holden at the same time. And when *Chalcidens* and *Alcibiades* had spoken in the same, and told them that many Gallies were coming to them, but not that those other Gallies were besieged in *Peiræus*, the *Chians* first, and afterwards the *Erythræans*, revolted from the *Athenians*.

Chius and *Erythræa* revolt.

Clazomenæ revolteth.

After this they went with three Gallies to *Clazomenæ*, and made that City to revolt also. And the *Clazomenians* presently crossed over to the Continent, and there fortified *Polichna*, lest they should need a retiring place from the little Island wherein they dwelt. The rest also, all that had revolted, fell to fortifying and making of preparation for the War.

The *Athenians* abrogate the decree touching the 1000 Talents reserved for the extremities of State, and furnish out a Fleet with the money.

* 187500 l. sterling.

This news of *Chius* was quickly brought to the *Athenians*, who conceiving themselves to be now beset with great and evident danger, and that the rest of the Confederates, seeing so great a City to revolt, would be no longer quiet in this their present fear, decreed that those * 1000 Talents, which through all this War they had affected to keep untouched, forthwith abrogating the punishment ordained for such, as spake or gave their suffrages to stir it, should now be used, and therewith Gallies, not a few manned. They decreed also to send thither out of hand, under the Command of *Strombichides* the son of *Diotimus* 8 Gallies, of the number of those that besieged the Enemy at *Peiræus*; the which having forsaken their charge to give chase to the Gallies that went with *Chalcidens*, and not able to overtake them, were now returned, and shortly after also to send *Thrasicles* to help them with 12 Gallies more, which also had departed from the same guard upon the Enemy. And those seven Gallies of *Chius*, which likewise kept watch at *Peiræus* with the rest, they fetched from thence, and gave the bond-men that served in them

them their liberty, and the chains to those that were free. And in stead of all those Gallies that kept Guard upon the Gallies of the *Peloponnesians*, they made ready other with all speed in their places, besides 30 more which they intended to furnish out afterwards. Great was their diligence, and nothing was of light importance that they went about for the recovery of *Chius*.

Strombichides in the mean time arrived at *Samos*, and taking into his company one *Samian* Gally, went thence to *Teus*, and intreated them not to stir. But towards *Teus* was *Chalcideus* also coming with 23 Gallies from *Chius*, and with him also the Land Forces of the *Clazomenians* and *Erythraeans*, whereof *Strombichides* having been advertised, he put forth again before his arrival, and standing off at Sea, when he saw the many Gallies that came from *Chius* he fled towards *Samos*, they following him. The Land Forces, the *Teans* would not at the first admit, but after this flight of the *Athenians* they brought them in. And these for the most part held their hands for a while, expecting the return of *Chalcideus* from the chase; but when he staid somewhat long, they fell of themselves to the demolishing of the Wall built about the City of *Teus* by the *Athenians* towards the Continent; wherein they were also helped by some few *Barbarians* that came down thither, under the Leading of *Tages*, Deputy Lieutenant of *Tissaphernes*.

Teus revolteth.

Chalcideus and *Alcibiades* when they had chased *Strombichides* into *Samos*, armed the Mariners that were in the Gallies of *Peloponnesus*, and left them in *Chius*; in stead of whom they manned with Mariners of *Chius*, both those, and 20 Gallies more, and with this Fleet they went to *Miletus* with intent to cause it to revolt. For the intention of *Alcibiades* that was acquainted with the principal *Milesians*, was to prevent the Fleet which was to come from *Peloponnesus*, and to turn these Cities first; that the honour of it might be ascribed to the *Chians*, to himself, to *Chalcideus*, and (as he had promised) to *Endius* that set them out, as having brought most of the Cities to revolt, with the Forces of the *Chians* onely, and of those Gallies that came with *Chalcideus*. So these for the greatest part of their way undiscovered, and arriving, not much sooner then *Strombichides* and *Thrasicles*, (who now chancing to be present with those 12 Gallies from *Athens*, followed them with *Strombichides*) caused the *Milesians* to revolt. The *Athenians* following them at the heels with 19 Gallies, being shut out by the *Milesians*, lay at Anchor at *Lada*, an Island over against the City.

Miletus revolteth.

Presently upon the revolt of *Miletus*, was made the first League between the King and the *Lacedæmonians* by *Tissaphernes* and *Chalcideus*, as followeth:

LEAGUE between TISSAPHERNES and the LACEDÆMONIANS.

THe Lacedæmonians and their Confederates have made a League with the King and *Tissaphernes*, on these Articles,

Whatsoever Territory or Cities the King possesseth, and his Ancestors have possessed, the same are to remain the Kings.

Whatsoever money or other profit redounded to the Athenians from their

T t

Cities;

Cities, the King and the Lacedæmonians are jointly to hinder, so as the Athenians may receive nothing from thence, neither money nor other thing.

The King and the Lacedæmonians, and their Confederates, are to make joint War against the Athenians. And without consent of both parts, it shall not be lawful to lay down the War against the Athenians, neither for the King, nor for the Lacedæmonians and their Confederates.

If any shall revolt from the King, they shall be Enemies to the Lacedæmonians and their Confederates. And if any shall revolt from the Lacedæmonians and their Confederates, they shall in like manner be Enemies to the King.

This was the League.

Presently after this the *Chians* set out ten Gallies more, and went to *Anaa*, both to hearken what became of the business at *Miletus*, and also to cause the Cities thereabouts to revolt. But word being sent them from *Chalcidens* to go back, and that *Amorges* was at hand with his Army, they went thence to the Temple of *Jupiter*. Being there they descried 16 Gallies more, which had been sent out by the *Athenians* under the charge of *Diomedon*, after the putting to Sea of those with *Thrasycles*, upon sight of whom they fled, one Gally to *Ephesus*, the rest towards *Teos*. Four of them the *Athenians* took, but empty, the men being gotten on Shore; the rest escaped into the City of *Teos*. And the *Athenians* went away again towards *Samos*.

Lebedus and Erae revolt.

The *Chians* putting to Sea again with the remainder of their Fleet, and with the Land Forces, caused first *Lebedus* to revolt, and then *Erae*. And afterwards returned both with their Fleet and Landmen, every one to his own.

The *Peloponnesians* in *Peiraus* escape.

About the same time the twenty Gallies of *Peloponnesus* which the *Athenians* had formerly chased into *Peiraus*, and against whom they now lay with a like number, suddenly forced their passage, and having the Victory in fight, took four of the *Athenian* Gallies, and going to *Cenchreae*, prepared afresh for their Voyage to *Chius* and *Ionia*. At which time there came also unto them from *Lacedæmon*, for Commander *Astyochus*, who was now Admiral of the whole Navy.

Astyochus Admiral of the *Peloponnesians*.

Tissaphernes razeth the remainder of the *Athenian* Wall in *Teos*.

When the Land-men were gone from *Teos*, *Tissaphernes* himself came thither with his Forces, and he also demolished the Wall, as much as was left standing, and went his way again.

Not long after the going away of him, came thither *Diomedon* with 10 Gallies of *Athens*, and having made a Truce with the *Teians* that he might also be received, he put to Sea again, and kept the Shore to *Erae*, and assaulted it; but failing to take it, departed.

It fell out about the same time that the Commons of *Samos*, together with the *Athenians* who were there with three Gallies, made an insurrection against the great men, and slew of them in all about two hundred. And having banished four hundred more, and distributed amongst themselves their Lands and Houses, (the *Athenians* having now, as assured of their fidelity, decreed them their liberty) they administered the affairs of the City from that time forward by themselves, no more communicating with the **Geomori*, nor permitting any of the Common People to marry with them.

* The Nobility of *Samos*, so called, for that they shared the Land amongst them.

After

After this, the same Summer, the *Chians*, as they had begun, persevering in their earnestness to bring the Cities to revolt, even without the *Lacedæmonians*, with their single Forces, and desiring to make as many fellows of their danger as they were able, made War by themselves with thirteen Gallies against *Lesbos*, (which was according to what was concluded by the *Lacedæmonians*, namely to go thither in the second place, and thence into the *Hellepont*.) And withall, the Land Forces both of such *Peloponnesians* as were present, and of their Confederates thereabouts, went along by them to *Clazomenæ* and *Cyme*. These under the Command of *Enalas* a *Spartan*, and the Gallies of *Deiniadas* a man of the parts thereabouts. The Gallies putting in at *Methymna*, caused that City to revolt first. *****

Now *Astyochus* the *Lacedæmonian* Admiral, having set forth as he intended from *Cenchreæ*, arrived at *Chius*. The third day after his coming thither, came *Leon* and *Diomedon* into *Lesbos* with 25 Gallies of *Athens*; for *Leon* came with a supply of 10 Gallies more from *Athens* afterwards. *Astyochus* in the evening of the same day, taking with him one Gally more of *Chius*, took his way toward *Lesbos* to help it what he could, and put in at *Pyrrha*, and the next day at *Eressus*. Here he heard that *Mitylene* was taken by the *Athenians*, even with the shout of their voices. For the *Athenians* coming unexpected, entered the Haven, and having beaten the Gallies of the *Chians*, disbarqued, and overcame those that made head against them, and won the City. When *Astyochus* heard this, both from the *Eressians*, and from those *Chian* Gallies that came from *Methymna* with *Eubulus*, (which having been left there before, as soon as *Mitylene* was lost, fled, and three of them chanced to meet with him, for one was taken by the *Athenians*) he continued his course for *Mitylene* no longer, but having caused *Eressus* to revolt, and armed the Souldiers he had aboard, made them to march toward *Antissa* and *Methymna* by Land, under the Conduct of *Eteonicus*, and he himself with his own Gallies, and those 3 of *Chius*, rowed thither along the Shore, hoping that the *Methymnæans* upon sight of his Forces would take heart and continue in their revolt. But when in *Lesbos* all things went against him, he reimbarqued his Army, and returned to *Chios*. And the Land-men that were aboard and should have gone into *Hellepont*, went again into their Cities. After this came to them six Gallies to *Chios* of those of the Confederate Fleet at *Cenchreæ*. The *Athenians* when they had re-established the State of *Lesbos*, went thence and took *Polichna*, which the *Clazomenians* had fortified in the Continent, and brought them all back again into the City which is in the Island, save onely the Authors of the revolt, (for these got away to *Daphnus*) and *Clazomenæ* returned to the obedience of the *Athenians*.

The same Summer those *Athenians* that with twenty Gallies lay in the Isle of *Lada* before *Miletus*, landing in the Territory of *Miletus* at *Panormus*, slew *Chalcidæus* the *Lacedæmonian* Commander, that came out against him but with a few; and set up a Trophy, and the third day after departed. But the *Milesians* pulled down the Trophy, as erected where the *Athenians* were not Masters.

Leon and *Diomedon*, with the *Athenian* Gallies that were at *Lesbos* made War upon the *Chians* by Sea, from the Isles called *Oinussa*, which lie before *Chius*, and from *Sidussa* and *Pteleum* (Forts they held in *Erythraea*) and from *Lesbos*. They that were aboard were men of Arms of the Roll, compelled to serve in the Fleet. With these they landed at

The *chians* endeavour to turn *Lesbos* from the *Athenians* to the *Lacedæmonians* with their single power, and cause first *Methymna* then *Mitylene* to revolt.

* It seemeth that something is here wanting, and supplied thus by *Fran. Porta* [Then the *Chians* leaving four Gallies here for guard of the place, went to *Mitylene* with the rest, and caused that City also to revolt.]

The *Athenians* recover *Mitylene*.

Astyochus seeing he could do no good at *Lesbos* returned to *Chios*.

The *Athenians* recover *Clazomenæ*.

Chalcidæus slain.

The *Athenians* make sharp War upon *Chius*.

Praise of the *Chians*.

Cardamyle; and having overthrown the *Chians* that made head in a Battel at *Bolissus*, and slain many of them, they recovered from the Enemy all the places of that quarter. And again they overcame them in another Battel at *Phanæ*, and in a third at *Leuconium*. After this, the *Chians* went out no more to fight; by which means the *Athenians* made spoil of their Territory, excellently well furnished. For except it were the *Lacedemonians*, the *Chians* were the onely men that I have heard of, that had joined Advifedness to Prosperity, and the more their City increased, had carried the more respect in the administration thereof to assure it. Nor ventured they now to revolt (lest any man should think, that in this act at least they regarded not what was the safest) till they had many and strong Confederates, with whose help to trie their fortune; nor till such time as they perceived the people of *Athens* (as they themselves could not deny) to have their Estate, after the defeat in *Sicily*, reduced to extream weakness.

And if through humane misreckoning they miscarried in ought, they erred with many others, who in like manner had an opinion, that the State of the *Athenians* would quickly have been overthrown.

Being therefore shut up by Sea, and having their Lands spoiled, some within undertook to make the City return unto the *Athenians*. Which though the Magistrates perceived, yet they themselves stirred not, but having received *Astyochus* into the City with four Gallies that were with him from *Erythræ*, they took advice together, how by taking Hostages, or some other gentle way, to make them give over the Conspiracy. Thus stood the business with the *Chians*.

The *Athenians* fight with the *Milesians*, and begin to besiege the City.

In the end of this Summer a thousand five hundred men of Arms of *Athens*, and a thousand of *Argos* (for the *Athenians* had put Armour upon five hundred light-armed of the *Argives*) and of other Confederates a thousand more, with forty eight Gallies, reckoning those which were for transportation of Souldiers, under the Conduct of *Phrynichus*, *Onomacles*, and *Scironidas*, came in to *Samos*, and crossing over to *Miletus*, encamped before it. And the *Milesians* issued forth with eight hundred men of Arms of their own, besides the *Peloponnesians* that came with *Chalcideus*, and some auxiliar strangers with *Tissaphernes*, (*Tissaphernes* himself being also there with his Cavalry) and fought with the *Athenians* and their Confederates. The *Argives*, who made one Wing of themselves, advancing before the rest, and in some disorder in contempt of the Enemy, as being *Ionians*, and not likely to sustain their charge, were by the *Milesians* overcome, and lost no less then 300 of their men. But the *Athenians*, when they had first overthrown the *Peloponnesians*, and then beaten back the *Barbarians* and other multitude, and not fought with the *Milesians* at all, (for they, after they were come from the chase of the *Argives*, and saw their other Wing defeated, went into the Town) fate down with their Arms, as being now Masters of the Field, close under the Wall of the City. It fell out in this Battel, that on both sides the *Ioniques* had the better of the *Doriques*. For the *Athenians* overcame the opposite *Peloponnesians*, and the *Milesians* the *Argives*. The *Athenians* after they had erected their Trophy, the place being an *Isthmus*, prepared to take in the Town with a Wall; supposing if they got *Miletus*, the other Cities would easily come in. In the mean time it was told them about twilight, that the 55 Gallies from *Peloponnesus* and *Sicily* were hard by, and onely not already come. For there came into *Peloponnesus* out of *Sicily*, by the instigation of *Hermocrates*, to help to

The *Athenians* rise from *Miletus* upon the coming of 55 Gallies from *Peloponnesus*.

to consummate the subversion of the *Athenian* State, twenty Gallies of *Syracuse*, and two of *Selinus*. And the Gallies that had been preparing in *Peloponnesus* being then also ready, they were, both these and the other, committed to the charge of *Theramenes*, to be conducted by him to *Astyochus* the Admiral. And they put in first at *Eleus*, an Island over against *Miletus*, and being advertised there, that the *Athenians* lay before the Town, they went from thence into the Gulf of *Iäsus*, to learn how the affairs of the *Milesians* stood. *Alcibiades* coming a Horse-back to *Teichinssa*, of the Territory of *Miletus*, in which part of the Gulf the *Peloponnesian* Gallies lay at Anchor, they were informed by him of the Battel; for *Alcibiades* was with the *Milesians* and with *Tissaphernes* present in it. And he exhorted them (unless they meant to lose what they had in *Ionia*, and the whole business) to succour *Miletus* with all speed, and not to suffer it to be taken in with a Wall. According to this they concluded to go the next morning and relieve it. *Phrynichus*, when he had certain word from *Derns* of the arrival of those Gallies, his Colleagues advising to stay and fight it out with their Fleet, said, that he would neither do it himself, nor suffer them to do it, or any other, as long as he could hinder it. For seeing he might fight with them hereafter, when they should know against how many Gallies of the Enemy, and with what addition to their own, sufficiently, and at leisure made ready, they might do it; he would never, he said, for fear of being upbraided with baseness (for it was no baseness for the *Athenians* to let their Navy give way upon occasion; but by what means soever it should fall out, it would be a great baseness to be beaten) be swayed to hazard Battel against reason, and not onely to dishonour the State, but also to cast it into extream danger. Seeing that since their late losses it hath scarce been fit, with their strongest preparation, willingly, nor urged by precedent necessity to undertake, how then without constraint to seek out voluntary dangers? Therefore he commanded them with all speed to take aboard those that were wounded, and their Landmen, and whatsoever Utensils they brought with them, but to leave behind whatsoever they had taken in the Territory of the Enemy, to the end that their Gallies might be the lighter, and to put off for *Samos*, and thence when they had all their Fleet together to make out against the Enemy, as occasion should be offered.

As *Phrynichus* advised this, so he put it in execution, and was esteemed a wise man, not then onely but afterwards, nor in this onely, but in whatsoever else he had the ordering of. Thus the *Athenians* presently in the evening, with their Victory unperfect, dislodged from before *Miletus*. From *Samos*, the *Argives* in haste and in anger for their overthrow, went home.

The *Peloponnesians* setting forth betimes in the morning from *Teichinssa*, put in at *Miletus* and staid there one day. The next day they took with them those Gallies of *Chius*, which had formerly been chased together with *Chalcideus*, and meant to have returned to *Teichinssa*, to take aboard such necessaries as they had left on Shore. But as they were going, *Tissaphernes* came to them with his Land-men and perswaded them to set upon *Iäsus*, where *Amorges* the Kings Enemy then lay. Whereupon they assailed *Iäsus* upon a sudden, and (they within not thinking but they had been the Fleet of the *Athenians*) took it. The greatest praise in this action was given to the *Syracusians*. Having taken *Amorges*, the Bastard son of *Pissuthnes*, but a Rebel to the King, the *Peloponnesians*

The *Peloponnesians* and *Tissaphernes* take *Iäsus*, wherein was *Amorges* Rebel to the King, whom they take Prisoner.

nesians delivered him to *Tissaphernes* to carry him, if he would, to the King as he had order to do. The City they pillaged, wherein, as being a place of ancient riches, the Army got a very great quantity of money. The auxiliary Souldiers of *Amorges* they received without doing them hurt, into their own Army, being for the most part *Peloponnesians*. The Town it self they delivered to *Tissaphernes*, with all the Prisoners as well free as bond, upon composition with him at a Darique stater by the Poll. And so they returned to *Miletus*. And from hence they sent *Pædaritus* the son of *Leon*, whom the *Lacedæmonians* had sent hither to be Governour of *Chius*, to *Erythræ*, and with him the Bands that had aided *Amorges* by Land, and made *Philip* Governour there, in *Miletus*. And so this Summer ended.

The end of the 20 Summer.

The next Winter *Tissaphernes*, after he had put a Garrison into *Iäsus*, came to *Miletus*, and for one Moneths pay, (as was promised on his part at *Lacedæmon*) he gave unto the Souldiers through the whole Fleet after an Attique *Drachma a man by the day. But for the rest of the time he would pay but †3 oboles, till he had asked the Kings pleasure; and if the King commanded it, then he said he would pay them the full Drachma. Nevertheless upon the cantradiction of *Hermocrates* General of the *Syracusians* (for *Theramenes* was but slack in exacting pay, as not being General, but onely to deliver the Gallies that came with him, to *Astyochus*.) It was agreed that but for the *five Gallies that were over and above, they should have more then 3 oboles a man. For to 55 Gallies he allowed 3 Talents a Moneth, and to as many as should be more then that number, after the same proportion.

* Seven pence half penny of our money.

† Three pence half penny farthing. This diminution of their stipend, proceeded from the counsel which *Alcibiades* gave to *Tissaphernes*, as is hereafter declared.

* If they had been 5 Gallies less, that is, but 50, as they were 55, their pay had been 4 oboles a man, at 3 Talents to the 50 Gallies for a Moneth. Qu. How many men paid in a Gally, it seemeth but 18.

The Athenians send part of the Fleet against *Chius*, and part against *Miletus*.

The same Winter the *Athenians* that were at *Samos* (for there were now come in 35 Gallies more from home, with *Charminus*, *Strombichides*, and *Euctemon* their Commanders) having gathered together their Gallies, as well those that had been at *Chius*, as all the rest concluded distributing to every one his charge by Lot, to go lie before *Miletus* with a Fleet; but against *Chius* to send out both a Fleet and an Army of Landman. And they did so. For *Strombichides*, *Onomacles*, and *Euctemon*, with thirty Gallies and part of those 1000 men of Arms that went to *Miletus*, which they carried along with them in Vessels for transportation of Souldiers according to their Lot, went to *Chius*, and the rest remaining at *Samos* with 74 Gallies, were Masters of the Sea, and went to *Miletus*.

Astyochus goeth from *Chius* to *Clazomenæ*, thence to *Phocæa* and *Cyme*.

Astyochus, who was now in *Chius*, requiring Hostages in respect of the Treason, after he heard of the Fleet that was come with *Theramenes*, and that the Articles of the League with *Tissaphernes* were mended, gave over that business; and with 10 Gallies of *Peloponnesus*, and 10 of *Chius*, went thence and assaulted *Pteleum*, but not being able to take it, he kept by the Shore to *Clazomenæ*. There he summoned those within to yield, with offer to such of them as favoured the *Athenians*, that they might go up and dwell at *Daphnus*. And *Tamos* the Deputy Lieutenant of *Ionia*, offered them the same. But they not hearkening thereunto, he made an assault upon the City being unwallled, but when he could not take it, he put to Sea again, and with a mighty wind was himself carried to *Phocæa* and *Cyme*, but the rest of the Fleet put in at *Marathusa*, *Pele*, and *Drimysa*, Islands that lie over against *Clazomenæ*. After they had staid there eight days in regard of the Winds, spoiling and destroying, and partly taking aboard whatsoever Goods of the *Clazomenians* lay without, they went afterwards to *Phocæa* and *Cyme*, to *Astyochus*. While *Astyochus* was there

there, the Ambassadors of the *Lesbians* came unto him, desiring to revolt from the *Athenians*, and as for him, they prevailed with him, but seeing the *Corinthians* and the other Confederates were willing, in respect of their former ill success there, he put to Sea for *Chius*. Whither after a great Tempest, his Gallies, some from one place and some from another, at length arrived all.

The *Lesbians* offer to turn to *Astyochus*.

After this, *Pedaritus* who was now at *Erythræ*, whither he was come from *Miletus* by Land, came over with his Forces into *Chius*. Besides those Forces he brought over with him, he had the Souldiers which were of the five Gallies that came thither with *Chalcideus*, and were left there to the number of 500, and Armour to arm them.

Now some of the *Lesbians* having promised to revolt, *Astyochus* communicated the matter with *Pedaritus* and the *Chians*, alledging how meet it would be to go with a Fleet and make *Lesbos* to revolt, for that they should either get more Confederates, or failing, they should at least weaken the *Athenians*. But they gave him no ear; and for the *Chian* Gallies, *Pedaritus* told him plainly he should have none of them. Whereupon *Astyochus* taking with him five Gallies of *Corinth*, a sixth of *Megara*, one of *Hermione*, and those of *Laconia* which he brought with him, went towards *Miletus*, to his Charge; mightily threatning the *Chians* in case they should need him, not to help them.

Astyochus and *Pedaritus* the Governor of *Chius* disagree.

When he was come to *Corycus* in *Erythræa*, he staid there; and the *Athenians* from *Samos* lay on the other side of the Point, the one not knowing that the other was so near. *Astyochus* upon a Letter sent him from *Pedaritus*, signifying that there were come certain *Erythraean* Captives dismissed from *Samos*, with design to betray *Erythræ*; went presently back to *Erythræ*, so little he missed of falling into the hands of the *Athenians*. *Pedaritus* also went over to him, and having narrowly enquired touching these seeming Traitors, and found that the whole matter was but a pretence, which the men had used for their escape from *Samos*, they acquitted them and departed, one to *Chios*, the other as he was going before, towards *Miletus*.

In the mean time the Army of the *Athenians* being come about by Sea from *Corycus* to *Argenum*, lighted on three Long Boats of the *Chians*, which when they saw, they presently chased. But there arose a great Tempest, and the Long Boats of *Chius* with much ado recovered the Harbor. But of the *Athenian* Gallies, especially such as followed them furthest, there perished three, driven ashore at the City of *Chius*; and the men that were aboard them were part taken, and part slain; the rest of the Fleet escaped into a Haven called *Phœnicus*, under the Hill *Mimas*, from whence they got afterwards to *Lesbos*, and there fortified.

The *Athenian* Gallies tossed with Tempest.

The same Winter *Hippocrates* setting out from *Peloponnesus* with 10 Gallies of *Thurium*, commanded by *Dorcius* the son of *Diagoras*, with two others, and with one Gally of *Laconia*, and one of *Syracuse*, went to *Cnidus*. This City was now revolted from *Tissaphernes*: and the *Peloponnesians* that lay at *Miletus* hearing of it, commanded that (the one half of their Gallies remaining for the guard of *Cnidus*) the other half should go about *Triopium*, and help to bring in the Ships which were to come from *Ægypt*. This *Triopium* is a Promontory of the Territory of *Cnidus*, lying out into the Sea, and consecrated to *Apollo*. The *Athenians* upon advertisement hereof, setting forth from *Samos*, took those Gallies that kept Guard at *Triopium*, but the men that were in them, escaped

The *Athenians* take the Gallies of the *Peloponnesians* sent to waite in the Ships of Corn from *Ægypt* to *Cnidus*.

escaped to Land. After this they went to *Cnidus*, which they assaulted, and had almost taken, being without Wall; and the next day they assaulted it again; but being less able to hurt it now than before, because they had fenced it better this night, and the men also were gotten into it that fled from their Gallies under *Triopium*, they invaded and wasted the *Cnidian* Territory, and so went back to *Samos*.

They assault the City of *Cnidus*, but cannot win it.

About the same time *Astyochus* being come to the Navy at *Miletus*, the *Peloponnesians* had plenty of all things for the Army. For they had not only sufficient pay, but the Souldiers also had store of money yet remaining of the Pillage of *Iäsus*. And the *Milesians* underwent the War with a good will. Nevertheless the former Articles of the League made by *Chalcideus* with *Tissaphernes* seemed defective, and not so advantageous to them as to him. Whereupon they agreed to new ones in the presence of *Theramenes*, which were these:

The second LEAGUE between the *Lacedæmonians* and the King of *Persia*.

THe Agreement of the *Lacedæmonians* and their Confederates, with King *Darius* and his Children, and with *Tissaphernes*, for League and Amity, according to the Articles following.

Whatsoever Territories or Cities do belong unto King *Darius*, or were his Fathers, or his Ancestors, Against those shall neither the *Lacedæmonians* go to make War, nor any way to annoy them. Neither shall the *Lacedæmonians*, nor their Confederates, exact Tribute of any of those Cities. Neither shall King *Darius*, nor any under his Dominion, make War upon, or any way annoy the *Lacedæmonians*, or any of the *Lacedæmonian* Confederates.

If the *Lacedæmonians*, or their Confederates, shall need any thing of the King, or the King of the *Lacedæmonians*, or of their Confederates, what they shall perswade each other to do, that if they do it, shall be good.

They shall, both of them, make War jointly against the *Athenians* and their Confederates; And when they shall give over the War, they shall also do it jointly.

Whatsoever Army shall be in the Kings Countrey, sent for by the King, the King shall defray.

If any of the Cities comprehended in the League made with the King, shall invade the Kings Territories, the rest shall oppose them, and defend the King to the utmost of their power.

If any City of the Kings, or under his Dominion, shall invade the *Lacedæmonians*, or their Confederates, the King shall make opposition, and defend them to the utmost of his power.

Theramenes goeth to Sea in a Light-Horseman, and is cast away.

The *Chians* in distress send for aid to *Astyochus*.

After this accord made, *Theramenes* delivered his Gallies into the hands of *Astyochus*, and putting to Sea in a Light-Horseman, is no more seen.

The *Athenians* that were now come with their Army from *Lesbos* to *Chius*, and were Masters of the Field and of the Sea, fortified *Delphinium*, a place both strong to the Land-ward, and that had also a Harbour for Shipping, and was not far from the City it self of *Chius*. And the *Chians*, as having been disheartned in divers former Battels, and otherwise,

wife, not onely not mutually well affected, but jealous one of another; (for *Tydeus* and his Complices had been put to death by *Pædaritus* for *Atticism*, and therest of the City was kept in awe, but by force, and for a time) stirred not against them. And for the causes mentioned, not conceiving themselves, neither with their own strength, nor with the help of those that *Pædaritus* had with him, sufficient to give them Battel, they sent to *Miletus* to require aid from *Astyochus*. Which when he had denied them, *Pædaritus* sent Letters to *Lacedæmon*, complaining of the wrong. Thus proceeded the Affairs of the *Athenians* at *Chius*. Also their Fleet at *Samos* went often out against the Fleet of the Enemy at *Miletus*; but when theirs would never come out of the Harbour to encounter them, they returned to *Samos*, and lay still.

Astyochus refuseth to aid them, and is complained on by *Pædaritus* his Letters to the State.

The same Winter, about the Solstice, went out from *Peloponnesus* towards *Ionia*, those 27 Gallies, which at the procurement of *Calligetus* of *Megara*, and *Timagoras* of *Cyzicus*, were made ready by the *Lacedæmonians* for *Pharnabazus*. The Commander of them was *Antisthenes* a *Spartan*, with whom the *Lacedæmonians* sent eleven *Spartans* more to be of Council with *Astyochus*, whereof *Lichas* the son of *Arcefilans* was one. These had Commission, that when they should be arrived at *Miletus*, besides their general care to order every thing to the best, they should send away these Gallies, either the same, or more, or fewer, into the *Hellepont* to *Pharnabazus*, if they so thought fit; and to appoint *Clearchus* the son of *Rhamphias*, that went along in them, for Commander. And that the same eleven, if they thought it meet, should put *Astyochus* from his Charge, and ordain *Antisthenes* in his place: for they had him in suspicion for the Letters of *Pædaritus*.

The Gallies that were provided for *Pharnabazus* set forth towards *Ionia*.

Antisthenes and 11 other *Spartans* sent with absolute Authority into *Ionia*.

These Gallies holding their course from *Malea* through the main Sea, and arriving at *Melos*, lighted on 10 of the Gallies of the *Athenians*, whereof three they took, but without the men, and fired them.

After this, because they feared lest those *Athenian* Gallies that escaped from *Melos*, should give notice of their coming to those in *Samos*, (as also it fell out) they changed their course, and went towards *Crete*, and having made their Voyage the longer; that it might be the safer, they put in at *Cannus* in *Asia*. Now from thence, as being in a place of safety, they sent a Messenger to the Fleet at *Miletus* for a Convoy.

They arrive at *Cannus* in *Asia*.

The *Chians* and *Pædaritus* about the same time, notwithstanding their former repulse, and that *Astyochus* was still backward, sent messengers to him, desiring him to come with his whole Fleet to help them being besieged, and not to suffer the greatest of their Confederate Cities in all *Ionia*, to be thus shut up by Sea, and ravaged by Land, as it was. For the *Chians* having many Slaves, more then any one State, except that of the *Lacedæmonians*, whom for their offences they the more ungently punished because of their number, many of them as soon as the *Athenians* appeared to be settled in their Fortifications, ran over presently to them, and were they, that knowing the Territory so well; did it the greatest spoil. Therefore the *Chians* said he must help them; whilest there was hope and possibility to do it. *Delphinium* being still in fortifying, and unfurnished, and greater fences being in making, both about their Camp and Fleet. *Astyochus* though he meant it not before, because he would have made

The *Chians* desire help of *Astyochus*.

Astyochus is diverted from helping the *Chians*, and goeth to waite in the 27 Gallies of *Peloponnesus*, that lay at *Caunus*.

good his threats, yet when he saw the Confederates were willing, he was bent to have relieved them.

But in the mean time came the Messenger from the 27 Gallies, and from the *Lacedæmonian* Counsellors that were come to *Caunus*. *Astyochus* therefore esteeming the waisting in of those Gallies, whereby they might the more freely command the Sea, and the safe coming in of those *Lacedæmonians*, who were to look into his actions, a business that ought to be preferred before all other, presently gave over his journey for *Chius*, and went towards *Caunus*.

As he went by the Coast, he landed at *Cos Meropidis*, being unwall'd, and thrown down by an Earthquake which had hapned there, the greatest verily in mans memory, and rifled it, the Inhabitants being fled into the Mountains; and overrunning the Countrey, made Booty of all that came in his way, saving of Free men, and those he dismissed. From *Cos* he went by night to *Cnidus*; but found it necessary, by the advice of the *Cnidians*, not to land his men there, but to follow as he was after those 20 Gallies of *Athens*, wherewith *Charminus* one of the *Athenian* Generals gone out from *Samos*, stood watching for those 27 Gallies that were come from *Peloponnesus*, the same that *Astyochus* himself was going to convoy in. For they at *Samos* had had intelligence from *Miletus* of their coming, and *Charminus* was lying for them about *Syme*, *Chalce*, *Rhodes*, and the Coast of *Lycia*: For by this time he knew that they were at *Caunus*. *Astyochus* therefore desiring to out-go the report of his coming, went as he was to *Syme*, hoping to find those Gallies out from the Shore. But a shower of Rain, together with the Cloudiness of the Sky, made his Gallies to miss their course in the dark, and disordered them.

A fight between the *Peloponnesian* and *Athenian* Fleets, wherein the *Athenians* had the worse.

The next Morning the Fleet being scattered, the left Wing was manifestly descried by the *Athenians*, whilst the rest wandred yet about the Island: And thereupon *Charminus* and the *Athenians* put forth against them with twenty Gallies, supposing they had been the same Gallies they were watching for from *Caunus*. And presently charging, sunk three of them, and hurt others, and were superiour in the fight, till such time as (contrary to their expectation) the greater part of the Fleet came in sight, and enclosed them about. Then they betook themselves to flight, and with the loss of six Gallies, the rest escaped into the Island of *Teaglyssa*, and from thence to *Halicarnassus*.

After this the *Peloponnesians* putting in at *Cnidus*, and joining with those seven and twenty Gallies that came from *Caunus*, went altogether to *Syme*, and having there erected a Trophy, returned again and lay at *Cnidus*.

The *Athenians* when they understood what had passed in this Battel went from *Samos* with their whole Navy to *Syme*. But neither went they out against the Navy in *Cnidus*, nor the Navy there against them. Whereupon they took up the furniture of their Gallies at *Syme*, and assaulted *Loryma*, a Town in the Continent, and so returned to *Samos*.

Tissaphernes and the *Lacedæmonians* disagree about the Articles of their League.

The whole Navy of the *Peloponnesians* being at *Cnidus*, was now in repairing and refurnishing with such things as it wanted; and withall, those eleven *Lacedæmonians* conferred with *Tissaphernes* (for he also was present) touching such things as they disliked in the Articles before agreed on, and concerning the War, how it might be carried for the future,

future, in the best and most advantageous manner for them both. But *Lychas* was he that considered the business most nearly, and said, that neither the first League, nor yet the latter by *Theramenes*, was made as it ought to have been. And that it would be a very hard Condition, that whatsoever Territories the King and his Ancestors possessed before, he should possess the same now: for so he might bring again into subjection all the Islands, and the Sea, and the *Locrians*, and all as far as *Boeotia*; and the *Lacedæmonians* instead of restoring the *Grecians* into liberty, should put them into subjection to the rule of the *Medes*. Therefore he required other and better Articles to be drawn, and not to stand to these. As for pay, in the new Articles they would require none. But *Tissaphernes* chafing at this, went his way in choler, and nothing was done.

The *Peloponnesians* solicited by Messengers from the great men of *Rhodes*, resolved to go thither, because they hoped it would not prove impossible with their number of Sea men, and Army of Land Souldiers to bring that Island into their power; and withall supposed themselves able, with their present Confederates to maintain their Fleet without asking money any more of *Tissaphernes*. Presently therefore the same Winter, they put forth from *Cnidus*, and arriving in the Territory of *Rhodes* at *Cameirus*, first frightened the Commons out of it, that knew not of the business; and they fled. Then the *Lacedæmonians* called together both these, and the **Rhodians* of the two Cities *Lindus* and *Iælysus*, and perswaded them to revolt from the *Athenians*. And *Rhodes* turned to the *Peloponnesians*. The *Athenians* at the same time hearing of their design, put forth with their Fleet from *Samos*, desiring to have arrived before them, and were seen in the main Sea too late, though not much. For the present they went away to *Chalce*, and thence back to *Samos*, but afterwards they came forth with their Gallies divers times, and made War against *Rhodes* from *Chalce*, *Cos*, and *Samos*. Now the *Peloponnesians* did no more to the *Rhodians* but levy Money amongst them, to the sum of *thirty two Talents, and otherwise for fourscore days that they lay there, having their Gallies haled ashore, they meddled not.

Rhodes revolteth to the *Peloponnesians*.

*The City of *Rhodes* was not then built.

* 6000 l. sterling.

In this time, as also before the going of the *Peloponnesians* to *Rhodes*, came to pass the things that follow.

Alcibiades after the death of *Chalcideus*, and Battel at *Miletus*, being suspected by the *Peloponnesians*; and *Astyochus* having received Letters from them from *Lacedæmon*, to put him to death, (for he was an Enemy to *Agis*, and also otherwise not well trusted) retired to *Tissaphernes*, first for fear, and afterwards to his power hindred the affairs of the *Peloponnesians*. And being in every thing his instructor, he not onely cut shorter their pay, insomuch as from a **Drachma* he brought it to 3 †*oboles*, and those also not continually paid; advising *Tissaphernes* to tell them, how that the *Athenians*, men of a long continued skill in Naval affairs, allowed but three oboles to their own, not so much for want of money, but lest the Mariners, some of them growing insolent by superfluity, should disable their bodies by spending their money on such things as would weaken them, and others should quit the Gallies with the arrear of their pay in their Captains hands for a pawn; but also gave Counsel to *Tissaphernes* to give money to the Captains of the Gallies, and to the Generals of the several Cities (save onely those of *Syracuse*) to give way unto it. For *Hermocrates* the General of the *Syracussians* was the

Alcibiades flieth to *Tissaphernes*, and crosseth the business of the *Peloponnesians*.

* Seven pence half penny.

† Three pence half penny farthing.

He adviseth *Tissaphernes* to shorten their pay.

And to corrupt the Captains.

The integrity of *Hermocrates*.

onely

Alcibiades answereth in *Tissaphernes* name to the Cities that call upon him for money, and puts them off.

He counselleth *Tissaphernes* to prolong the War, and afflict both sides.

He adviseth him, of the two to favour the *Athenians*, the rather, as fitter to help subdue the *Grecians*.

Tissaphernes guided by the counsel of *Alcibiades*, hindreth the success of the *Peloponnesians*.

Alcibiades aimeth at his return to *Athens*, by making shew of his power with *Tissaphernes*.

only man that in the name of the whole League stood against it. And for the Cities that came to require money, he would put them back himself, and answer them in *Tissaphernes* his name, and say, namely to the *Chians*, that they were impudent men, being the richest of the *Grecian* States, and preserved by Strangers, to expect nevertheless, that others for their liberty should not only venture their persons, but maintain them with their purses. And to other States, that they did unjustly, having laid out their money before they revolted, that they might serve the *Athenians*, not to bestow as much or more now upon themselves. And told them that *Tissaphernes*, now he made War at his own charges, had reason to be sparing; but when money should come down from the King, he would then give them their full pay, and assist the Cities as should be fit. Moreover he advised *Tissaphernes* not to be too hasty to make an end of the War, nor to fetch in the *Phœnician* Fleet which was making ready; nor take more men into pay, whereby to put the whole Power both by Sea and Land into the hands of one: but to let the Dominion remain divided into two, that the King, when one side troubled him, might set upon it with the other. Whereas the Dominion both by Sea and Land being in one, he will want, by whom to pull down those that hold it, unless with great danger and cost, he should come and try it out himself. But thus the danger would be less chargeable (he being but at a small part of the cost) and he should wear out the *Grecians* one against another, and himself in the mean time remain in safety.

He said further, that the *Athenians* were fitter to partake Dominion with him then the other, for that they were less ambitious of Power by Land; and that their speeches and actions tended more to the Kings purpose: for that they would join with him to subdue the *Grecians*, that is to say, for themselves, as touching the dominion by Sea; and for the King, as touching the *Grecians* in the Kings Territories. Whereas the *Lacedæmonians* on the contrary, were come to set them free. And it was not likely but that they that were come to deliver the *Grecians* from the *Grecians*, will (if they overcome the *Athenians*) deliver them also from the *Barbarians*.

He gave counsel therefore, first to wear them out both, and then when he had clipped, as near as he could, the Wings of the *Athenians*, to dismiss the *Peloponnesians* out of his Country. And *Tissaphernes* had a purpose to do accordingly, as far as by his actions can be conjectured: For hereupon he gave himself to believe *Alcibiades* as his best Counsellor in these affairs, and neither paid the *Peloponnesians* their Wages, nor would suffer them to fight by Sea, but pretending the coming of the *Phœnician* Fleet, whereby they might afterwards fight with odds, he overthrew their proceedings, and abated the Vigour of their Navy, before very puissant, and was in all things else more backward then he could possibly dissemble.

Now *Alcibiades* advised the King and *Tissaphernes* to this, whilest he was with them, partly because he thought the same to be indeed the best course; but partly also to make way for his own return into his Country: knowing that if he destroyed it not, the time would one day come, that he might perswade the *Athenians* to recal him. And the best way to perswade them to it he thought was this, to make it appear unto them that he was powerful with *Tissaphernes*. Which also came to pass. For after the *Athenian* Souldiers at *Samos* saw what power he had

with

with him, the Captains of Gallies and principal men there, partly upon *Alcibiades* his own motion, who had sent to the greatest amongst them, that they should remember him to the best sort, and say that he desired to come home, so the Government might be in the hands of a *Few*, not of *Evil persons*, nor yet of the *Multitude* that cast him out; and that he would bring *Tissaphernes* to be their Friend, and to War on their side; but chiefly of their own accords had their minds inclined to the deposing of the Popular Government.

Motion made for the recalling of *Alcibiades*, and deposing of the People.

This business was set on foot first in the Camp, and from thence proceeded afterwards into the City. And certain persons went over to *Alcibiades* out of *Samos*, and had conference with him. And when he had undertaken to bring to their friendship, first *Tissaphernes*, and then the King, in case the Government were taken from the People, (for then he said the King might the better rely upon them) they that were of most Power in the City, who also were the most toiled out, entered into great hope, both to have the ordering of the State at home themselves, and Victory also over the Enemy. And when they came back to *Samos* they drew all such as were for their purpose into an Oath of Conspiracy with themselves, and to the Multitude gave it out openly, that if *Alcibiades* might be recalled, and the People put from the Government, the King would turn their Friend, and furnish them with Money. Though the Multitude were grieved with this proceeding for the present, yet for the great hope they had of the Kings pay, they stirred not.

Conspiracy in the Army at *Samos*, against the Democracy of Athens.

But they that were setting up the *Oligarchy*, when they had communicated thus much to the Multitude, fell to consideration anew, and with more of their Complices, of the things spoken by *Alcibiades*. And the rest thought the matter easie, and worthy to be believed: but *Phrynichus*, who yet was General of the Army, liked it not; but thought (as the truth was) that *Alcibiades* cared no more for the *Oligarchy* then the *Democracy*, nor had any other aim in it, but onely by altering the Government that then was, to be called home by his Associates. And said, *They were especially to look to this, that they did not mutiny for the King, who could not very easily be induced (the Peloponnesians being now as much Masters at Sea as themselves, and having no small Cities within his Dominions) to join with the Athenians, whom he trusted not, and to trouble himself when he might have the friendship of the Peloponnesians, that never did him hurt.*

Phrynichus is against the recalling of *Alcibiades*.

As for the Confederate Cities to whom they promise *Oligarchy*, in that they themselves do put down the *Democracy*, he said, he knew full well that neither those which were already revolted would the sooner return to, nor those that remained, be ever the more confirmed in their obedience thereby. For they would never be so willing to be in subjection, either to the *Few*, or to the *People*, as they would be to have their liberty, which side soever it were that should give it them. But would think that even those which are termed the * *Good men*, if they had the Government, would give them as much to do as the *People*, being Contrivers and Authors to the *People*, of doing those mischiefs against them, out of which they make most profit unto themselves. And that if the *Few* had the rule, then they should be put to death unheard, and more violently then by the former, whereas the *People* is their refuge, and moderator of the others insolence. This, he said, he was certain that the Cities thought, in that they had learned the same by the actions themselves. And that therefore what was yet propounded by *Alcibiades*, he by no means approved.

* Καλοὶ ἄνθρωποι. The best men, or Aristocracy a difference from the Oligarchy, which was of the richest sort onely. For the Good men who in the Democracy are the Peoples Divisions, and put the People upon all they do, will do the same things themselves when they have the Sovereignty in their hands.

But those of the Conspiracy there assembled, not onely approved the present Proposition, but also made preparation to send *Pisander* and others Ambassadors to *Athens*, to negotiate concerning the reduction of *Alcibiades*, the dissolution of the *Democracy*, and the procuring unto the *Athenians* the friendship of *Tissaphernes*.

The Treason of *Phrynichus* against the State, for fear of *Alcibiades*.

He writes secret Letters to *Astyochus*.

Astyochus appeareth him to *Alcibiades*.

Phrynichus sends to *Astyochus* again, and offers to put the whole Army into his hands.

The device of *Phrynichus* to avoid the danger.

Alcibiades endeavoureth to turn *Tissaphernes* to the part of the *Athenians*.

Now *Phrynichus* knowing that an overture was to be made at *Athens* for the restoring of *Alcibiades*, and that the *Athenians* would embrace it; and fearing lest being recalled he should do him a mischief (in regard he had spoken against it) as one that would have hindered the same, betook himself to this course. He sends secret Letters to *Astyochus* the *Lacedæmonian* General, who was yet about *Miletus*, and advertised him that *Alcibiades* undid their affairs, and was procuring the friendship of *Tissaphernes* for the *Athenians*, writing in plain terms the whole business, and desiring to be excused if he rendered evil to his Enemy, with some advantage to his Countrey. *Astyochus* had before this, laid by the purpose of revenge against *Alcibiades*, especially when he was not in his own hands. And going to him to *Magnesia* and to *Tissaphernes*, related unto them what advertisement he had received from *Samos*, and made himself the appeacher. For he adhered (as was said) to *Tissaphernes* for his private lucre both in this, and in divers other matters, which was also the cause that concerning the pay, when the abatement was made he was not so stout in opposing it as he ought to have been. Hereupon *Alcibiades* sendeth Letters presently to those that were in Office at *Samos*, accusing *Phrynichus* of what he had done, and requiring to have him put to death. *Phrynichus* perplexed with this discovery, and brought into danger indeed, sends again to *Astyochus*, blaming what was past as not well concealed, and promised now to be ready to deliver unto him the whole Army at *Samos*, to be destroyed; writing from point to point (*Samos* being unwall'd) in what manner he would do it; and saying, that since his life was brought in danger, they could not blame him, though he did this or any other thing, rather than be destroyed by his most deadly Enemies. This also *Astyochus* revealed unto *Alcibiades*.

But *Phrynichus* having had notice betimes how he abused him, and that Letters of this from *Alcibiades* were in a manner come, he anticipates the news himself, and tells the Army, That whereas *Samos* was unwall'd, and the Gallies rid not all within, the Enemy meant to come and assault the Harbour; That he had sure intelligence hereof, and that they ought therefore with all speed to raise a Wall about the City, and put Garrisons into other places thereabouts. Now *Phrynichus* was General himself, and it was in his own power to see it done. They then fell to walling, whereby *Samos* (which they meant to have done howsoever) was so much the sooner walled in. Not long after came Letters from *Alcibiades*, that the Army was betrayed by *Phrynichus*, and that the Enemy purposed to invade the Harbour where they lay. But now they thought not *Alcibiades* worthy to be believed, but rather that having foreseen the design of the Enemy, he went about out of malice to fasten it upon *Phrynichus*, as conscious of it likewise. So that he did him no hurt by telling it, but bare witness rather of that which *Phrynichus* had told them of before.

After this *Alcibiades* endeavour'd to incline and perswade *Tissaphernes* to the Friendship of the *Athenians*; for though *Tissaphernes* feared the

the *Peloponnesians*, because their Fleet was greater then that of the *Athenians*, yet if he had been able, he had a good will to have been perswaded by him; especially in his anger against the *Peloponnesians*, after the dissension at *Caidus*, about the League made by *Theramenes*, (for they were already fallen out, the *Peloponnesians* being about this time in *Rhodes*) wherein that which had been before spoken by *Alcibiades*, how that the coming of the *Lacedemonians* was to restore all the Cities to their liberty, was now verified by *Lickas*, in that he said, it was an Article not to be suffered, that the King should hold those Cities which he and his Ancestors then or before had holden. *Alcibiades* therefore, as one that laboured for no trifle, with all his might applied himself to *Tissaphernes*.

The *Athenian* Ambassadors sent from *Samos* with *Pisander*, being arrived at *Athens*, were making their Propositions to the People. And related unto them summarily the points of their business, and principally this; That if they would call home *Alcibiades*, and not suffer the Government to remain in the hands of the People, in such manner as it did, they might have the King for their Confederate, and get the Victory of the *Peloponnesians*. Now when many opposed that point touching the Democracy, and the Enemies of *Alcibiades* clamoured withall, that it would be a horrible thing he should return by forcing the Government, when the * *Eumolpidae* and † *Ceryces* bare witness against him concerning the Mysteries for which he fled, and prohibited his return under their curse. *Pisander*, at this great opposition and querimony, stood out, and going amongst them, took out one by one those that were against it, and asked them, Whether, now that the *Peloponnesians* had as many Gallies at Sea to oppose them as they themselves had, and Confederate Cities more then they, and were furnished with money by the King and *Tissaphernes*, the *Athenians* being without, they had any other hope to save the State, but hyper-swading the King to come about to their side? And they that were asked having nothing to answer, then in plain terms he said unto them, This you cannot now obtain, except we administer the State with more moderation, and bring the Power into the hands of a Few, that the King may rely upon us. And we deliberate at this time, not so much about the Form as about the Preservation of the State; for if you mislike the Form, you may change it again hereafter. And let us recall *Alcibiades*, who is the onely man that can bring this to pass.

The People hearing of the Oligarchy, took it very hainously at first; But when *Pisander* had proved evidently, that there was no other way of safety, in the end, partly for fear, and partly because they hoped again to change the Government, they yielded thereunto. So they ordered, that *Pisander* and 10 others should go and treat both with *Tissaphernes* and with *Alcibiades*, as to them should seem best. Withall, upon the accusation of *Pisander* against *Phrynichus*, they discharged both *Phrynichus* and *Scironidas* his Fellow-Commissioner of their Command, and made *Diomedon* and *Leon* Generals of the Fleet in their places.

Now the cause why *Pisander* accused *Phrynichus*, and said he had betrayed *Iasus* and *Amorges*, was onely this, he thought him a man unfit for the business now in hand with *Alcibiades*.

Pisander, after he had gone about to all those Combinations (which were in the City before, for obtaining of places of Judicature and of Command) exhorting them to stand together, and advise about deposing the Democracy; and when he had dispatched the rest of his business,

Pisander getteth the *Athenians* to be content with the Oligarchy, and to give him and others Commission to treat with *Alcibiades*.

* *Eumolpidae*, a Family descended from *Eumolpus*, the author at *Athens* of the Mysteries of *Ceres*. This Family had the chief Authority in matters that concerned those Rites.

† *Ceryces*, *Heralds* in war, *Ambassadors* in Peace. *Suidas*. They pronounced all formal words in the Ceremonies of their Religion, and were a Family descended from *Ceryx* the son of *Mercury*.

Phrynichus accused by *Pisander*, and discharged of his Command.

so as there should be no more cause for him to stay there, took Sea with those other 10, to go to *Tissaphernes*.

Leon and Diomedon war upon the *Peloponnesian* Navy at *Rhodes*.

Leon and Diomedon arriving the same Winter at the *Athenian* Fleet, made a Voyage against *Rhodes*, and finding there the *Peloponnesian* Gallies drawn up to Land, disbarqued and overcame in Battel such of the *Rhodians* as made head; and then put to Sea again, and went to *Chalce*. After this they made sharper War upon them from *Cos*. For from thence they could better observe the *Peloponnesian* Navy when it should put off from the Land.

Chius distressed, and *Pædaritus* the Captain slain.

In this while there arrived at *Rhodes*, *Xenophontidas* a *Laconian*, sent out of *Chius* from *Pædaritus*, to advertise them that the Fortification of the *Athenians* there, was now finished, and that unless they came and relieved them with their whole Fleet, the State of *Chius* must utterly be lost. And it was resolved to relieve them. But *Pædaritus* in the mean time, with the whole power both of his own auxiliar Forces, and of the *Chians*, made an assault upon the Fortification which the *Athenians* had made about their Navy, part whereof he won, and had gotten some Gallies that were drawn on Land. But the *Athenians* issuing out upon them, first put to flight the *Chians*, and then overcame also the rest of the Army about *Pædaritus*, and slew *Pædaritus* himself, and took many of the *Chians* Prisoners, and much Armour. After this the *Chians* were besieged both by Sea and Land more narrowly, and great Famine was in the City.

Alcibiades unable to make good his word, in bringing *Tissaphernes* to the *Athenians* side, demandeth excessive conditions to make the breach appear to proceed from the *Athenians*, and to save his own credit.

Pisander and the other *Athenian* Ambassadors that went with him, when they came to *Tissaphernes*, began to confer about the agreement. But *Alcibiades* (for he was not sure of *Tissaphernes*, because he stood in fear too much of the *Peloponnesians*, and had a purpose besides, as *Alcibiades* himself had taught him, to weaken both sides yet more) betook himself to this shift; that *Tissaphernes* should break off the Treaty, by making to the *Athenians* exorbitant demands. And it seemed that *Tissaphernes* and he aimed at the same thing; *Tissaphernes* for fear, and *Alcibiades* for that when he saw *Tissaphernes* not desirous to agree, though the offers were never so great, he was unwilling to have the *Athenians* think he could not persuade him to it, but rather that he was already persuaded and willing, and that the *Athenians* came not to him with sufficient offers. For *Alcibiades* being the man that spake for *Tissaphernes*, though he were also present, made unto them such excessive demands, that though the *Athenians* should have yielded to the greatest part of them, yet it must have been attributed to them, that the Treaty went not on. For they demanded first, That all *Ionia* should be rendered. Then again, The adjacent Islands and other things, which the *Athenians* stood not against. In fine, at the third meeting, when he feared now plainly to be found unable to make good his word, he required, That they should suffer the King to build a Navy, and sail up and down by their Coast, wheresoever, and with what number soever of Gallies he himself should think good.

Upon this the *Athenians* would treat no longer, esteeming the Conditions intolerable, and that *Alcibiades* had abused them; and so went away in a chafe to *Samos*.

Tissaphernes hearkeneth again to the *Peloponnesians*.

Presently after this the same Winter, *Tissaphernes* went to *Caunus* with intent both to bring the *Peloponnesians* back to *Miletus*, and also (as soon as he should have agreed unto new Articles such as he could get) to give the Fleet their pay; and not to fall directly out with them, for fear

fear lest so many Gallies wanting maintenance, should either be forced by the *Athenians* to fight, and so be overcome, or emptied of men, the business might succeed with the *Athenians* according to their own desire without him. Besides he was afraid, lest looking out for maintenance, they should make spoil in the Continent. In consideration and foresight of all which things, he desired to counterpoise the *Grecians*. And sending for the *Peloponnesians*, he gave them their pay, and now made the third League, as followeth.

The third LEAGUE between TISSAPHERNES
and the *Peloponnesians*.

IN the thirteenth Year of the reign of Darius, Alexippidas being Ephore in Lacedæmon, Agreement was made in the Plain of Mæander, between the Lacedæmonians and their Confederates on one part, and Tissaphernes and Hieramenes, and the sons of Pharnaces on the other part; concerning the Affairs of the King, and of the Lacedæmonians and their Confederates.

That whatsoever Countrey in Asia belongeth to the King, shall be the Kings still. And that concerning his own Countries, it shall be lawful for the King to do whatsoever he shall think meet.

That the Lacedæmonians and their Confederates shall not invade any the Territories of the King, to harm them; nor the King, the Territories of the Lacedæmonians or their Confederates.

If any of the Lacedæmonians or their Confederates shall invade the Kings Countrey to do it hurt, the Lacedæmonians and their Confederates shall oppose it. And if any of the Kings Countrey shall invade the Lacedæmonians, or their Confederates, to do them hurt, the King shall oppose it.

That Tissaphernes shall, according to the Rates agreed on, maintain the present Fleet, till the Kings Fleet arrive.

That when the Kings Navy shall be come, the Lacedæmonians and their Confederates shall maintain their own Navy themselves, if they please; or if they will have TISSAPHERNES to maintain it, he shall do it: And that the Lacedæmonians and their Confederates, at the end of the War, repay TISSAPHERNES whatsoever money they shall have received of him.

When the Kings Gallies shall be arrived, both they and the Gallies of the Lacedæmonians and their Confederates, shall make the War jointly, according as to TISSAPHERNES and the Lacedæmonians and their Confederates, shall seem good. And if they will give over the War against the Athenians, they shall give it over in the same manner.

Such were the Articles.

After this Tissaphernes prepared for the fetching in of the *Phœnician* Fleet, according to the Agreement, and to do whatsoever else he had undertaken, desiring to have it seen at least that he went about it.

In the end of this Winter the *Bœotians* took Oropus by Treason. It had in it a Garrison of *Athenians*. They that plotted it were certain *Eretrians*, and some of Oropus it self, who were then contriving the

Oropus taken by
Treason.

revolt of *Eubœa*. For the place being built to keep *Eretria* in subjection, it was impossible, as long as the *Athenians* held it, but that it would much annoy both *Eretria*, and the rest of *Eubœa*. Having *Oropus* in their hands already, they came to *Rhodes* to call the *Peloponnesians* into *Eubœa*. But the *Peloponnesians* had a greater inclination to relieve *Chius* now distressed; and putting to Sea, departed out of *Rhodes* with their whole Fleet. When they were come about *Triopium*, they descried the *Athenian Fleet* in the main Sea, going from *Chalce*. And neither side assailing other, they put in; the one Fleet at *Samos* the other at *Miletus*. For the *Peloponnesians* saw they could not pass to relieve *Chius* without a Battel. Thus ended this Winter, and the twentieth year of this War, written by *Thucydides*.

Year XXI.

The *Chians* fight against the *Athenians* that besieged them.

The next Summer, in the beginning of the Spring, *Dercylidas* a *Spartan*, was sent by Land into *Hellepont* with a small Army to work the revolt of *Abydus* a Colony of the *Milesians*. And the *Chians* at the same time, whilst *Astyochus* was at a stand how to help them, were compelled by the pressure of the Siege to hazard a Battel by Sea.

Now whilst *Astyochus* lay in *Rhodes*, they had received into the City of *Chius* after the death of *Pædaritus* one *Leon* a *Spartan*, that came along with *Antisthenes* as a private Souldier, and with him twelve Gallies that lay at the Guard of *Miletus*, whereof five were *Thurians*, four *Syracusians*, one of *Anæa*, one of *Miletus*, and one of *Leons* own. Whereupon the *Chians* issuing forth with the whole force of the City, seized a certain place of strength, and put forth 36 Gallies against 32 of the *Athenians*, and fought. After a sharp fight wherein the *Chians* and their associates had not the worst; and when it began to be dark, they retired again into the City.

Abydus and *Lampsacus* revolt.

Presently after this, *Dercylidas* being arrived now in *Hellepont* from *Miletus* by Land, *Abydus* revolted to him and to *Pharnabazus*. And two days after, revolted also *Lampsacus*.

Strombichides recovereth *Lampsacus*.

Strombichides having intelligence of this, made haste thither from *Chius*, with four and twenty sail of *Athenians*, (those being also of that number which transported his men of Arms.) And when he had overcome the *Lampsacens* that came out against him, and taken *Lampsacus*, being an open Town, at the first shout of their voices, and made prize of all the Goods they found, and of the Slaves, he placed the Free men there again, and went against *Abydus*. But when that City neither yielded, nor could be taken by assault, he crossed over from *Abydus* to the opposite Shore, and in *Sestus* a City of *Chersonesus*, (possessed heretofore by the *Medes*) he placed a Garrison for the custody of the whole *Hellepont*.

In the mean time, not onely the *Chians* had the Sea at more command, but *Astyochus* also; and the Army at *Miletus* having been advertised what past in the Fight by Sea, and that *Strombichides* and those Gallies with him were gone away, took heart. And *Astyochus* going to *Chius* with two Gallies, fetched away the Gallies that were there, and with the whole Fleet now together, went against *Samos*. But seeing they of *Samos*, by reason of their jealousy one towards another, came not against him, he went back again to *Miletus*. For it was about this time, that the Democracy was put down at *Athens*.

The Democracy at *Athens* put down by *Pisander* and his fellows.

For after that *Pisander* and his fellow-Ambassadors that had been with *Tissaphernes*, were come to *Samos*, they both assured their affairs yet better in the Army, and also provoked the principal men of the

Samians

Samians to attempt with them the erecting of the *Oligarchy*; though there were then an insurrection amongst them against the *Oligarchy*.

And withall the *Athenians* at *Samos*, in a Conference amongst themselves, deliberated how, since *Alcibiades* would not, to let him alone; (for indeed they thought him no fit man to come into an *Oligarchy*) but for themselves seeing they were already engaged in the danger, to take care both to keep the business from a relapse, and withall to sustain the War, and to contribute money, and whatsoever else was needful, with alacrity out of their private estates, and no more to toil for other then themselves. Having thus advised, they sent *Pisander* with half the Ambassadors presently home to follow the business there, with command to set up the *Oligarchy* in all Cities they were to touch at by the way; the other half they sent about, some to one part of the State, and some to another. And they sent away *Diotrephes* to his Charge, who was now about *Chios*, chosen to go Governour of the Cities upon *Thrace*.

He, when he came to *Thasus*, deposed the People. And within two Moneths at most after he was gone, the *Thasians* fortified their City, as needing no longer an *Aristocracy* with the *Athenians*, but expecting liberty every day by the help of the *Lacedaemonians*. For there were also certain of them with the *Peloponnesians*, driven out by the *Athenians*; and these practised with such in the City as were for their purpose, to receive Gallies into it, and to cause it to revolt. So that it fell out for them just as they would have it, that that estate of theirs, was set up without their danger, and that the People was deposed that would have withstood it. Inasmuch as at *Thasus* it fell out contrary to what those *Athenians* thought which erected the *Oligarchy*; and so in my opinion it did in many other places of their Dominion. For the Cities now grown wise, and withall resolute in their proceedings, sought a direct liberty, and preferred not before it that outside of a well-ordered Government, introduced by the *Athenians*.

They with *Pisander*, according to the order given them, entering into the Cities as they went by, dissolved the *Democracies*, and having in some places obtained also an aid of Men of Arms, they came to *Athens*, and found the business for the greatest part dispatched to their hands by their Complices before their coming. For certain young men combining themselves, had not onely murdered *Androcles* privily, a principal Patron of the *Popular Government*, and one that had his hand the farthest in the banishment of *Alcibiades*; whom they slew for two causes, for the sway he bare amongst the People, and to gratifie *Alcibiades* who they thought would return, and get them the friendship of *Tissaphernes*; but had also made away divers men unfit for their Design, in the same manner. They had withall an Oration ready made, which they delivered in publick, wherein they said, That there ought none to receive Wages but such as served in the Wars, nor to participate of the Government more then 5000; and those such as by their Purses and Persons were best able to serve the *Commonwealth*.

And this with the most carried a good shew, because they that would set forward the alteration of the State, were to have the managing of the same. Yet the People and the * *Council of the Bean* met still, but debated nothing, save what the Conspirators thought fit. Nay, all that spake were of that number, and had considered before what they

The Authors of the *Oligarchy* resolve to leave out *Alcibiades*, and to govern the State with their private means for themselves.

The *Athenians* having set up the *Oligarchy* in *Thasus*, it presently revolteth from them.

The proceeding of *Pisander* in setting up the *Oligarchy*.

* The Senate or Council of 500.

were to say. Nor would any of the rest speak against them for fear, and because they saw the Combination was great; and if any man did, he was quickly made away by one convenient means or other, and no enquiry made after the deed-doers, nor Justice prosecuted against any that was suspected.

But the People were so quiet, and so afraid, that every man thought it gain to escape violence, though he said never a word. Their hearts failed them, because they thought the Conspirators more than indeed they were: and to learn their number, in respect of the greatness of the City, and for that they knew not one another, they were unable.

For the same cause also was it impossible for any man that was angry at it, to bemoan himself, whereby to be revenged on them that conspired. For he must have told his mind, either to one he knew not, or to one he knew and trusted not. For the *Populars* approached other, every one with jealousy, as if they thought him of the plot. For indeed there were such amongst them as no man would have thought would ever have turned to the *Oligarchy*; and those were they that caused in the *Many* that diffidence, and by strengthening the jealousy of the *Populars* one against another, conferred most to the security of the *Few*. During this opportunity, *Pisander* and they that were with him coming in, fell in hand presently with the remainder of the business. And first they assembled the People, and delivered their opinion for 10 men to be chosen with power absolute, to make a draught of Laws, and (having drawn them) to deliver their opinion at a day appointed, before the People, touching the best Form of Government for the City.

Afterwards, when that day came, they summoned the Assembly to *Colonus*, (which is a place consecrated to *Neptune*, without the City about two Furlongs off.) And they that were appointed to write the Laws, presented this, and onely this, *That it should be lawful for any Athenian to deliver whatsoever opinion he pleased*, imposing of great punishments upon whosoever should either accuse any that so spake of violating the Laws, or otherwise do him hurt. Now here indeed it was in plain terms propounded, *That not any Magistracy of the Form before used, might any longer be in force, nor any Fee belong unto it, but that five Prytanes might be elected, and these five choose a hundred, and every one of this hundred take unto him three others. And these 400 entering into the Council-house, might have absolute authority to govern the State as they thought best, and to summon the 5000 as oft as to them should seem good.* He that delivered this opinion was *Pisander*, who was also otherwise, openly the forwardest to put down the *Democracy*. But he that contrived the whole business, how to bring it to this pass, and had long thought upon it, was *Antiphon*, a man for vertue not inferiour to any *Athenian* of his time, and the ablest of any man, both to devise well, and also to express well what he had devised. And though he came not into the Assemblies of the People, nor willingly to any other debates, because the Multitude had him in jealousy for the opinion they had of the power of his eloquence, yet when any man that had occasion of suit, either in the Courts of Justice, or in the Assembly of the People, came to him for his counsel, this one man was able to help him most. The same man, when afterwards the Government of the Four Hundred went down, and was vexed of the People, was heard plead for himself when his life was in question for that business, the best of any man to this day.

The Form of the new Oligarchy.

Pisander ■ principal man of the Oligarchs.

Antiphon another setter up of the *Few*. The praise of *Antiphon*.

Phrynichus also shewed himself an earnest man for the *Oligarchy*, and that more eminently than any other, because he feared *Alcibiades*, and knew him to be acquainted with all his practices at *Samos* with *Astyochus*; and thought in all probability, that he would never return, to live under the Government of the *Few*. And this man in any matter of weight, appeared the most sufficient to be relied on.

Phrynichus another Author of the *Oligarchy*.

Also *Theramenes* the son of *Agnon*, an able man both for Elocution and Understanding, was another of the principal of those that overthrew the *Democracy*. So that it is no marvel if the business took effect, being by many and wisemen conducted, though it were a hard one. For it went sore with the *Athenian* People, almost a hundred years after the expulsion of the *Tyrants*, to be now deprived of their liberty, having not onely not been subject to any, but also for the half of this time, been inured to Dominion over others.

When the Assembly (after it had passed these things no man contradicting) was dissolved, then afterwards they brought the Four Hundred into the Council-house in this manner. The *Athenians* were evermore partly on the Walls, and partly at their Arms in the Camp, in regard of the Enemy that lay at *Decelea*. Therefore on the day appointed, they suffered such as knew not their intent to go forth as they were wont. But to such as were of the Conspiracy, they quietly gave order, not to go to the Camp it self, but to lag behind at a certain distance, and if any man should oppose what was in doing, to take Arms and keep them back. They to whom this charge was given, were the *Andrians*, *Tenians*, three hundred *Carystians*, and such of the Colony of *Ægina* which the *Athenians* had sent thither to inhabit, as came on purpose to this action with their own Arms. These things thus ordered, the Four Hundred, with every man a secret Dagger, accompanied with one hundred and twenty young men of *Greece* (whom they used for occasions of shedding blood) came in upon the **Counsellors of the Bean*, as they sat in the *Council-house*, and commanded them to take their Salary, and be gone, which also they brought ready with them for the whole time they were behind, and paid it to them as they went out. And the rest of the Citizens mutined not, but rested quiet.

The 400 enter upon the Senate, and dismiss the Senate of 500, called the Council of the Bean.

* The Senate or Council of 500 made by lot, in which lot they used Beans, white and black.

The 400 being now entered into the *Council-house*, created **Prytanes* amongst themselves by lot, and made their Prayers and Sacrifices to the Gods, all that were before usual at the entrance upon the Government. And afterwards, receding far from that course, which in the administration of the State was used by the People, saving that for *Alcibiades* his sake, they recalled not the Outlaws, in other things they governed the Commonwealth imperiously. And not onely slew some, though not many, such as they thought fit to be made away, and imprisoned some, and confined others to places abroad, but also sent Heralds to *Agis* King of the *Lacedæmonians*, who was at *Decelea*, signifying that they would come to composition with him, and that now he might better treat with them, then he might before with the unconstant People.

* These were Presidents in the Council of the 500, in number 50, and in turns moderated and put the question in that Council, and also in the Assemblies of the People.

But he not imagining that the City was yet in quiet, nor willing so soon to deliver up their ancient liberty, but rather that if they saw him approach with great Forces, they would be in tumult, not yet believing fully, but that some stir or other would arise amongst them, gave no answer at all to those that came from the Four Hundred, touching the Composition; but having sent for new, and great Forces out of *Peloponnesus*, came down himself not long after, both with the Army at *Decelea*,

Agis in hope that the City was in Sedition, cometh to assault it, but is repulsed.

celeæ, and those new comers, to the *Athenian* Walls. Hoping that they would fall into his hands according to his desire, at least the more easily for their confusion, or perhaps at the very first shout of their voices; in respect of the tumult that in all likelihood was to happen both within and without the City. For, as for the *Long-walls*, in regard of the few Defendants likely to be found upon them, he thought he could not fail to take them. But when he came near, and the *Athenians* were without any the least alteration within, and had with their Horsemen which they sent out, and a part of their men of Arms, and of their Light-armed, and of their Archers, overthrown some of his men that approached too near, and gotten some Arms and Bodies of the slain; rectified thus, he withdrew his Army again, and himself and such as were with him before stayed in their place at *Deceleæ*; but, as for those that came last, after they had staid a while in the Countrey, he sent them home again. After this the 400, notwithstanding their former repulse, sent Ambassadors unto *Agis* anew, and he now receiving them better, by his advice they sent Ambassadors also to *Lacedæmon* about an agreement, being desirous of Peace.

The 400 send to *Lacedæmon* to procure a Peace.

They sent to *Samos* to excuse their doings to the Army.

They likewise sent 10 men to *Samos* to satisfy the Army, and to tell them, *That the Oligarchy was not set up to any prejudice of the City or Citizens, but for the safety of the whole State. And that they which had their hands in it were 5000, and not 400 onely. Notwithstanding that the Athenians by reason of Warfare and imployment abroad, never assembled, of how great consequence soever was the matter to be handled, so frequent as to be 5000 there at once.* And having in other things instructed them how to make the best of the matter, they sent them away immediately after the Government was changed, fearing (as also it fell out) lest the Seafaring multitude, would not onely not continue in this *Oligarchical* Form themselves, but (the mischief beginning there) would depose them also.

The *Oligarchy* assaulted at *Samos* by the *Populæ*.

For in *Samos* there was a commotion about the *Oligarchy* already. And this that followeth, happened about the same time that the 400 were set up in *Athens*. Those *Samians* that had risen against the Nobility and were of the Peoples side, turning when *Pisander* came thither, at the perswasion of him and of those *Athenians* in *Samos* that were his Complices, conspired together to the number of 300, and were to have assaulted the rest as *Populæ*; and one *Hyperbolus* a lewd fellow, who not for any fear of his power, or for any dignity, but for wickedness of life and dishonour he did the City, had been banished by *Ostracism*, they slew; abetted therein both by *Charminus*, one of the Commanders, and by other *Athenians* that were amongst them, who had given them their faith; and together with these they committed other facts of the same kind, and were fully bent to have assaulted the Popular side, but they having gotten notice thereof, made known the design both to the Generals *Leon* and *Diomedon*, (for these being honoured by the People, endured the *Oligarchy* unwillingly) and also to *Thrasibulus* *Thrasillus*, whereof one was Captain of a Gally, and the other Captain of a Band of men of Arms, and to such others continually as they thought stood in greatest opposition to the Conspirators; and required of them, that they would not see them destroyed, and *Samos* alienated from the *Athenians* by the onely means of which their Dominion had till this time kept it self in the state it is in. They hearing it, went to the Souldiers, and exhorted them one by one, not to suffer it, especially to
the

the *Paralians*, (who were all *Athenians* and Free men, come thither in the Gally called *Paralus*, and had always before been Enemies to the *Oligarchy*. And *Leon* and *Diomedon* whensoever they went forth any whither, left them certain Gallies for their Guard.) So that when the 300 assaulted them, the Commons of the *Samians*, with the help of all these, and especially of the *Paralians*, had the upper hand, and of the 300 slew 30. Three of the chief Authors they banished, and burying in oblivion the fault of the rest, governed the State from that time forward as a *Democracy*.

The *Paralus*, and in it *Chareas* the son of *Archestratus* a man of *Athens*, one that had been forward in the making of this change, the *Samians* and the Souldiers dispatched presently away to *Athens*, to advertise them of what was done; for they knew not yet that the Government was in the hands of the 400. When they arrived, the 400 cast some two or three of these of the *Paralus* into prison; the rest after they had taken the Gally from them, and put them aboard another Military Gally, they commanded to keep Guard about *Eubæa*. But *Chareas* by some means or other, getting presently away, seeing how things went, came back to *Samos*, and related to the Army all that the *Athenians* had done, aggravating it to the utmost; *As that they punished every man with stripes, to the end that none should contradict the doings of those that bore rule; and that their Wives and Children at home were abused; and that they had an intention farther to take and imprison all that were of Kin to any of the Army which was not of their Faction, to the intent to kill them if they of Samos would not submit to their Authority.* And many other things he told them, adding lies of his own.

The Army sent to *Athens* to signify their doings against the *Oligarchy* at *Samos*, not knowing that the *Oligarchy* was then in authority at *Athens*.

When they heard this, they were ready at first to have fallen upon the chief Authors of the *Oligarchy*, and upon such of the rest as were partakers of it. Yet afterwards, being hindred by such as came between, and advised them not to overthrow the State, the Enemy lying so near with their Gallies to assault them, they gave it over. After this, *Thrasybulus* the son of *Lycas*, and *Thrasyllus*, (for these were the principal Authors of the change) determining now openly to reduce the State at *Samos* to a *Democracy*, took Oaths of all the Souldiers, especially of the *Oligarchicals*, the greatest they could devise, both *That they should be subject to the Democracy, and agree together, and also that they should zealously prosecute the War against the Peloponnesians, and withall be Enemies to the 400, and not have to do with them by Ambassadors.* The same Oath was taken by all the *Samians* that were of Age, and the *Athenian* Souldiers communicated with them their whole affairs, together with whatsoever should succeed of their dangers. For whom and for themselves they made account there was no refuge of safety, but that if either the 400, or the Enemy at *Miletus* overcame them, they must needs perish.

The *Democracy* re-established in the Army.

So there was a contention at this time, one side compelling the City to a *Democracy*; the other, the Army to an *Oligarchy*. And presently there was an Assembly of the Souldiers called, wherein they deprived the former Commanders, and such Captains of Gallies as they had in suspicion of their charge, and chose others both Captains of Gallies and Commanders in their places, of which *Thrasybulus* and *Thrasyllus* were two. And they stood up and encouraged one another, both otherwise and with this, *That they had no cause to be dejected for the Cities revolting from them; For they at Athens being the lesser part, had forsaken them, who*

The Army encourageth it self against the City and State at home, by comparison of their strength.

were

were not onely the greater part, but also every way the better provided. For they having the whole Navy could compel the rest of the Cities subject unto them, to pay in their money as well now as if they were to set out from Athens it self. And that they also had a City, namely Samos, no weak one, but even such a one, as when they were Enemies, wanted little of taking the Dominion of the Sea from the Athenians. That the seat of the War was the same it was before; and that they should be better able to provide themselves of things necessary, having the Navy, then they should be that were at home in the City. And that they at Athens were Masters of the entrance of Piræus both formerly by the favour of them at Samos, and that now also, unless they restore them the Government, they shall again be brought to that pass, that those at Samos shall be better able to bar them the use of the Sea, then they shall be to bar it them of Samos. That it was a trifle and worth nothing which was conferred to the overcoming of the Enemy by the City, and a small matter it would be to lose it, seeing they had neither any more silver to send them, (for the Souldiers shifted for themselves) nor yet good direction which is the thing for which the City hath the command of the Armies. Nay that in this point they erred which were at Athens, in that they had abrogated the Laws of their Countrey, whereas they at Samos did both observe the same themselves, and endeavour to constrain the other to do so likewise. So that such of them in the Camp as should give good counsel, were as good as they in the City. And that Alcibiades, if they would decree his security and his return, would with all his heart procure the King to be their Confederate. And that which is the main thing, if they failed of all other helps, yet with so great a Fleet they could not fail of many places to retire to, in which they might find both City and Territory.

When they had thus debated the matter in the Assembly, and encouraged one another, they made ready, as at other times, whatsoever was necessary for the War. And the ten Ambassadors which were sent to Samos from the Four Hundred, hearing of this by the way at Delos, whither they were come already, staid still there.

Upon the murmur of the Souldiers against *Astyochus*, he goeth to Samos to offer the Athenians Battel, who refuse it.

About the same time also the Souldiers of the Peloponnesian Fleet at *Miletus* murmured amongst themselves, that *Astyochus* and *Tissaphernes* overthrew the state of their Affairs. *Astyochus* in refusing to fight, both before, when their own Fleet was stronger, and that of the Athenians but small, and also now, whilst they were said to be in Sedition, and their Fleet divided; and in expecting the Phœnician Fleet in fame not in fact to come from *Tissaphernes*; and *Tissaphernes*, in that he not onely brought not in that Fleet of his, but also impaired theirs, by not giving them their pay, neither fully nor continually: And that they therefore ought no longer to delay time but to hazard Battel. This was urged principally by the *Syracusians*.

Astyochus and the Confederates, when they heard of the murmur, and had in Council resolved to fight, especially after they were informed that Samos was in a tumult, putting forth with their whole Fleet, to the number of 121 Sail, with order given to the Milesians to march by Land to the same place, went to *Mycale*. But the Athenians being come out from Samos with their Fleet of 82 Gallies, and riding now at Glance of the Territory of *Mycale*, (for in this part toward *Mycale*, Samos is but a little way from the Continent) when they descried the Peloponnesian Fleet coming against them, put in again to Samos as not esteeming themselves a sufficient number to hazard their whole Fortune on the Battel.

Besides

Besides, they stayed for the coming of *Strombichides* from *Hellepont* to their aid, (for they saw that they of *Miletus* had a desire to fight) with those Gallies that went from *Chius* against *Abydus*; for they had sent unto him before. So these retired into *Samos*. And the *Peloponnesians* putting in at *Mycale*, there encamped, as also did the Land forces of the *Milesians*, and others of the Countrey thereabouts. The next day, when they meant to have gone against *Samos*, they received news that *Strombichides* with his Gallies was arrived out of *Hellepont*, and thereupon returned presently to *Miletus*. Then the *Athenians* on the other side, with the addition of these Gallies, went to *Miletus*, 'being now one hundred and eight Sail, intending to fight: but when no body came out against them, they likewise went back to *Samos*.

The *Athenians* offer Battel to the *Peloponnesians* and they refuse it.

Immediately after this, the same Summer, the *Peloponnesians*, who refused to come out against the Enemy, as holding themselves with their whole Fleet too weak to give them Battel, and were now at a stand how to get Money for the maintenance of so great a number of Gallies, sent *Clearchus* the son of *Rhamphias* with fourty Gallies (according to the order at first from *Peloponnesus*) to *Pharnabazus*. For not onely *Pharnabazus* himself had sent for, and promised to pay them, but they were advertised besides, by Ambassadors, that *Byzantium* had a purpose to revolt. Hereupon these *Peloponnesian* Gallies having put out into the main Sea, to the end that they might not be seen as they passed by, and tossed with Tempests, part of them (which were the greatest number) and *Clearchus* with them, got into *Delos*, and came afterwards to *Miletus* again: (but *Clearchus* went thence again into the *Hellepont* by Land, and had the Command there,) and part under the charge of *Elixus* a *Megarean* (which were ten Sail) went safely through into the *Hellepont*, and caused *Byzantium* to revolt. And after this, when they of *Samos* heard of it, they sent certain Gallies into *Hellepont* to oppose them, and to be a Guard to the Cities thereabouts; and there followed a small Fight between them, of eight Gallies to eight, before *Byzantium*.

The *Peloponnesians* send part of their Fleet towards the *Hellepont*, but there went through but onely ten Gallies.

In the mean time, they that were in Authority at *Samos*, and especially *Thrasybulus*, who after the Form of Government changed, was still of the mind to have *Alcibiades* recalled, at length in an Assembly perswaded the Souldiers to the same. And when they had decreed for *Alcibiades*, both his return and his security, he went to *Tissaphernes* and fetched *Alcibiades* to *Samos*, accounting it their onely means of safety, to win *Tissaphernes* from the *Peloponnesians* to themselves. An Assembly being called, *Alcibiades* complained of and lamented the calamity of his own exile, and speaking much of the business of the State, gave them no small hopes of the future time, hyperbolically magnifying his own power with *Tissaphernes*, to the end that both they which held the *Oligarchy* at home, might the more fear him, and so the Conspiracies dissolve, and also those at *Samos* the more honour him, and take better heart unto themselves: and withall that the Enemy might object the same to the utmost to *Tissaphernes*, and fall from their present hopes. *Alcibiades* therefore, with the greatest boast that could be, affirmed that *Tissaphernes* had undertaken to him, that as long as he had any thing left, if he might but trust the *Athenians*, they should never want for maintenance, no though he should be constrained to make Money of his own Bed; and that he would fetch the *Phœnician* Fleet now at *Aspendus*, not to the *Peloponnesians*, but to the *Athenians*.

Alcibiades is recalled, and cometh to *Samos*.

He manifesteth his power with *Tissaphernes*.

And that then onely he would rely upon the *Athenians* when *Alcibiades* called home, should undertake for them.

Alcibiades General
of the *Athenian* Ar-
my.

Hearing this and much more, they chose him presently for General, together with those that were before, and committed unto them the whole Government of their Affairs. And now there was not a man that would have sold his present hopes, both of subsisting themselves, and being revenged of the *Four Hundred*, for any good in the World; and were ready even then, upon those words of his, contemning the Enemy there present, to set sail for *Pireus*. But he, though many pressed it, by all means forbade their going against *Pireus*, being to leave their Enemies so near; but since they had chosen him General, he was, he said, to go to *Tissaphernes* first, and to dispatch such business with him as concerned the War. And as soon as the Assembly brake up, he took his journey accordingly, to the end that he might seem to communicate every thing with him, and for that he desired also to be in more honour with him, and to shew that he was General, and a man capable to do him good or hurt. And it happened to *Alcibiades* that he awed the *Athenians* with *Tissaphernes*, and *Tissaphernes* with the *Athenians*.

The *Peloponnesians*
murmur against *Tis-*
saphernes and *Astyo-*
chus.

When the *Peloponnesians* that were at *Miletus* heard that *Alcibiades* was gone home, whereas they mistrusted *Tissaphernes* before, now they much more accused him. For it fell out, that when at the coming of the *Athenians* with their Fleet before *Miletus* they refused to give them Battel, *Tissaphernes* became thereby a great deal slacker in his payment, and besides that he was hated by them before this for *Alcibiades* sake, the Souldiers now meeting in Companies apart, reckoned up one to another the same matters which they had noted before; and some also ~~men~~ of value, and not the common Souldier alone, recounted this withall, how they had never had their full stipend, that the allowance was but small, and yet not continually paid; and that unless they either fought, or went to some other place where they might have maintenance, their men would abandon the Fleet, and that the cause of all this was in *Astyochnus*, who for private lucre gave way to the humour of *Tissaphernes*. Whilest these were upon this consideration, there happened also a certain tumult about *Astyochnus*. For the Mariners of the *Syracusians* and *Thurians*, by how much they were a multitude that had greater liberty then the rest, with so much the stouter importunity they demanded their pay. And he not onely gave them somewhat an insolent answer, but also threatned *Dorieus*, that amongst the rest spake for the Souldiers under himself, and lift up his Staff against him. When the Souldiers saw that they took up a cry like Seamen indeed all at once, and were running upon *Astyochnus* to have stricken him. But foreseeing it, he fled to an Altar, and was not stricken, but they were parted again.

Mutiny against *Astyo-*
chnus.

The *Milesians* take
in the Fort made in
their City by *Tissa-*
phernes.

The *Milesians* also took in a certain Fort in *Miletus*, built by *Tissaphernes*, having privily assaulted it, and cast out the Garrison that was within it. These things were by the rest of the Confederates, and especially by the *Syracusians* well approved of, but *Lichas* liked them not; saying it behoved the *Milesians*, and the rest dwelling within the Kings Dominion, to have obeyed *Tissaphernes* in all moderate things, and till such time as the War should have been well dispatched, to have courted him. And the *Milesians*, for this and other things of this kind were offended with *Lichas*, and afterwards when he died of sickness, would not permit him to be buried in that place, where the *Lacedemonians* then present would have had him.

Whilest

Whilest they were quarrelling about their business with *Astyochus* and *Tissaphernes*, *Mindarus* cometh in from *Lacedæmon* to succeed *Astyochus* in his charge of the Fleet. And as soon as he had taken the command upon him, *Astyochus* departed. But with him *Tissaphernes* sent a *Carian*, named *Cauleites*, one that spake * both the Languages, both to accuse the *Milesians* about the Fort, and also to make an Apology for himself. Knowing that the *Milesians* went principally to exclaim upon him, and that *Hermocrates* went with them, and would bewray how *Tissaphernes* undid the business of the *Peloponnesians*, with *Alcibiades*, and dealt on both hands. For he was continually at enmity with him, about the payment of the Souldiers wages; and in the end, when *Hermocrates* was banished from *Syracuse*, and other Commanders of the *Syracusan* Fleet, namely, *Potamis*, *Miscon*, and *Demarchus*, were arrived at *Miletus*, *Tissaphernes* lay more heavy upon him, being an Outlaw then before, and accused him amongst other things, that he had asked him mony, and because he could not have it, became his Enemy. So *Astyochus* and *Hermocrates* and the *Milesians* went their way to *Lacedæmon*.

Mindarus successor to *Astyochus*, taketh charge of the Army, and *Astyochus* goeth home.

* Both Greek and Persian.

Alcibiades by this time was come back from *Tissaphernes*, to *Samos*, And those Ambassadors of the *Four Hundred*, which had been sent out before to mollifie and to inform those of *Samos*, came from *Delos*, now, whilest *Alcibiades* was present.

The Ambassadors from the 400 to excuse the change at *Athens*.

An Assembly being called, they were offering to speak, but the Souldiers at first would not hear them, but cried out to have them put to death, for that they had deposed the People; yet afterwards with much ado they were calmed, and gave them hearing. They declared, That the change had been made for the preservation of the City, not to destroy it, nor to deliver it to the Enemy; for they could have done that before now, when the Enemy during their government assaulted it. That every one of the 5000 was to participate of the Government in their turns. And their friends were not (as *Chereas* had laid to their charge) abused, nor had any wrong at all, but remained every one quietly upon his own.

Though they delivered this and much more, yet the Souldiers believed them not, but raged still, and declared their opinions, some in one fort, some in another, most agreeing in this, to go against *Piræus*, And now *Alcibiades* appeared to be the first and principal man in doing service to the Common-wealth. For when the *Athenians* at *Samos* were carried headlong to invade themselves, (in which case most manifestly the Enemy had presently possessed himself of *Ionia* and *Hellepont*) it was thought that he was the man that kept them from it. Nor was there any man at that time able to have held in the Multitude, but himself. He both made them to desist from the voyage, and rated off from the Ambassadors, those that were in their own particular incensed against them; whom also he sent away, giving them their answer himself: That he opposed not the government of the 5000, but willed them to remove the 400, and to establish the Council that was before of 500. That if they had frugally cut off any expence, so that such as were employed in the Wars might be the better maintained, he did much commend them for it. And withal he exhorted them to stand out, and give no ground to their Enemies; for that as long as the City held out, there was great hope for them to compound; but if either part miscarry once, either this at *Samos*, or the other at *Athens*, there would none be left for the Enemy to compound withal.

Alcibiades saveth the *Athenian* State.

There chanced to be present also the Ambassadors of the *Argives*, sent unto the Popular faction of the *Athenians* in *Samos*, to assist them. These

Alcibiades commended, and appointed to be ready when they should be called for, and so dismissed them. These *Argives* came in with those of the *Paralus* that had been bestowed formerly in the Military Gally by the *Four Hundred*, to go about *Eubæa*, and to convoy *Lespodias*, *Aristophon*, and *Milesias*, Ambassadors from the *Four Hundred* to *Lacedæmon*. These as they sailed by *Argos*, seized on the Ambassadors, and delivered them as principal men in deposing of the *People* to the *Argives*, and returned no more to *Athens*, but came with the Gally they then were in to *Samos*, and brought with them these Ambassadors from the *Argives*.

Tissaphernes goeth to the *Phœnician Fleet* at *Aspendus*.

The same Summer *Tissaphernes* at the time that the *Peloponnesians* were offended with him most, both for the going home of *Alcibiades*, and divers other things, as now manifestly *Atticizing*, with purpose (as indeed it seemed) to clear himself to them concerning his Accusations, made ready for his journey to *Aspendus* for the *Phœnician Fleet*, and willed *Lichas* to go along with him; saying that he would substitute *Tamos* his Deputy Lieutenant over the Army, to pay the Fleet whilst himself was absent.

Conjectures of divers upon his going.

This matter is diversly reported, and it is hard to know with what purpose he went to *Aspendus*, and yet brought not the Fleet away with him. For it is known that 147 Sail of *Phœnicians* were come forward as far as *Aspendus*, but why they came not through, the conjectures are various. Some think it was upon Design (as he formerly intended) to wear out the *Peloponnesian* Forces, (for which cause also *Tamos*, who had that charge, made no better but rather worse payment then himself.) Others, that having brought the *Phœnicians* as far as *Aspendus*, he might dismiss them for money; (for he never meant to use their Service.) Some again said it was because they exclaimed so against it at *Lacedæmon*, and that it might not be said he abused them, but that he went openly to a Fleet really set out.

The opinion of the Author.

For my own part, I think it most clear, that it was to the end to consume and to ballance the *Grecians*, that he brought not those Gallies in. Consuming them, in that he went thither and delayed the time; and equalizing them, in that bringing them to neither, he made neither Party the stronger. For if he had had a mind to end the War, it is manifest he might have been sure to have done it. For if he had brought them to the *Lacedæmonians*, in all reason he had given them the Victory, who had a Navy already, rather equal then inferiour to that of their Enemies.

But that which hurt them most was the pretence he alledged for not bringing the Fleet in, for he said they were not so many Sail as the King had ordained to be gotten together. But sure he might have ingratiated himself more in this business, by dispatching it with less of the Kings Money, then by spending more. But whatsoever was his purpose, *Tissaphernes* went to *Aspendus*, and was with the *Phœnicians*, and by his own appointment the *Peloponnesians* sent *Philip* a *Lacedæmonian* with him with two Gallies, as to take charge of the Fleet.

Alcibiades knowing that *Tissaphernes* would never bring on the Fleet, goeth after him, to make the *Peloponnesians* think the Fleet was staid for his and the *Athenians* sakes.

Alcibiades when he heard that *Tissaphernes* was gone to *Aspendus*, goes after him with thirteen Gallies, promising to those at *Samos*, a safe and great benefit, which was, that he would either bring those *Phœnician* Gallies to the service of the *Athenians*, or at least hinder their coming to the *Peloponnesians*; knowing, as is likely, the mind of *Tissaphernes* by long acquaintance, that he meant not to bring them on, and desiring, as

much

much as he could, to procure him the ill will of the *Peloponnesians*, for the friendship shewn to himself and to the *Athenians*, that he might thereby the better engage him to take their part. So he presently put to Sea, holding his course for *Phaselis* and *Caunus* upwards.

The Ambassadors of the *Four Hundred* being returned from *Samos* to *Athens*, and having related what they had in charge from *Alcibiades*, how that he exhorted them to hold out, and not give ground to the Enemy, and that he had great hopes to reconcile them to the Army, and to overcome the *Peloponnesians*; whereas many of the sharers in the *Oligarchy*, were formerly discontented, and would gladly, if they could have done it safely, have quitted the business, they were now a great deal more confirmed in that mind. And already they had their meetings apart, and did cast aspersions on the Government, and had for their Ring-leaders, some of the heads of the *Oligarchicals*, and such as bare Office amongst them, as *Theramenes* the son of *Agnon*, and *Aristocrates* the son of *Sicelias*, and others, who though they were partakers with the foremost in the affairs of State, yet feared, as they said, *Alcibiades* and the Army at *Samos*, and joined in the sending of Ambassadors to *Lacedæmon*, because they were loth by singling themselves from the greater number, to hurt the State, not that they dismissed the State into the hands of a very few. But said that the 5000 ought in fact to be assigned, and not in voice only, and the Government to be reduced to a greater equality. And this was indeed the form pretended in words by the 400. But the most of them through private ambition fell upon that, by which an *Oligarchy* made out of a *Democracy* is chiefly overthrown. For at once they claimed every one, not to be equal, but to be far the chief. Whereas in a *Democracy*, when election is made, because a man is not overcome by his Equals, he can better brook it. But the great power of *Alcibiades* at *Samos*, and the opinion they had that the *Oligarchy* was not like to last, was it that most evidently encouraged them; and thereupon they every one contended, who should most eminently become the Patron of the *People*.

But those of the *Four Hundred* that were most opposite to such a form of Government, and the principal of them, both *Phrynichus*, (who had been General at *Samos*, and was ever since at difference with *Alcibiades*) and *Aristarchus*, a man that had been an adversary to the *People*, both in the greatest manner, and for the longest time; and *Pisander* and *Antiphon*, and others of the greatest power, not only formerly, as soon as they entred into authority, and afterward when the State at *Samos* revolted to the *People*, sent Ambassadors to *Lacedæmon*, and bestirred themselves for the *Oligarchy*, and built a wall in the place called *Eetioneia*, but much more afterwards, when their Ambassadors were come from *Samos*, and that they saw not only the *Populars*, but also some others of their own party, thought trusty before, to be now changed. And to *Lacedæmon* they sent *Antiphon* and *Phrynichus*, with ten others, with all possible speed, as fearing their adversaries, both at home and at *Samos*, with Commission to make a Peace with the *Lacedæmonians* on any tolerable conditions whatsoever, or howsoever, and in this time went on with the building of the Wall in *Eetioneia* with greater diligence then before. The scope they had in this Wall, as it was given out by *Theramenes* the son of *Agnon*, was not so much to keep out those of *Samos*, in case they should attempt by force to enter into *Piræus*, as at their pleasure to be able to let in both the Gallies, and the Land Forces of the

Enemies.

Sedition at *Athens*, about the change of the *Oligarchy* into *Democracy* again.

Ambition of the *Oligarchicals* amongst themselves, overthroweth their Government.

The *Oligarchicals* fortifie the mouth of the Haven of *Piræum*.

Enemies. For this *Eetioneia* is the Peer of the *Piræus*, close unto which is the mouth of the Haven ; and therefore they built this Wall, so to another Wall, that was built before to the Continent, that a few men lying within it, might command the entrance. For the end of each Wall was brought to the Tower upon the very mouth of the Haven, as well of the old Wall towards the Continent, as of the new which was built within it to the water. They built also an open * ground-gallery, an exceeding great one, and close to their new Wall within *Piræus*, and were Masters of it, and constrained all men, as well to bring thither their corn, which they had already come in, as to unload there whatsoever should come in afterward, and to take and sell it from thence.

* Στόβα.

Theramenes murmured against their fortifying in *Eetioneia*.

These things *Theramenes* murmured at long before, and when the Ambassadors returned from *Lacedæmon*, without compounding for them all in general, he gave out, that this Wall would endanger the undoing of the City. For at this very instant, there happened to be riding on the Coast of *Laconia*, 42 Gallies, (amongst which were some of *Tarentum*, some of *Locri*, some *Italians*, and some *Sicilians*) set out from *Peloponnesus*, at the instance of the *Eubæans*, bound for *Eubæa*, and commanded by *Hegesandridas* the son of *Hegesander*, a *Spartan*. And these *Theramenes* said were coming, not so much towards *Eubæa*, as towards those that fortified in *Eetioneia*, and that if they were not looked to, they would surprize the City. Now some matter might indeed be gathered also from those that were accused, so that it was not a meer slander. For their principal design was to retain the *Oligarchy*, with dominion over their Confederates ; but if they failed of that, yet being masters of the Gallies and of the fortification, to have subsisted free themselves ; If barred of that, then, rather than to be the only men to suffer death under the restored *Democracy*, to let in the Enemy, and without either Navy or Fortification, to have let what would have become of the City, and to have compounded for the safety of their own persons.

The scope of the *Oligarchicals*.

Therefore they went diligently on with the Fortification, wherein were Wickets and Entries, and back ways for the Enemy, and desired to have it finished in time. And though these things were spoken but amongst a few before, and in secret, yet when *Phrynichus*, after his return from his *Lacedæmonian* Ambassage, was by a certain Watchman wounded treacherously in the Market-place, when it was full, as he went from the Council-house, and not far from it, fell instantly dead, and the Murderer gone ; and that one of his Complices, an *Argive*, taken by the *Four Hundred*, and put to the torture, would confess no man of those named to him, nor any thing else, saving this, that many men used to assemble at the house of the Captain of the Watch, and at other houses ; then at length, because this accident bred no alteration, *Theramenes* and *Aristocrates*, and as many other, either of the 400, or out of that number, as were of the same faction, proceeded more boldly to assault the Government. For now also the Fleet being come about from *Laconia*, and lying upon the Coast of *Epidaurus*, had made incursions upon *Ægina*. And *Theramenes* thereupon alledged, that it was improbable that those Gallies holding their course for *Eubæa*, would have put in at *Ægina*, and then have gone back again to lie at *Epidaurus*, unless they had been sent for by such men as he had ever accused of the same ; and that therefore there was no reason any longer to sit still. And in the end, after many seditious and suspicious speeches, they fell upon the state in good earnest. For the Souldiers that were in *Piræus*, employed in fortifying *Eetioneia*, (amongst

Phrynichus murdered.

Theramenes and his Faction set themselves against the rest of the 400.

mongst whom was also *Aristocrates* Captain of a Band of men, and his Band with him) seized on *Alexicles*, principal Commander of the Souldiers under the 400, an eminent man of the other side, and carrying him into a house, kept him in hold. As soon as the news hereof was brought unto the *Four Hundred*, (who chanced at the same time to be sitting in the Council House) they were ready all of them presently to have taken Arms, threatening *Theramenes* and his Faction.

He to purge himself was ready to go with them, and to help to rescue *Alexicles*, and taking with him one of the Commanders, who was also of his Faction, went down into *Piræus*. To help him went also *Aristarchus* and certain Horsemen of the younger sort.

Great and terrible was the tumult. For in the City they thought *Piræus* was already taken, and him that was laid in hold, slain. And in *Piræus* they expected every hour the Power of the City to come upon them. At last the ancient men stopping them that ran up and down the City to arm themselves, and *Thucydides* of *Pharsalus*, the Cities * Host, being then there, going boldly and close up to every one he met, and crying out unto them, not to destroy their Countrey, when the Enemy lay so near waiting for an advantage, with much ado quieted them, and held their hands from spilling their own blood. *Theramenes* coming into *Piræus*, for he also had command over the Souldiers, made a shew by his exclaiming, of being angry with them; but *Aristarchus* and those that were of the contrary side, were extreemly angry in good earnest. Nevertheless the Souldiers went on with their business, and repented not a jot of what they had done. Then they asked *Theramenes*, if he thought this Fortification were made to any good end, and whether it were not better to have it demolished. And he answered, That if they thought good to demolish it, he also thought the same. At which word they presently got up, both the Souldiers, and also many others of *Piræus*, and fell to digging down of the Wall.

Περίεργος. He that lodged the Athenians when any of them came to *Pharsalus*;

Now the provocation that they used to the Multitude, was in these words: That whosoever desired that the Sovereignty should be in the 5000 in stead of the 400, ought also to set himself to the work in hand. For notwithstanding all this, they thought fit as yet to vail the Democracy with the name of the *Five Thousand*, and not to say plainly, Whosoever will have the Sovereignty in the People, lest the 5000 should have been extant indeed, and so a man by speaking to some or other of them, might do hurt to the business, through ignorance. And for this cause it was, that the *Four Hundred* would neither let the *Five Thousand* be extant, nor yet let it be known that they were not. For to make so many participant of the affairs of State, they thought was a direct Democracy, but to have it doubtful, would make them afraid of one another. The next day, the *Four Hundred*, though out of order, yet met together in the Council-house, and the Souldiers in *Piræus* having enlarged *Alexicles*, whom they had before imprisoned, and quite razed the Fortification, came into the Theatre of *Bacchus* near to *Mynichia*, and there sate down with their Arms, and presently according as they had resolved in an Assembly then holden, marched into the City, and there sate down again in the Temple of *Castor* and *Pollux*. To this place came unto them certain men elected by the *Four Hundred*, and man to man reasoned and perswaded with such as they saw to be of the mildest temper, both to be quiet themselves and to restrain the rest; saying, that not onely the 5000 should be

The Souldiers pull down the Wall they had built in *Estio-nia*.

made

A day appointed
for an Assembly,
wherein to treat of
agreement.

made known who they were, but that out of these such should be chosen in turns, to be of the *Four Hundred*, as the *Five Thousand* should think good; and entreating them by all means that they would not in the meantime overthrow the City and force it into the hand of the Enemy. Hereupon the whole number of the men of Arms, after many reasons alledged to many men, grew calmer, and feared most the loss of the whole City. And it was agreed betwixt them, that an Assembly should be held for making of Accord, in the Temple of *Bacchus* at a day assigned.

When they came to the Temple of *Bacchus*, and wanted but a little of a full Assembly, came news that *Hegesandridas* with his 42 Gallies, came from *Megara* along the Coast towards *Salamis*. And now there was not a Souldier, but thought it the very same thing that *Theramenes* and his party had before told them, That those Gallies were to come to the Fortification, and that it was now demolished to good purpose. But *Hegesandridas* perhaps upon appointment, hovered upon the Coast of *Epidaurus*, and thereabouts; but it is likely that in respect of the Sedition of the *Athenians*, he staid in those parts, with hope to take hold of some good advantage. Howsoever it was the *Athenians*, as soon as it was told them, ran presently with all the power of the City, down to *Pireus*; less esteeming their domestick War, then that of the Common Enemy, which was not now far off, but even in the Haven. And some went aboard the Gallies that were then ready, some lanced the rest, and others ran to defend the Walls and mouth of the Haven.

The Battel between
the *Athenians* and
the Fleet of *Hegesandridas* at *Eretria*.

But the *Peloponnesian* Gallies being now gone by, and gotten about the Promontory of *Sunium*, cast Anchor between *Thoricus* and *Prasie*, and put in afterwards at *Oropus*. The *Athenians* with all speed, constrained to make use of tumultuary Forces, such as a City in time of Sedition might afford, and desirous with all haste to make good their greatest stake, (for *Eubœa*, since they were shut out of *Attica*, was all they had) sent a Fleet under the Command of *Timocharis* to *Eretria*. Which arriving with those Gallies that were in *Eubœa* before, made up the number of 36 Sail; and they were presently constrained to hazard Battel. For *Hegesandridas* brought out his Gallies from *Oropus*, when he had first there dined.

Now *Oropus* is from *Eretria* about threescore Furlongs of Sea. Whereupon the *Athenians* also as the Enemy came towards them, began to imbarque, supposing that their Souldiers had been somewhere near unto the Gallies; but it fell out, that they were gone abroad to get their dinner, not in the Market (for by set purpose of the *Eretrians*, to the end that the Enemy might fall upon the *Athenians* that imbarqued slowly, before they were ready, and force them to come out and fight, nothing was there to be sold) but in the outmost Houses of the City. There was beside a sign set up at *Eretria* to give them notice at *Oropus* at what time to set forward.

The *Athenians* de-
feated.

The *Athenians* drawn out by this device, and fighting before the Haven of *Eretria*, made resistance nevertheless for a while, but afterwards they turned their backs and were chased ashore. Such as fled to the City of the *Eretrians*, taking it for their friend, were handled most cruelly, and slaughtered by them of the Town; but such as got to the Fort in *Eretria*, holden by the *Athenians*, saved themselves: And so did so many of their Gallies as got to *Chalcis*.

The *Peloponnesians* after they had taken twelve *Athenian* Gallies with
the

the men, whereof some they slew, and some they took Prisoners, erected a Trophy; and not long after, having caused all *Eubæa* to revolt, save onely *Oreus* (which the *Athenians* held with their own Forces) they settled the rest of their business there.

Eubæa revolteth.

When the news of that which had happened in *Eubæa* was brought to *Athens*, it put the *Athenians* into the greatest astonishment that ever they had been in before. For neither did their loss in *Sicily*, though then thought great, nor any other at any time so much affright them, as this. For now when the Army at *Samos* was in rebellion, when they had no more Gallies, nor Men to put aboard, when they were in Sedition amongst themselves, and in continual expectation of falling together by the ears, then in the neck of all, arrived this great Calamity; wherein they not onely lost their Gallies, but also, which was worst of all, *Eubæa*, by which they had received more Commodity then by *Attica*. How then could they choose but be dejected? But most of all they were troubled, and that for the nearness, with a fear left upon this Victory the Enemy should take courage and come immediately into *Piræus*, now empty of Shipping, of which they thought nothing wanting, but that they were not there already. And had they been any thing adventurous, they might easily have done it, and then had they staid there and besieged them, they had not onely increased the Sedition, but also compelled the Fleet to come away from *Ionia*, to the aid of their Kindred and of the whole City, though Enemies to the *Oligarchy*; and in the mean time gotten the *Hellepont*, *Ionia*, the Islands and all places even to *Eubæa*, and as one may say, the whole *Athenian* Empire into their power. But the *Lacedæmonians* not onely in this, but in many other things were most commodious Enemies to the *Athenians* to War withall. For being of most different humours, the one swift, the other slow, the one adventurous, the other timorous, the *Lacedæmonians* gave them great advantage, especially when their greatness was by Sea. This was evident in the *Syracusians*, who being in condition like unto them, Warred best against them.

The lamentable estate of the *Athenians* upon the loss of *Eubæa*.

The *Lacedæmonians* let slip the advantage which they might have had, if in prosecution of the victory, they had come to *Piræus*.

The *Lacedæmonians* commodious enemies to the *Athenians*.

The *Athenians* upon this news, made ready notwithstanding twenty Gallies, and called an Assembly, one then presently in the place called *Pnyx*, where they were wont to assemble at other times, in which having deposed the *Four Hundred*, they decreed the Sovereignty to the *Five Thousand*, of which number were all such to be as were charged with Arms; and from that time forward to Salariate no man for Magistracy, with a penalty on the Magistrate receiving the Salary, to be held for an execrable person. There were also divers other Assemblies held afterwards, wherein they elected Law-makers, and enacted other things concerning the Government. And now first, (at least in my time) the *Athenians* seem to have ordered their State aright; which consisted now of a moderate temper, both of the *Few* and of the *Many*. And this was the first thing, that after so many misfortunes past, made the City again to raise her head.

The *Athenians* settle their Government, and put an end to the Sedition, by deposing the 400, and setting up the 5000.

They decreed also the recalling of *Alcibiades*, and those that were in exile with him; and sending to him, and to the Army at *Samos*, willed them to fall in hand with their business.

They recall *Alcibiades*.

In this change, *Pisander* and *Alexicles*, and such as were with them, and they that had been principal in the *Oligarchy*, immediately withdrew themselves to *Decelea*. Onely *Aristarchus* (for it chanced that he had charge of the Souldiers) took with him certain Ar-

Most of the *Oligarchicals* fly to the enemy. *Aristarchus* betrayeth *Oemor*.

chers of the most Barbarous, and went with all speed to *Oenoe*. This was a Fort of the *Athenians* in the Confines of *Bœotia*, and (for the loss that the *Corinthians* had received by the Garrison of *Oenoe*,) was by voluntary *Corinthians*, and by some *Bœotians* by them called in to aid them, now besieged. *Aristarchus* therefore having treated with these deceived those in *Oenoe*, and told them, that the City of *Athens* had compounded with the *Lacedæmonians*, and that they were to render up the place to the *Bœotians*, for that it was so conditioned in the Agreement. Whereupon believing him, as one that had authority over the Souldiery, and knowing nothing because besieged, upon security for their pass, they gave up the Fort. So the *Bœotians* received *Oenoe*; and the *Oligarchy* and *Sedition* at *Athens* cease.

Mindarus with the *Peloponnesian* Fleet, seeing *Tissaphernes* and the *Phœnician* Fleet came not, resolves to go to *Pharnabazus* in the *Hellepont*.

About the same time of this Summer, when none of those whom *Tissaphernes* at his going to *Aspendus*, had substituted to pay the *Peloponnesian* Navy at *Miletus*, did it; and seeing neither the *Phœnician* Fleet nor *Tissaphernes* came to them; and seeing *Philip*, that was sent along with him, and also another, one *Hippocrates* a *Spartan* that was lying in *Phaselis*, had written to *Mindarus* the General, That the Fleet was not to come at all, and in every thing *Tissaphernes* abused them; seeing also that *Pharnabazus* had sent for them, and was willing upon the coming to him of their Fleet, for his own part also, as well as *Tissaphernes*, to cause the rest of the Cities within his own Province to revolt from the *Athenians*. Then at length *Mindarus* hoping for benefit by him, with good order and sudden warning, that the *Athenians* at *Samos* might not be aware of their setting forth, went into the *Hellepont* with seventy three Gallies, besides sixteen which the same Summer were gone into the *Hellepont* before, and had over-run part of *Chersonesus*. But tossed with the Winds, he was forced to put in at *Icarus*, and after he had staid there through ill weather some five or six days, he arrived at *Chios*.

Mindarus staith by the way at *Chios*, *Thrasyllus* in the mean time out-goes him, and watches for his going by at *Lesbos*.

Thrasyllus having been advertised of his departure from *Miletus*, he also puts to Sea from *Samos*, with five and fifty Sail, hastning to be in the *Hellepont* before him. But hearing that he was in *Chios*, and conceiving that he would stay there, he appointed Spies to lie in *Lesbos*, and in the Continent over against it, that the Fleet of the Enemy might not remove without his knowledge; and he himself going to *Methymna*, commanded provision to be made of Meal, and other necessities, intending if they staid there long to go from *Lesbos* and invade them in *Chios*.

Withall, because *Eressus* was revolted from *Lesbos*, he purposed to go thither with his Fleet, if he could, to take it in. For the most potent of the *Mythymnean* Exiles had gotten into their society about 50 men of Arms out of *Cyme*, and hired others out of the Continent, and with their whole number, in all three hundred, having for their Leader *Anaxarchus* a *Theban*, chosen in respect of their descent from the *Thebans*, first assaulted *Methymna*, but beaten in the attempt by the *Athenian* Garrison that came against them from *Mitylene*, and again in a Skirmish without the City driven quite away, they passed by the way of the Mountain to *Eressus*, and caused it to revolt. *Thrasyllus* therefore intended to go thither with his Gallies, and to assault it. At his coming, he found *Thrasybulus* there also before him, with five Gallies from *Samos*: For he had been advertised of the Out-laws coming over; but being too late to prevent them, he went to *Eressus*, and lay before

fore it at Anchor. Hither also came two Gallies of *Methymna*, that were going home from the *Hellepont*; so that they were in all three-score and seven Sail, out of which they made an Army, intending with Engines, or any other way they could, to take *Eressus* by assault.

In the mean time *Mindarus* and the *Peloponnesian* Fleet that was at *Chios*, when they had spent two days in Victualling their Gallies, and had received of the *Chians* three *Chian* **Tessaracostes* a man, on the third day put speedily off from *Chius*; and kept far from the Shore, that they might not fall amongst the Gallies at *Eressus*. And leaving *Lesbos* on the left hand, went to the Continent side, and putting in at a Haven in *Craterei*, belonging to the Territory of *Phocæa*, and there dining, passed along the Territory of *Cyme*, and came to *Arginusæ* in the Continent, over against *Mitylene*, where they supped. From thence they put forth late in the night, and came to *Harmatus*, a place in the Continent over against *Methymna*, and after dinner going a great pace by *Lectus*, *Larissa*, *Hamaxitus*, and other the Towns in those parts, came before midnight to *Rhatium*; this now is in *Hellepont*. But some of his Gallies put in at *Sigeum* and other places thereabouts.

Mindarus and his fleet steal by into the *Hellepont* unseen of those that watch their going, in *Lesbos*.

* A *Tessaracoste* seemeth to have been a coin amongst the *Chians*, and the fortieth part of some other greater coin.

The *Athenians* that lay with eighteen Gallies at *Sestus*, knew that the *Peloponnesians* were entering into the *Hellepont* by the Fires, both those which their own Watchmen put up, and by the many which appeared on the Enemies Shore, and therefore the same night, in all haste, as they were, kept the Shore of *Chersonesus* towards *Eleus*, desiring to get out into the wide Sea, and to decline the Fleet of the Enemy; and went out unseen of those sixteen Gallies that lay at *Abydus*, (though these had warning before from the Fleet of their Friends that came on to watch them narrowly that they went not out) but in the morning being in sight of the Fleet with *Mindarus*, and chased by him, they could not all escape, but the most of them got to the Continent, and into *Lemnos*; onely four of the hindmost were taken near *Eleus*; whereof the *Peloponnesians* took one with the men in her that had run her self on ground at the Temple of *Protesilaus*, and two other without the men, and set fire on a fourth abandoned upon the Shore of *Imbrus*,

The *Athenians* at *Sestus* with 18 Gallies steal out of the *Hellepont*, but are met by *Mindarus*, and 4 of them taken.

After this they besieged *Eleus* the same day with those Gallies of *Abydus* which were with them, and with the rest, being now altogether four-score and six Sail. But seeing it would not yield, they went away to *Abydus*.

The *Athenians* who had been deceived by their Spies, and not imagining that the Enemies Fleet could have gone by without their knowledge, and attended at leisure the assault of *Eressus*, when now they knew they were gone, immediately left *Eressus*, and hastened to the defence of *Hellepont*. By the way they took two Gallies of the *Peloponnesians*, that having ventured into the Main more boldly in following the Enemy than the rest had done, chanced to light upon the Fleet of the *Athenians*.

The *Athenians* haste from *Lesbos* after the *Peloponnesians* into *Hellepont*.

The next day they came to *Eleus* and staid, and thither from *Imbrus*, came unto them those other Gallies that had escaped from the Enemy. Here they spent five days in preparation for a Battel. After this, they fought in this manner. The *Athenians* went by the Shore, ordering their Gallies one by one, towards *Sestus*. The *Peloponnesians* also, when they saw this, brought out their Fleet against them from *Abydus*.

Being sure to fight, they drew out their Fleets in length, the *Athenians* along the Shore of *Chersonesus*, beginning at *Idacus*, and reaching as far as

The *Athenians* and *Peloponnesians* fight, and the *Athenians* get the Victory.

Arrbiana, threescore and six Gallies. And the *Peloponnesians*, from *Abydus* to *Dardanus*, fourscore and six Gallies. In the right Wing of the *Peloponnesians* were the *Syracusians*, in the other *Mindarus* himself, and those Gallies that were nimblest. Amongst the *Athenians*, *Thrasyllus* had the left Wing, and *Thrasybulus* the right, and the rest of the Commanders every one the place assigned him.

Now the *Peloponnesians* laboured to give the first onset, and with their left Wing to over-reach the right Wing of the *Athenians*, and keep them from going out, and to drive those in the middle to the Shore which was near. The *Athenians*, who perceived it, where the Enemy went about to cut off their way out, put forth the same way that they did, and outwent them.

* The Sepulchre of Hecuba. Eurip.

The left Wing of the *Athenians* was also gone forward by this time, beyond the point called **Cynos-fema*, by means whereof that part of the Fleet which was in the midst, became both weak and divided, especially when theirs was the less Fleet; and the sharp and angular figure of the place about *Cynos-fema* took away the sight of what passed there, from those that were on the other side.

The *Peloponnesians* therefore charging this middle part, both drove their Gallies to the dry Land, and being far superiour in fight, went out after them, and assaulted them upon the Shore. And to help them, neither was *Thrasybulus* able, who was in the right Wing, for the multitude of the Enemies that pressed him; nor *Thrasyllus* in the left Wing, both because he could not see what was done for the Promontory of *Cynos-fema*, and because also he was kept from it by the *Syracusians* and others lying upon his hands, no fewer in number then themselves. Till at last the *Peloponnesians* bold upon their Victory, chasing some one Gally, some another, fell into some disorder, in a part of their Army. And then those about *Thrasybulus*, having observed that the opposite Gallies sought now no more to go beyond them, turned upon them, and fighting, put them presently to flight. And having also cut off from the rest of the Fleet, such Gallies of the *Peloponnesians* of that part that had the Victory, as were scattered abroad, some they assaulted, but the greatest number they put into affright unfoughten. The *Syracusians* also, whom those about *Thrasyllus* had already caused to shrink when they saw the rest fly, fled out-right.

The courage of the Athenians erected with this Victory.

This defeat being given, and the *Peloponnesians* having for the most part escaped, first to the River *Pydus*, and afterwards to *Abydus*; though the *Athenians* took but few of their Gallies, (for the narrowness of the *Hellepont* afforded to the Enemy a short retreat) yet the Victory was the most seasonable to them that could be. For having till this day stood in fear of the *Peloponnesian* Navy, both for the loss which they had received by little and little, and also for their great loss in *Sicily*, they now ceased either to accuse themselves, or to think highly any longer of the Naval Power of their Enemies. The Gallies they took were these; 8 of *Chios*, 5 of *Corinth*, of *Ambracia* 2, of *Lencas*, *Laconia*, *Syracuse*, and *Pelene*, one apiece. Of their own they lost 15.

When they had set up a Trophy in the Promontory of *Cynos-fema*, and taken up the Wrecks, and given Truce to the Enemies to fetch away the bodies of their dead, they presently sent away a Gally with a Messenger, to carry news of the Victory to *Athens*. The *Athenians*, upon the coming in of this Gally, hearing of their unexpected good Fortune, were encouraged much after their loss in *Eubœa*, and after their Sedition,

and

and conceived that their Estate might yet keep up, if they plied the business courageously.

The fourth day after this Battel, the *Athenians* that were in *Sestus*, having hastily prepared their Fleet, went to *Cyzicus* which was revolted; and espying as they past by, the 8 Gallies come from *Byzantium*, riding under *Harpagium* and *Priapus*, set upon them, and having also overcome those that came to their aid from the Land, took them. Then coming to *Cyzicus*, being an open Town, they brought it again into their own Power, and levied a sum of Money amongst them.

The *Athenians* recover *Cyzicus*, and take 8 Gallies of the *Peloponnesians*.

The *Peloponnesians* in the mean time going from *Abydus* to *Elaus*, recovered as many of their Gallies formerly taken, as remained whole. The rest the *Elausians* had burnt. They also sent *Hippocrates* and *Epicles* into *Eubœa*, to fetch away the Fleet that was there.

The *Peloponnesians* recover some of their Gallies taken at *Elaus*.

They send for the Fleet with *Hegesandridas* out of *Eubœa*. *Alcibiades* returneth from *Aspendus* to *Samos*.

About the same time also, returned *Alcibiades* to *Samos* with his thirteen Gallies from *Caunus* and *Phaselis*, reporting that he had diverted the *Phœnician* Fleet from coming to the *Peloponnesians*, and that he had inclined *Tissaphernes* to the friendship of the *Athenians*, more then he was before. Thence manning out nine Gallies more, he exacted a great sum of money of the *Halicarnasseans*, and fortified *Cos*. Being now almost Autumn, he returned to *Samos*.

He fortifieth *Cos*.

The *Peloponnesians* being now in *Hellepont*, the *Antandrians* (who are *Æolians*) received into the City men of Arms from *Abydus* by Land through Mount *Ida*, upon injury that had been done them by *Arfaces*, a Deputy Lieutenant of *Tissaphernes*. This *Arfaces* having fained a certain War, not declared against whom, had formerly called out the chiefest of the *Delians*, (the which in hallowing of *Delos* by the *Athenians* were turned out, and had planted themselves in *Adramyttium*) to go with him to this War. And when under colour of Amity and Confederacy he had drawn them out, he observed a time when they were at dinner, and having hemmed them in with his own Souldiers murdered them with Darts. And therefore for this Acts sake, fearing lest he might do some unlawful Prank against them also, and for that he had otherwise done them injury, they cast his Garrison out of their Cittadel.

The *Antandrians* put out the Garrison of *Tissaphernes* out of their Cittadel.

Tissaphernes hearing of this, (being the act of the *Peloponnesians*, as well as that at *Miletus*, or that at *Cnidus*; for in those Cities his Garrisons had also been cast out in the same manner) and conceiving that he was deeply charged to them, and fearing lest they should do him some other hurt; and withall not enduring that *Pharnabazus* should receive them, and with less time and cost speed better against the *Athenians* then he had done, resolved to make a journey to them in the *Hellepont*, both to complain of what was done at *Antandrus*, and to clear himself of his accusations, the best he could, as well concerning the *Phœnician* Fleet, as other matters. And first he put in at *Ephesus*, and offered Sacrifice to *Diana*.

Tissaphernes goeth toward *Hellepont* to cover the favour of the *Peloponnesians*.

When the Winter following this Summer shall be ended, the one and twentieth Year [of this War] shall be compleat.

The end of the one and twentieth Summer.

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